



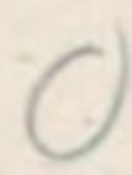
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HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY.

From the Original Portrait, by Holbein, in his Majesty's Collection.

London. Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, Jan. 1815.

THE WORKS
OF
HENRY HOWARD
EARL OF SURREY
AND OF
SIR THOMAS WYATT
THE ELDER.

EDITED BY
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LATE FELLOW OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE
OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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MDCCCXV.

THE WORKS

HENRY HOWARD

OF THE

STATIONER'S



PRINTED BY J. HENRY

FOR JOURNAL, NEWS, QUART, AND OTHER

PUBLICATIONS

STATION

TO
THE PRINCE REGENT,
THIS EDITION

OF
THE WORKS
OF
HENRY HOWARD EARL OF SURREY,

AND OF
SIR THOMAS WYATT,

ORIGINALLY UNDERTAKEN WITH THE GRACIOUS APPROBATION OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS,

IS
MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

MOST DUTIFUL
AND MOST DEVOTED SERVANT,

G. F. NOTT.

TO
THE PRINCE REGENT,

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HENRY HOWARD EARL OF SURREY,

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ORIGINALLY UNDERTAKEN BY THE GREAT BRITISH MUSEUM

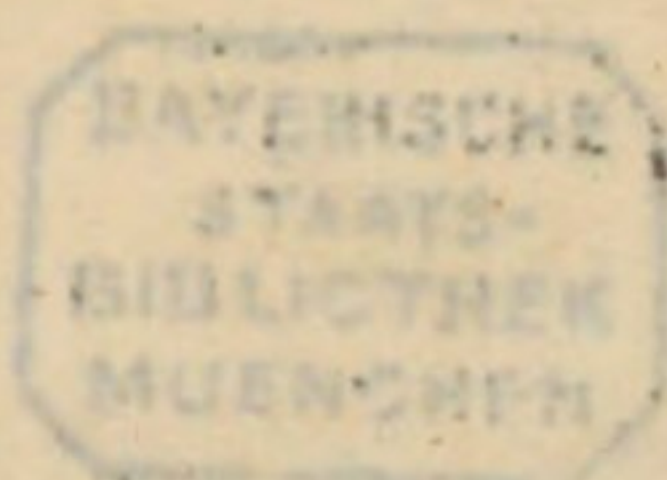
BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

MOST GRACIOUS

AND MOST DEVOTED SERVANT

G. F. NOTT.



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PREFACE.

Few persons in offering any work to the Public can divest themselves of anxiety and apprehension as to the event, for there are few who must not be conscious of some faults which might have been avoided ; few who will not confess, if they are honest, that they have not always acquitted themselves to their own satisfaction. It is true that for all partial defects adequate reasons may be generally assigned, and in fact are usually pleaded. It is natural that we should endeavour to bespeak favourable judgment for what has cost us pains and labour, and may be reasonably supposed an object of some predilection. After all, however, judgment rests with the Public ; and if they are disappointed in their expectations, they will claim a right to condemn.

These considerations restrain me from urging what I otherwise might plead in extenuation of those faults which may be found in the present work. Such as it is, I submit it to the candour of the Public ; fully persuaded that censure is hardly ever bestowed where it is not merited. Ingenuous minds seek rather for what they may praise, than blame.

There is however one point on which I cannot forbear offering an apology, for I feel that some apology is required. The Publication has been delayed beyond the time originally promised.

But I have to plead that much domestic sorrow has occurred in the interval, and that much painful distraction of thought in ungrateful business has frequently compelled suspension of labour. More than once also has the languor of sickness either taken from me altogether the power of exertion, or rendered my progress slow and precarious.

Nor have these been the only causes of delay. When I entered upon the undertaking I believed that the subject had been so fully investigated by Walpole and Warton and the other writers who had treated of it, that I considered nothing more remained for me to do, but to avail myself of their labours. It was not until I had nearly completed my work that I found occasion to suspect the inaccuracy of those authorities on which I had been led to rely. In proportion as I cleared up one doubt, another arose. Every conviction of error produced the necessity of alteration, and an unavoidable extension of the original plan. The Memoirs of the Earl of Northampton alone have been written no less than four times: in each instance this was occasioned by the detection of some mistake into which I had been betrayed by following received opinions, and by the accession of new materials. Some of the authorities I wanted were not to be found but at the expense of long search; and some I have sought for long in vain. Of these Surrey's Trial is one. Lord Herbert evidently saw the original proceedings. I am persuaded that they are still in existence. When, in addition to all these causes of delay, the reader shall consider the multiplicity and nature of the references made in

the course of the work, and shall reflect that it will often cost the labour of weeks to ascertain a single date, or establish some particular fact which when ascertained lies within the narrow compass of a few lines, he will see abundant reason to acquit me of wilful protraction in the completion of my promise.

Throughout the whole of this work the reader will observe that I have adopted the modern orthography, one instance excepted in the Appendix, No. XXXVI. which was left purposely as a specimen of the rude mode of spelling used in Surrey's time. If I wished to defend myself for having done so by the authority of precedent, I might quote that of Mr. Ellis. But I will be honest in saying, had I even stood alone I should have ventured on the measure.

The principal object proposed in this republication of Surrey's Poems was to mark out the improvements he had made in the English language, and to shew at what precise period it began to be moulded into that form which it now wears. But how could this have been accomplished had the old orthography been retained? The generality of readers could not be expected to waste their time in making out spellings which were crabbed enough to discourage even the sturdiest antiquary; or devote their attention to the ungrateful task of tracing the real features of our language through the Cimmerian darkness of an orthography which was never settled upon any certain laws; was always accommodated to the mode of pronunciation familiar to the person who wrote: and was constantly varying under the hands of careless and illiterate printers.

In this respect the Italians have given us a lesson of practical wisdom which we should do well to observe. They were sensible that all the beauties of their language were to be found in Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. They determined therefore on giving those authors as wide a circulation as possible, that persons of either sex, and of every age and description might study them for the formation both of their taste and style. Had they pursued the contrary plan; had they consulted the wishes of the antiquary alone, and retained all those monstrous anomalies of spelling which always mark the infancy of literature, how many generations would have been defrauded of that pleasure and improvement which, as things now are, they have derived from the works of those great masters in language and composition! Why should we be attached to a singularity which obstructs our literary fame, and fixes on our early authors that reproach of seclusion which was once given to the nation at large! Why should it still be said of them, that they are

—*penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.*

I am aware that there are authors whose orthography is valuable for purposes of verbal criticism. But that is an object of partial import; it can engage the attention of only one description of readers, and will be always best promoted by consulting original MSS. In editions of authors designed for general use, the retaining of the old orthography can answer no beneficial end, and must be productive of positive inconvenience. It would be sufficient to say that it deters those from reading our early writers, who would otherwise study them with pleasure.

But I will add that even to those who do read them, it gives erroneous impressions as well of the language itself as of the taste and character of the writer. I will confirm this in one instance.

The Dutchess of Norfolk in one of her letters to Cromwell, Earl of Essex, has the following sentence.

“ My ffary gode lord her I sand you in tokyn hoff tha
“ neweyer a glasse hoff setyl set in sellfer gyld I pra you tak hit
“ (in) wort and hy wer habel het shoulde be bater I woll hit
“ war wort a m crone.”

Now, if this spelling were preserved it would give the reader a notion of vulgarity and illiterateness as attaching to the writer, from which she was far removed. The Dutchess of Norfolk, the daughter of the great Duke of Buckingham, and the mother of Henry of Surrey, was one of the most accomplished persons of the times: she was the friend of scholars, and the patron of literature. The passage therefore ought to be spelt, if it were to be printed, as she would have spelt it had she been now living.

“ My very good Lord; here I send you in token of the new-year
“ a glass of setyl set in silver gilt. I pray you take it (in) worth.
“ An I were able it should be better. I would it were worth a
“ thousand crown.”

Here the idiom peculiar to the language of those times is preserved, without any appearance either of vulgarity or ignorance. The writer appears, as she was, a liberal and well educated gentlewoman of the sixteenth century.

Respecting the Notes on the Poems I am aware they are open to this censure, that they are equal in point of bulk to the

Poems themselves : they are so disposed however as to be of no real inconvenience to the reader. They may be referred to only when their assistance is deemed wanting. The apology for their length will be found, I hope, in the Notes themselves. It appeared to me that more was required than an explanation of difficult passages, and the emendation of such as were corrupt. It seemed necessary to point out what Surrey had borrowed from the authors who preceded him ; and shew, to what extent he himself had become an object of imitation. This occasioned frequent reference to our early poets ; and as the books referred to were often works of great rarity, unless the passages alluded to had been given entire, few of my readers would have been able to form an opinion on the points under consideration. As for the passages quoted from Petrarch, those, strictly speaking, might have been spared, and so might those cited from Chaucer ; but these could not swell the volume much, and might save the reader considerable trouble. In some few instances I have added remarks of a more general nature. For these I have to crave indulgence ; but I trust it will be remembered that I was writing, not to antiquaries who wanted no information that I could give, but to persons to whom the subject of our early literature was probably altogether new : and if so they would want to be told of many circumstances and points of knowledge with which the more experienced reader might be before acquainted. This, if it be a fault in the Notes, was an unavoidable one ; and will, I hope, meet with favourable allowance.

As to the Notes on the Preliminary Dissertation, for them I have to offer an apology of a very different nature. I fear they may be deemed too few. They certainly might have been more numerous without any disadvantage to the work; and indeed I often wished to insert many, that I might guard my meaning from misapprehension in what I have ventured to offer on the subject of our early versification. But I was fearful of distracting the reader's attention, and of making the work too large.

Of the Notes on the Memoirs, numerous as they may be, I am not aware that any one could have been spared. I had been compelled to controvert almost all the facts which before had been credited respecting Surrey; and I had mentioned many which were entirely new. It became me therefore to be minute in my references, that I might not seem to be hasty in advancing my own opinions, or in condemning those of others.

The articles in the Appendix are numerous, but they are all necessary, either for support of my subject, or for general illustration of manners. The least valuable article, in my opinion, is the long extract from Nash's idle romance of Jack Wilton. But there are some readers to whom, on account of the scarceness of the tract, that extract may not be unacceptable. Henry the Eighth's letter at No. XVIII. will be deemed acceptable, I have no doubt, by all. It is highly characteristic of his mind. It is a picture not of the King, but of the individual. The Duke of Norfolk's letter, at No. XXXV. places him in such an amiable point of view, that nobody I am persuaded would wish it

omitted. The numbers from XL. to XLVIII. and XLIX. are highly illustrative of the manners of Surrey's times. Those which relate to the siege of Landrecy will probably be judged interesting, as they supply the details of an expedition little noticed by the historians of those days, but highly honourable to the British arms. Of all the other numbers not one could have been omitted without injury to the work. The Earl of Surrey's indictment at No. XXXIII.; the Duke of Norfolk's petition for the reversion of his supposed attainder at No. L.; and the account given of the grounds whereon Somerset proceeded to the distribution of the Norfolk property at No. XXXIX., are documents, if I mistake not, no less interesting than important.

It only remains for me to notice the assistances which I have received in the prosecution of this work. They are such as I shall have a pride in acknowledging.

To the Duke of Norfolk I am indebted for the permission he granted me of examining the Archives at Norfolk-house. I have carefully noted, as the facts occur, all the information I was able to derive from that source.

To the Duke of Devonshire's politeness I am indebted for the use of a very curious volume of MS. poems, of which I have availed myself largely in the second volume.

To the Marquess of Northampton I owe much obligation, as well for his permitting me to examine the famous book of the genealogy of the Howard family, as for the singular urbanity with which that permission was conceded.

To the Earl of Liverpool, and to the Lord Viscount Sidmouth I have to express my obligation for the very flattering manner in which they allowed me to examine the State Paper Office, and the books of the Privy Council, where I found much important information respecting Surrey's life, and the letters written by him from Boulogne, which had been supposed irrecoverably lost.

To the Rev. Temple Frere I am indebted for the use of that part of the late Mr. Frere's valuable collections respecting the Howard family which remained in his possession. Had that collection of documents been preserved entire, much information would have been obtained of which I now lament the loss.

To Dr. Harington of Bath, a name long valued and respected by the friends of Polite Literature and endeared to all who know him, I owe the free and undisturbed use of his two invaluable MSS. without which I should not have been able to correct in a satisfactory manner the various errors which had crept into all the printed editions of both Surrey's and Wyatt's poems; or give several original pieces which are here now published for the first time.

And, finally, to Mr. Heber, in whom the desire of forming an extensive library assumes the character of moral excellence, as he consecrates what he possesses to the service of his Friends, and the general advancement of Knowledge, I owe the use of many scarce works, supplied to me liberally from the inexhaustible stores of his vast collection; works, which I should have sought for elsewhere in vain, and without which I am aware

that this publication would have laboured under serious disadvantage.

Such are the sources of information that have been open to me. Whilst I acknowledge my obligations, it becomes me to say, I am fully sensible that I owe them to the respect which was paid to Him who had been pleased to direct, and had graciously condescended to patronize the work.

Whatever assistance I have received from other quarters towards clearing up the difficulties of particular passages, and whatever suggestions I have adopted, these have all been scrupulously pointed out as they occur in the Notes. The amount is so small that it would seem like affectation were I here to mention the particular instances. I wish they had been more numerous: some errors might thus have been prevented which may have now escaped me; and some conjectures which are at present dubious, might have been reduced to certainty. Thus I was not aware at the time that I was not authorized in proposing to read, in the third page of the poems,

From *Tuscany* came my Lady's noble race.

The word "Tuscan," which is the original reading, being, as I since find from Lydgate, a noun substantive.

Unto purpose he telleth of a man
That excelled all other in fairness,
Called *Spurina*, and born was in *Tuscàn*,
And folk had joy and great gladness,
To behold him for his seemliness.

Tragedy of Princes, Book v.

I also might have avoided offering as a conjecture in the note at page clxxiii. the emendation by which I proposed to read the line of Hoccleve there considered,

In thine honour | he wrote full many a *line*; |

I find that is in fact the reading of the passage, as given in a MS. of Hoccleve in the Harleian collection, No. CXVI. fo. 89.

But he who is compelled to rely upon his own solitary efforts for the accomplishment of any undertaking, must be obnoxious to frequent failure. Where is the man whose memory has always at command even what he knows, when he wishes to apply it? or who may not be liable to mistakes in referring to authors read many years ago in the vacant intervals of youthful studies, and long since laid aside for pursuits of a graver cast? Had the present work been executed at an earlier period, the reader might have gained considerably in information; and I myself might have done more, with less exertion.

If there be any point in which I shall be judged not to have failed, I hope it may be that which applies to the manner in which the work has been conducted. It would grieve me were it thought that I have been unmindful, in a single instance, of the rule of conduct that has always been a subject of commendation in the heathen of old, who carried the just decorum of character into every thing they did.

Πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχον εὐσχημόνως πεσεῖν.

I may be told by some of severer judgment, that there are

higher exertions of mind than those which have Polite Literature and Poetry for their object. But I trust I shall have to plead in my defence, that all my inquiries have had Truth for their object; and that I have endeavoured to shew, that a taste for Polite Literature and Poetry is to be encouraged only so far as it promotes the cause of Virtue by promoting intellectual improvement, and is compatible with Religion.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY.

It has happened to Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, in common with many writers of eminence, that the accounts which have been transmitted to us of him, are disproportionate to his merit, and insufficient to gratify curiosity.

We have been told indeed that he was educated at Windsor under the royal eye, with the Duke of Richmond; the friend and the companion of his youth; that the intervals of his studies were spent at Hunsdon Palace, in the society of the Princesses Mary, and Elizabeth; that he contributed by his bravery and military skill to the memorable victory of Flodden Field; that he travelled through Italy, maintaining in tilts and tournaments the peerless beauty of his mistress, the Fair Geraldine; that he was received wherever he went, by men of learning with admiration, and by kings and emperors with honour and distinction; that he returned from Florence, like a knight in romance

of old, decorated with the trophies which he had won in the cause of his lovely, but disdainful mistress; and lastly, that his aspiring ambition led him to form pretensions to the English throne.^a

We love to hear, and to repeat what is wonderful.^b To this propensity the above romantic story owes the credit which it has obtained. Almost every part of it is fiction; and the fiction might have been easily at any time disproved. But the received account was one which caught the imagination; and the reader being satisfied, there was nothing to induce the writer to enter on the thankless task of critical inquiry.

Meanwhile the period elapsed during which inquiry might have been prosecuted with success. The utmost that can be effected now is the recovery of a few scattered notices, which will be sufficient to detect error, but not to supply a connected chain of narrative.

Little of what we have hitherto been told concerning the Earl of Surrey is entitled to belief. But will the account substituted be deemed equally amusing? Perhaps not. What the reader will gain in accuracy, he may think he loses in pleasure. If so, I fear the exchange will be regretted. For most men prefer a fair illusion which captivates the fancy, to a plain detail of occurrences which represent human life as it is, divested of the wonderful and the romantic; and flowing on, for the most part, in an even tenor of ordinary and natural events.

^a *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 153. Ed. 1813. *Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors*; Vol. I. p. 263. Ed. 1806. *Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet.* Vol. III. p. 2. *Ellis's Specimens*; Vol. II. p. 54. *Sewell's Life of Surrey*, prefixed to the Ed. of his Poems, 1717. *Hume and Rapin's Hist. of England*.

^b Τὸ δὲ θαυμαστὸν, ἡδὺ· σημεῖον δὲ πάντες γὰρ προσιδέοντες ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, ὡς χαριζόμενοι.
Aristotelis Poet. cap. 43.

THE HIGH and antient nobility of the house of Howard, from which Henry Earl of Surrey descended, is so well known that it requires no illustration here.

Whether we receive the traditionary story of the Saxon Howard, cousin to Duke Oslac; or that of the Earls of Poissy, Lords of Hawarden; which would prove this princely family to have been great in power and authority long before the Conquest;^a or whether we consider it as dating from Sir William Howard, who rose to great eminence as a lawyer in the time of Edward the First;^b it is sufficient to say, that the Howards by alliance, by eminent services, and great abilities, had become gradually the most powerful family in the kingdom; and that on the accession of Richard the Third, Sir John Howard was created the first Duke of Norfolk of the name of Howard;^c his son Thomas being at the same time made Earl of Surrey.

That Duke of Norfolk fell fighting gallantly in the cause of the House of York, at the battle of Bosworth Field. His son Thomas, Earl of Surrey, was taken prisoner there, resolutely defending himself to the last; and when, Richard being slain and all the army dispersed, he was compelled to surrender his sword,

^a The first of these traditions is preserved in the Marquess of Northampton's famous MS; which deduces the Howard family in a regular series of descents, from Oslac who flourished in the 15th of Edgar: the last occurs in a MS. in the Herald's College. They are both given in Appendix No. I.

^b *Dugdale Baron.* Vol. II. p. 265. *Collins' Peerage*, Vol. I. p. 48 They both consider that this Sir Wm. Howard was the great ancestor of the Howard family. He was son of Sir J. Howard of Wighenhale in Norfolk; and was Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas from the 25th of Ed. I. 1297, to 1308, the first of Ed. II. See *Bloomfield's Norfolk*. Vol. IX. p. 189. Mr. Parkin supposes that the family name was originally Wighenhale; and that Sir John de Wighenhale was the first who assumed the name of Howard. See also *Buck's Reign of Richard III. in Kennett's Collec.* Vol. I. p. 544.

^c June 1483. Sir Robert Howard, his father, married Margaret daughter and co-heiress to Thomas the last Duke of Norfolk, of the name of Mowbray. This marriage laid the foundation of the greatness of the Howard family.

he is reported to have said to Henry the Seventh, who reproached him for having fought in the cause of an usurper—"Sir, He was my crowned King. Let the authority of Parliament place the crown on that stake, and I will fight for it; so would I have fought for you, had the same authority placed the crown on your head."^a

A memorable speech, which while it reflected honour on him who made it, contributed probably to the future advancement of his fortunes. For though he was attainted on Henry

^a *Cambden's Remains*, p. 354. Ed. 1674. Sir John Beaumont says that this speech was addressed to Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom he describes the Earl of Surrey, as surrendering his sword. He was then fainting from loss of blood; and being fearful lest some ignoble person should kill him in that state, he requested Talbot to rid him of his life, that he might die by a noble hand. Talbot rejects the proposition, in admiration of Surrey's courage: lamenting at the same time that he should have fought on the side of an usurper. Upon this, Surrey,

— still mindful of his birth, replied.

I wonder (Talbot) that thy noble heart
Insult on ruins of the vanquish'd part.
We had the right; if now to you it flow,
The fortune of your swords hath made it so.
I never will my luckless choice repent;
Nor can it stain mine honour or descent.
Set England's Royal Wreath upon a stake,
There will I fight, and not the place forsake.
And if the will of God hath so disposed
That Richmond's brow be with the Crown enclosed;
I shall to him, or his, give doubtless signs
That duty in my thoughts, not faction shines.

Battle of Bosworth.

Buck gives a different account of the whole occurrence. He says that the Earl of Surrey escaped wounded from the field of battle to an house in the neighbourhood; and that he surrendered himself afterwards, on a promise of pardon. He describes the Earl of Surrey's reply to Henry as having been made on his liberation from the Tower, when the King challenged him upon the old quarrel; his service to the "late Usurper, and Tyrant;" for so he usually termed King Richard.—*Reign of Richard III. ut sup.* p. 540.

the Seventh's accession to the throne, and confined for some time a prisoner in the Tower; he was afterwards liberated, and restored to the title of Earl of Surrey, and placed with his son, Lord Thomas Howard, in situations of the highest trust and authority.^a

No stronger proof of the high degree of favour to which the Howard family attained during the reign of Henry the Seventh, can be adduced, than the well known fact, that Lord Thomas Howard was permitted to claim the hand of the Lady Anne, youngest daughter to Edward the Fourth, to whom he had been affianced early in the reign of Richard the Third; though from the extreme youth of the parties the marriage had been never solemnized.^b

The precise period when Lord Thomas Howard came forward, as he is represented to have done, in a chivalrous manner, to demand the hand of his long betrothed bride, is not exactly known. The marriage, however, must have taken place about the year 1495. For on the 14th of October, in that year, a bill was passed securing certain settlements to the two parties; in which bill the marriage between the Lord Thomas, and the Lady Anne, is spoken of as then had and solemnized.^c

^a He was kept a prisoner about three years and an half in the Tower. At the time of Lincoln's rebellion, when the King was absent in the North, the Lieutenant of the Tower offered him his liberty. He refused to escape. "But if the King be alive," he said, "bring me to him where he is opposed to the rebels; that I may do his Grace service."—*Weever's Funeral Monuments*, p. 834. and *Dugdale's Bar.* Vol. II. p. 269. It was this act of scrupulous honour which principally induced Henry to liberate the Earl of Surrey, and place him afterwards in situations of trust and confidence about his person.

^b *Buck's Richard III. ut supra*, p. 574. On Richard's accession to the throne in 1483, this Lord Thomas Howard could not have been more than nine years old. For in the inquisition taken at his death, August 25, 1554, he was found to have been eighty and upwards. Consequently he must have been born about the year 1474.

^c The Covenants of this marriage were made Feb. 12. x°. H. 7. 1496. They are given

By this marriage the Lord Thomas Howard had several children ; who all died young : the greater part, perhaps, as in-

at length in *Madox's Formulæ*, p. 109. The Lady Anne for sustentation and convenient diet in meat and drink for every week in the year, was to have twenty shilling For two women, a woman child, a gentleman, a yeoman, and three grooms; for their wages, diet, and clothing, by the year, £51 11s. 8d. For the sustentation and keeping by the year seven horses, for every horse forty-seven shillings; amounting by the year to £16. 9s. 4d. The Queen was to find the Lady Anne in clothes, [and to allow her £120 yearly, till she became possessed of some estates which were settled on her after the death of the old Duchess of Norfolk. For every horse under the number of seven, kept for the Lady Anne, forty-seven shillings were to be deducted from the said allowance. Provisions of this nature were common formerly. The modesty of that claimed for a person of such high rank as the Lady Anne, must strike us when compared with the provision insisted on by Elizabeth Spencer, daughter to Sir John Spencer, mayor of London, when she was married to William Lord Compton. "Also I will have three horses for my own saddle, that none shall dare to lend or borrow. None lend but I; none borrow but you. Also I would have two gentlewomen; lest one should be sick, or have some let. Also, believe it, it is an undecent thing for a gentlewoman to stand mumping alone, when God hath blessed their lord and lady with great estate. Also when I ride a hunting, or a hawking, or travel from one house to another, I will have them attending; so, for either of those said women I must and will have for either of them a horse. Also, I will have six or eight gentlemen. And I will have my two coaches; one lined with velvet to myself, with four very fair horses; and a coach for my women, lined with sweet cloth: one laced with gold, the other with scarlet; and laced with watchet lace and silver, with four good horses. Also, I will have two coachmen; one for my own coach, the other for my women. Also, at any time that I travel, I will be allowed not only four coaches, and spare horses for me and my women; but I will have such carriages as shall be fitting for all, orderly; not pestring my things with my women, or theirs with either chamber-maids, or theirs with wase maids. Also, for laundresses, when I travel I will have them sent away before with the carriages to see all safe; and the chambermaids I will have go before with the grooms; that a chamber may be ready sweet and clean. Also, for that it is undecent to crowd up myself with my gentleman usher, in my coach; I will have him to have a convenient horse to attend me, either in city or country. And I must have two footmen. And my desire is, that you defray all the charges for me." Whether the demands of this haughty dame were allowed or not, I cannot say. I am sure that they warrant the conclusion drawn of old.

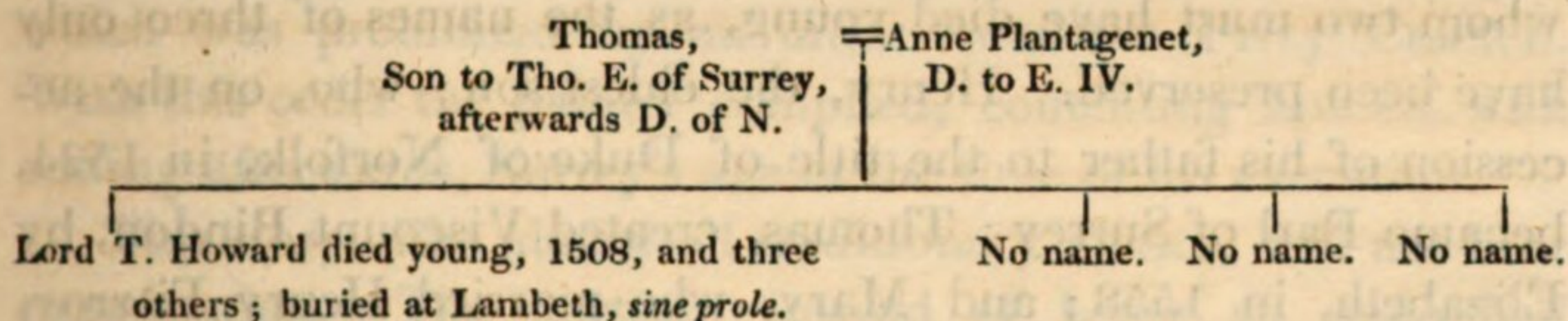
Uxorem quare locupletem dacere nolem

Quæritis? Uxori nubere nolo meæ.

fants. From an inscription yet preserved, we learn that Thomas, who probably was the eldest son, died in 1508; and that the Lady Anne was then living.^a How long the Lady Anne lived after the year 1508 is not ascertained. It is probable that she deceased in 1512, or early in 1513;^b for soon after Easter in that year we find the Lord Thomas Howard married to the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; and we are told that he proposed to that lady almost immediately after the death of his first wife.

The Lady Elizabeth Stafford could not have been more than fifteen years old at the time of her marriage: the Lord

^a Hic jacet Dom. Howard filius Thomæ Dom. Howard et uxoris suæ filiæ Edwardi Regis, Angliæ quarti: qui quidem Thomas erat filius et Hæres Thomæ Comitis Surriæ magni Thesaurarii Angliæ et obiit III die Mensis Augusti, Anno M,CCCCC,VIII. *Aubrey's Surrey*, Vol. V. p. 257. Collins mentions two sons by this marriage. Vol. I. p. 91. Dugdale no more than one. Vol. II. p. 274. Among the Duke of Norfolk's MSS. is a Pedigree, which runs thus :



The Northampton MS. mentions likewise four children; but gives us the name of Thomas only, who was the eldest. We may from hence infer that Thomas was the only child which lived to be christened.

^b The Lady Anne was living, Nov. 22, 1511. On that day she had a grant of several manors to herself and the heirs of her body. *Pat. Rolls, Hen. VIII. p. 1.* The manner in which Sir T. More speaks of her in the opening to his Hist. of Richard III. authorises the belief of her having died early in 1513, or perhaps in 1512. This is confirmed by a deed of settlement made on Agnes, Duchess of Norfolk, the 4th of August, 1513, in which mention is made of lands settled on the Lord Thomas Howard and the Lady Eliz. Stafford. *Archives; Norfolk House.* It should appear that in the interval between the attainder of the Howard family and their restoration to favour, the Lady Anne must have been married to some other person; for in the *Billæ signatæ*, 1^o H. VIII. she is called a widow. *Anna Howard Vidua, una filiarum Regis Ed. VI. nuper Uxor Tho. Howard. Freres MS. Col.*

Thomas was nearly forty.^a This disproportion of age, however, did not form the strongest objection to the union. The Lady Elizabeth had fixed her affections previously on the Earl of Westmorland; to whom, with the mutual consent of both families, she was on the point of being married. But an alliance with the house of Howard, which was then daily increasing in power, was too advantageous to be rejected. The proposed match with the Earl of Westmorland was therefore broken off;^b and the Duke of Buckingham gave his daughter, notwithstanding the reluctance she expressed, with a fortune of two thousand marks to the Lord Thomas Howard. The Duke of Norfolk settled on her in return a jointure of five hundred marks a year.

By the Lady Elizabeth Stafford, Thomas, now Earl of Surrey, (for he was created Earl of Surrey at the same time that his father was advanced to the Dukedom of Norfolk, on account of his good conduct at Flodden Field), had five children;^c of whom two must have died young, as the names of three only have been preserved. Henry, the eldest son; who, on the accession of his father to the title of Duke of Norfolk, in 1524, became Earl of Surrey: Thomas, created Viscount Bindon, by Elizabeth, in 1558; and Mary, who married Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond.

^a In a letter written to Cromwel, Lord Privy Seal, in 1536, the Duchess of Norfolk calls herself then forty years old, and says she had been married five and twenty years. *Cotton MSS. Titus. B. 1.* See that Letter in the Appendix, No. xxiv.

^b This Earl of Westmorland must have been Ralph Neville, the third Earl, who succeeded to the title on the death of his uncle Ralph, the second Earl. See *Dugdale*, Vol. I. p. 300. He married Catharine, sister to his first intended bride; the Duke of Buckingham's second daughter. His eldest son Henry, married Jane, Surrey's eldest daughter.

^c See the letter quoted above, in the Appendix, N° xxix. The letters in the Appendix N°s xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. and xxx. form the authority on which the account of the marriage, as given in the text, is founded.

In what year Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, the subject of our present inquiry was born, has not been accurately ascertained. The place of his birth also is still a matter of uncertainty. It has been suggested, that he was born at Framlingham, in Suffolk. But as he was generally styled Henry Howard, of Kenninghall, his grandfather's principal place of residence in Norfolk, it may be inferred that he was born there; though his father usually lived at Tendring Hall in Suffolk, which had been settled on him at his marriage in 1513.

With respect to the time of Surrey's birth, if it be true that he was only twenty-nine years old when he was beheaded in January 1547, he must have been born in January 1518. But that he was only twenty-nine at the time of his death, rests, I believe, on no other authority than the following traditionary story.

It is said, that when Surrey was arrested in December, 1546, he was sitting to some painter for his portrait; the finishing of which was prohibited by an order from the Privy Council. With this order the painter complied, contenting himself with adding afterwards, Surrey's age at the time of his execution.

This story, like almost all traditionary stories, will not bear examination. The portrait, instead of being an unfinished piece, is an highly laboured performance. Besides which, there is a motto inscribed upon it, "*Sat Superest*;" which Surrey's youngest son, the Earl of Northampton, expressly tells us was assumed by his father in his lifetime; and was meant to be expressive of some disappointment, which he had then experienced.^a We know of no event in Surrey's life that can be properly considered a misfortune but his recal from Boulogne. To the loss

^a "Wherefore, if the dew of my devotion may be drawn up by the beams of your remorse, (pity) '*Sat Superest*;' as once my father wrote on the breach of a distressed hope." Henry Howard's Letter to Queen Elizabeth. *Lambeth MSS.* DCCXI. 20.

of the Fair Geraldine's affections, the motto assumed could not with any propriety apply. To the first mentioned event it might. On the supposition, therefore, that the picture was painted in 1545, or at the very beginning of the year 1546, Surrey must have been born in, or about the year 1516.*

Our ignorance of the precise date of Surrey's birth is, however, a circumstance of small importance. That we should be ignorant of all that relates to his education, and the habits of his early life, is a cause of serious regret. We are thus deprived of the means of knowing how his character was formed; and whether he owed more to his own exertions, or to the precepts and the example of others.

The generally received opinion is, that Surrey was educated at Windsor Castle with the Duke of Richmond, natural son to Henry the Eighth, by the Lady Talboys, who was esteemed the most beautiful and accomplished lady of the times. The first author of any credit who asserts this, is Lord Herbert, in his life of Henry the Eighth; and on his authority, it has passed current with all subsequent writers. But Herbert speaks of it

* Walpole supposes Guillim Streets to have been the painter of the portrait. See *Anecdotes of Painting*, Vol. I. where he gives a description of the picture. The following more accurate and satisfactory description of it has been communicated to me by Mr. Dallaway. "It is painted on canvas, and is about 7 feet by 6. There is an arcade with two female caryatid figures in chiaro-oscuro, each holding an emblazoned shield: one bearing the arms of De Brotherton, son of Edward I. and the other those of Edward the Confessor, properly emblazoned. Round the arch is written, in letters of gold, 'Sat Superest, Æt. 29.' The Earl is represented as standing under it, with his right hand on a broken column, dressed in a close suit of black, most richly flourished with embroidery in silver. His countenance expresses very strongly, indignation and melancholy. The picture is now at Arundel Castle."—The broken column on which Surrey is described as resting, refers evidently to the "distressed hope" alluded to by the Earl of Northampton in the note foregoing. I need only remark, that the story as given in the text does not exactly correspond with what is said by Walpole. But, from the extraordinary confusion and contradiction introduced by Walpole into his account, it is difficult to know what that author either meant or believed.

rather as a conjecture than as an acknowledged fact; and adduces no other proof than a casual expression in one of Surrey's poems; an expression which certainly does not warrant the conclusion drawn from it.^a

That Surrey spent some of his youthful days with the Duke of Richmond at Windsor Castle, is certain. But it is also certain, that this must have been at a subsequent period, when education had ceased; and those two amiable and accomplished young noblemen had begun to take part in the more active pursuits of life.

On inquiry it will be found, that the early years of Surrey's childhood were passed by him not in the tumult of a palace at Windsor, but amid the charms of rural scenery, at Tendring hall, his father's seat in Suffolk; and at Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, then belonging to his grandfather, the Duke of Norfolk.^b

^a "After which the Duke of Richmond was bred up with Henry, Earl of Surrey, in the Castle of Windsor, which the Earl elegantly describes in a Sonnet extant among his works: from whence they went, Nov. 1532, both together to Paris. *Herbert's Hen. VIII.* p. 165. The Sonnet referred to, is that which begins,

"To cruel prison how could betide alas!

"As proud Windsor; where I in lust and joy

"With a king's son my *childish years* did pass."—*Poems*, p. 49.

But the word child, in those days, described as well a person just entering on manhood as one just emerged from infancy. See the note to the passage above quoted. It should be mentioned also, that Herbert, in his MSS. Collections, delivers himself more generally. He there says, "It appears that these two noble youths were bred up together, and spent *much of their young days at Windsor.*"

^b This is established by a curious household book, formerly in the possession of Mr. Frere, containing an exact account of the expenses of the Earl of Surrey's family, from his going to live at Tendring Hall, in 1513, until the time of his father's death in 1524. From that book it appears, that the Earl of Surrey passed the spring and summer months at Tendring Hall; and that he removed regularly on the 29th of October to Hunsdon; which he made his winter residence. He was himself frequently absent on public business; and the Countess was occasionally absent during her attendance at Court. But the

There he grew up under the eye of his parents, in peaceful retirement; and there he must have received the first rudiments of his education: which circumstance operated no doubt towards forming his character; implanting in him that fondness for rural objects, and contemplative enjoyments which may be traced in all his writings.

In 1524, Thomas, the second, or, as he is not unfrequently styled the great Duke of Norfolk, died. His son, Surrey's father, succeeded him in the title; and he giving up Tendring Hall to his brother Sir Edmund Howard, went to reside at Kenninghall, in Norfolk.

At that place Surrey had apartments immediately allotted to him; and there his education was in all probability completed. At all events he could not have gone then to Windsor to live with the Duke of Richmond (which is the only supposition by which the commonly received opinion can be supported), for it is certain that the Duke of Richmond himself was living at that very period, not at Windsor Castle, but at Sheriff Hutton, in Yorkshire. We learn this from Leland, who tells us that Sheriff Hutton, which had been granted by the King to the old Duke of Norfolk for his life, reverting at his death to the crown, was granted in 1525, to the Duke of Richmond, as the place of his residence; he having been appointed lieutenant-general of the north, and warden of the Scottish Marches.^a

children appear to have remained constantly at home. During nearly the whole of the above named period, from 1513 to 1524, there is an uninterrupted notice of dinners provided for my Lord Howard in the nursery. For a fuller account of this curious document, See Appendix, No. II.

^a "The castle of Sheriff-Hutton, as I learnt there, was builded by Ralf Neville of Raby, the first Earl of Northumberland, of the Nevilles; and I heard that in his time he built, or greatly augmented or repaired three castles beside. There is a base-court, with houses of office afore the entering of the castle: the castle itself in front is not ditched, but it standeth "in loco utcunque edito." I marked in the fore front of the first area of the

Richmond was about six years old when he went to Sheriff Hutton. He was attended thither by a Council, for the administration of public affairs ; and by persons appointed to superintend and carry on his education. There is a letter still preserved in the British Museum, addressed by the Duke of Richmond, in his own hand-writing, from Sheriff Hutton to the King, written expressly to thank him for the care he had taken of his education, and to shew what progress he was making in his studies.^a

castle self three great towers ; of the which the gate-house was the middle. In the second area there be five or six towers. The stately stair up to the hall is very magnificent ; and so is the hall itself, and all the residue of the house ; insomuch that I saw no house in the north so like a princely lodgings. I learned there, that the stone that the castle was built with, was fetched from a quarry at Terrington, two miles off. There is a park by the castle. This castle was well maintained by reason that the late Duke of Norfolk lay there ten years ; and since the Duke of Richmond."—*Leland's Itinerary*, vol. i. p. 66. The castle lay within the Forest of Gualtres. It is the place described by Skelton in his *Crown of Laurel*.

^a Appendix, No. III. The hand-writing, and the composition of the letter bespeak a person who had made a considerable progress in learning. It could not well have been written earlier than 1529. Dr. Magnus, a person of considerable ability, and much employed by Henry and Wolsey in their negociations with the Scottish court, seems to have been the principal person in Richmond's Council. In the British Museum many letters are preserved, written by the Council on various points of business. In one they ask directions of Wolsey, as to the nature and value of a new-year's gift, which Richmond was to send to the King.—*Cotton MS. Caligula*, B. vi. It is not known who had the particular charge of Richmond's education. Leland seems to have contributed a little towards it. He tells us that he sent to the Duke a book of copies for writing.

Ad illustrissimum Henricum, Ducem Richomontanum.

Quo Romana modo majuscula littera pingi ;

Pingi quo possit littera parva modo ;

Hic liber, ecce ! tibi signis monstrabit apertis,

Princeps, Aonii spes, et Alumne, gregis.

Qui tibi si placeat, quod certe spero futurum,

Maxima pro parvo munere dona dabis.

Lelandi Encom. Collec. Vol. V. p. 133.

Richmond profited by his instruction. His hand-writing was beautiful.

How long Richmond continued to reside at Sheriff Hutton I have not been able to ascertain; nor is it of much importance to our inquiry. What has been adduced is sufficient to shew that Surrey and the youthful Duke were not educated together at Windsor; as has been hitherto so confidently asserted.

Surrey was about eight years old when he went to live at Kenninghall in 1524. I apprehend that he lived there principally, if not entirely, till 1532.

By an extract from the register of Butley Priory, in Suffolk, it appears that on the 23d of July 1529, the Duke of Norfolk paid a visit to the Prior of that house, accompanied by the Earl of Surrey; who is described as having then his own proper attendants. The remainder of the entry proves that the occasion of this visit was the sale of Staverton Park, which the Prior then bought of the Duke. Surrey perhaps might have been made in some way a party to the transaction.*

This accidental notice may warrant the belief that Surrey had now become, to a certain degree, his father's companion; and that as such he had received an establishment equal to his rank and expectations in life.

* Dux Norfolciæ 23^o die, scilicet die Jovis Mensis Julii A. D. 1529 hic, (scilicet apud Monast. Buttley) fuit ad cœnam circa 10^m horam noctis cum juvene Comite, Filio suo; Com. de Surrey, cum suis servientibus, per estimationem xxiv. et in crastinâ recessit: qui vendidit Staverton Park, Priori Buttley cc. xl. libris, 24^o Feb. Eod. Anno. *Registrum*, fol. 52. b. *Mr. Frere's MS.* Another extract from the same Register shews that the Duke of Norfolk was in the habit of visiting Butley for the sake of hunting. 1536 A^o xviii. H^o viii. Dominus Thomas præpoten^{ssus} Norfolciæ Dux, hoc anno vi^o die Mensis Sep. fuit hic ad cœnam satis lætus et jucundus, cum D^o. Will. Willoughby et aliis ad numerum xl. virorum: et die sequente, scilicet die Lunæ, post prandium cum diversis generosis personis, vulpes apud silvam vocatam Scuttgrave venans usque ad 10 horam in nocte; & post prandium in crastino ad videndam silvam vocatam Staverton Park: et abhinc ad mariscos apud Hollesley: secum equitantibus præfato D^o. Willoughby, D^o. Antonio Wingfield, D^o. Augustino hujus Monasterii Priore, cum aliis generosis, etser ventibus. *Registrum Buttley Suff. penes Le Neve. N. fol. 46.*

The name of Surrey's Preceptor has not been transmitted to us. That he was educated by some scholar of eminence cannot be doubted. For not only had the English nobility begun generally at that time to value the advantages of learning, and to seek for men of reputation for the education of their children^a; but the Howard family had been long distinguished for their care and solicitude on this point.^b It might seem at first sight probable that Surrey was educated, partly at least, by the celebrated Leland: for, though Leland was then young, he was nevertheless of an age to have been Surrey's Preceptor, and we know for certain that he was engaged in tuition in the Duke of Norfolk's family, in the interval between his quitting Cambridge, and his going to study at All Souls College, Oxford.^c

^a Speaking of the state of literature at that time in England, Erasmus says; "Quibus rebus factum est, ut quum ante paucos dies literarum amor ad omne vitæ vel præsidium, vel ornamentum haberetur inutilis; nunc nemo Magnatum qui liberos ut majorum imaginibus dignos agnoscat nisi bonis literis eruditos. Quin et Monarchis ipsis bona regaliū decorum pars abesse videtur in quibus literarum peritia desideretur." *Oper. Tom. III. p. 679.*

^b It had been long a custom with them to place their sons as pages in the household of some Prelate eminent for learning, to be early instructed there in the literature of the times. "You shall in all things reverence and obey my Lord Bishop of Norwich [Harsnet Bishop of Norwich, from 1619 to 1628], as you would do any of your parents; esteeming whatsoever he shall tell or command you as if your grandmother of Arundel, your mother, or myself should say it; and in all things esteem yourself as my Lord's Page: a breeding which youths of our house far superior unto you, were accustomed unto. As my grandfather of Norfolk, and his brother, my good uncle of Northampton, were both bred as pages under Bishops." From a MS. Letter of Thomas Earl of Arundel, 1620: quoted in *Fiddes' Life of Wolsey*, p. 23. Not that this custom was peculiar in the Howard family. Sir Thomas More was a page in Morton's family, where he gave early proof of his ability. It is mentioned of him that when there, "though he was young of years, yet would he at Christmas-tide suddenly sometimes step in among the players, and never studying for the matter, make a part of his own there presently among them, which made the lookers-on more sport than all the players beside. In whose wit and towardness the Cardinal much delighting, would often say of him unto the nobles that divers times dined with him; "This child here waiting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, shall prove a marvellous man." *Roper's Life of Sir T. More*, Ed. 1711, p. 3.

^c Deinde etiam Isiacam petii feliciter urbem,

Extincto Iceno principe morte meo. *Encom. Collec. Vol. V. p. 101.*

The Duke of Norfolk died August, 1524. This corresponds with what Dr. Caius says, who tells us he met Leland at All Souls in 1525. See *Life of Leland*, p. 4, note k.

But Leland expressly says that his pupil then was the Lord Thomas Howard, the Duke's second son by his second wife. As he speaks with much complacency of the part he took in the Lord Thomas's education,^a we may fairly infer that he would not have been silent, could he have claimed to have borne at any time, any share in Surrey's education; especially as he praises Surrey on more than one occasion, for his attainments, and his love of learning, and acknowledges the having received favours at his hand.^b

It has been said that Surrey was educated by the learned Hadrian Junius. But the passage adduced from Junius's Letters in support of this assertion, is by no means conclusive. It seems rather to prove that Junius could not have been Surrey's tutor; for it fixes the time of his admission into the Duke of Norfolk's

^a Speaking of Lambeth where the Dukes of Norfolk had their town residence, Leland says; "Hic ego juvenis, studio eloquentiæ et bonarum literarum totus conflagrans Thomam Hovertum, Principis Icenorum filium latinè loqui industriâ quâ potui maximâ, perdocui. *Cyc. Cant. Itin.* Vol. X. p. 78. In his Encomia, he thus addresses his former pupil:

Ad Thomam Hovardum Principis Icenorum Filium.

Qui genus Herôo clarum de sanguine ducis,
Hos lege versiculos, candide Thoma, meos.
Alter ab undecimo postquam te viderat annus,
Ingenium excoluit nostra Thalia tuum.
Nomine quo faveam quantum tibi nulla referre
Lingua quidem, sed nec scribere arundo valet.
O! utinam posses, Diis concedentibus ipsis,
Cernere quæ nostro pectore clausa latent!
Tunc rectè scires quo te Præceptor alumnum
Prose quar eximio semper amore meum.
Pervia sed quoniam mortalia pectora non sunt,
Sint animi testes hæc mea dicta pii.
Siquid et officii nos te præstamus amando,
Esse rogo tantum par in amore velis.

Collectanea, Vol. V. p. 88.

^b *Encom. Collect.* Vol. V. p. 150, and *Itinerary*, Vol. II. p. xi.

family, to a much later period than that of which we are now speaking.^a

There is no state so painful to the mind as that of absolute uncertainty. Something must always be proposed for belief. In the absence of positive information on this head, we may

^a Exactum fuit mihi sexennium olim hoc in regno non pœnitendo tum fructu, quum apud Norfolciæ Ducis (qui nuper fati concessit) Filium, Comitem Surreium, honesto pro illius opibus stipendio annuo [quod quinquaginta angelatos præter vitæ necessaria numerabat] mererem. *Hadriani Junii Epist.* p. 13, as quoted by Anstis, in his *Hist. of the Order of the Garter*, Vol. I. p. 243. But in another letter Junius declares the time of his coming into England to have been after the siege of Landrecy. "Quum Cæsar ad Landrisium, Artesiæ oppidum exercitu circumsessum stativa teneret, consilio et hortatu Reverendissimi Londinensium Episcopi, Edmundi Bonneri, aureos tantum non montes mihi pollicentis, in Angliam fueram pellectus. Mox in familiam Illustriss. Nordofolciæ Ducis adscitus, non ingloriè illi medicinam factitabam." *Ibid.* p. 392. From these passages it is clear that Junius could not have been received into the Duke of Norfolk's family till after the November of 1543, and that he was engaged then by Surrey himself, as Physician to the household; and not by the Duke, as Surrey's Preceptor. Besides which Junius uniformly calls Surrey his patron or master, not his pupil. "Surrianus Comes, *Patronus meus*, prædicatis à me animi tui prope divinis dotibus impensè favet, gratulatur, afficitur, amat." *Epist.* p. 32. And again; "Quod adjungis in calce Epistolæ de distrahendis nobilibus quibusdam telis lineis, libenter eam molestiam tibi devorassem, immò gratum fuisset, si Nordofolciæ Dux aut *Herus meus*, talium rerum studiosissimus, adfuissent." *Ibid.* p. 41. What these "nobiliores telæ," were, in which Surrey was so curious, we can only conjecture. He was magnificent equally in his apparel, and in his furniture. But though it is clear that Junius was engaged as Physician, and in that capacity was consulted, and attended one of the Duke of Norfolk's family to Bath; (*Epis. ut sup.* 167, and 201;) it is also clear, that he was written to about the education of a person whom he calls "the Duke's son," p. 146. From a passage in a letter to Cælius, (probably an assumed name,) we might almost infer, that Surrey had intrusted Junius with the care of his children, during his residence at Boulogne. See p. 148, and also p. 89. But Junius speaks in another letter, of his pupils with so little commendation, and of their mother with so little respect, that I can hardly persuade myself that Surrey's children, and the Countess their mother, were the persons intended; especially as he talks of relinquishing a situation which he considered to be nothing better than slavery.—*Ep. ut sup.* p. 460. The inaccurate manner in which the letters of Junius are edited: the absence, for the most part, of dates; and the total neglect of arrangement, render them of little service. Had they been properly edited, they might have thrown some light not only on Surrey's history; but on that of the times. A large number of the letters are dated from Kenninghall.

suggest that it is not improbable, but that Surrey might have been educated, if not wholly, at least in part, by an Englishman of the name of Clerke; an eminent scholar of those days: who having passed some time on the Continent, where he acquired a perfect acquaintance with the French and the Italian languages, was afterwards received into the Duke of Norfolk's family, and lived with him in the house as his secretary, until the time of the Duke's attainder and imprisonment.^a

But, whoever may have been Surrey's preceptor, there is good reason for believing that nothing was wanting in his own family to stimulate him to exertion, and to encourage his natural propensity to letters. Bouchier, Lord Berners, the celebrated translator of Froissard;^b Thomas Lord Stafford;^c Edward Vere, Earl of

^a For an account of Clerke see *Wood's Athenæ*, Vol. I. p. 204, Ed. 1813. His works were, I°. *De Mortuorum Resurrectione, et extremo Judicio*, 1545 & 1547. This was written in Latin, English, Italian, and French, and dedicated to Surrey. II°. *Of Predestination, Free Will, Faith, Justification, Good Works, and Christian Liberty*, 8vo. 1546, dedicated to the D. of Norfolk. III°. *A Treatise of Nobility*, from the French, 12mo. 1543, dedicated likewise to the Duke. IV°. *Meditations on Death*. V°. *De Italica declinatione Verborum*. VI°. *De Gallica declinatione Verborum*. These two last were printed at the end of the 2d Ed. of the *De Mortuorum Resurrectione*, in 1547. He is said to have written and translated several other works. He was the intimate friend of Pace, one of the ablest scholars and negociators of those days. Their intimacy was so great that they had all things in common. I have never been able to obtain a sight of any of Clerke's pieces. They might contain something either to confirm or destroy the conjecture advanced above. Had Wood's account been accompanied with sufficient dates, his authority alone might have been conclusive.

^b For an account of Lord Berners and his writings, see *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 72. *Walpole's Roy. & Nob. Authors*, Vol. II. p. 239, and the Life prefixed to the last edition of his *Chronicles*.

^c See *Athenæ Oxon. ut sup.* p. 266, and *Walpole*, Vol. II. p. 9. He wrote several pieces in verse, of which I believe only one, an Epitaph on his sister, the Duchess of Norfolk, Surrey's mother, is preserved. *Aubrey's Surrey*, Vol. V. p. 286. He is principally entitled to our respect for having been the cause of the publication of the *Mirror for Magistrates*. See *Wharton's Hist. of Poet.* Vol. III. p. 216.

Oxford;^a Parker, Lord Morley;^b George Boleyn, Lord Rochford, brother to the unfortunate Anne Boleyn;^c all of them eminent in those days for their love of learning, and their literary attainments, were Surrey's near relations. Besides which,

^a He was a considerable contributor to the *Paradise of Dainty Devises*. Many of his pieces are to be found in England's *Helicon*, and likewise in other collections of those days. In the *Harington MS.* is an unpublished piece, with this notice: "The best piece that ever he wrote." There is another unpublished poem among the *Bodleian MSS.* See *Ritson's Biog. Poet.* p. 381. *Walpole ut sup.* Vol. II.

^b See *Wood ut sup.* p. 114, and *Walpole*, Vol. I. p. 313. The list there given of Lord Morley's Works might still be increased. Of his poems, Mr. Ritson had asserted that none were preserved. This is inaccurate. In the *Bodleian* is a Translation from the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, published by him in 4to.; and in *Leigh's Accidence of Armory* there is an epitaph in verse written by him on S^r T. West, *Ld. Laware*. Among the *Ashmole MSS.* N^o 6933, are two short moral poems. One of them has been printed in the last edition of the *Athenæ Oxon.* The other, which is the most pleasing of the two, is here given as a specimen of Lord Morley's style. He did not possess any lively poetic powers: his mind was of a serious cast, and was well stored with reading. The piece before us bears evident allusion to the well-known chorus in *Seneca's Thyestes*.

HENRY LORD MORLEY TO HIS POSTERITY.

Never was I less alone, than being alone.
 Here in this chamber, evil thoughts had I none:
 But always I thought to bring the mind to rest;
 And that thought of all thoughts I judge the best.
 For if my coffers had been full of pearl and gold;
 And fortune had favoured me as even that I wold;
 The mind out of quiet, so sage Senec saith,
 It had been no felicity but a painful death.
 Love then who love will to stand in high degree:
 I blame him not a whit so that he follow me,
 And take his loss as quietly as when that he doth win.
 Then fortune hath no mastery of that state he is in,
 But rules, and is not ruled, and takes the better part.
 O! that man is blessed that learns this gentle art.
 This was my felicity; my pastime and my gain;
 I wish all my posterity they would ensue the same.

Si ita Deo placet, ita fiat.

Written over a chamber-door where he was wont to lie at *Hollenbury*.

^c *Wood ut sup.* p. 98. *Walpole*, Vol. I. p. 249. *Ritson Bib. Poet.* 134, and *Warton*, Vol. III, p. 42. Lord Rochford certainly contributed to *Tottel's Songs and Sonnets* among the un-

the Duke of Norfolk, his father, was not only a good scholar himself, but the encourager of learned men, and the promoter of learned works.^a The Countess of Surrey also, his mother, is spoken of by Skelton as his particular patron, the admirer and the friend of the Muses, and the rewarder of literary merit.^b All these circumstances could not have failed to produce a considerable effect on Surrey's youthful mind. They gave, probably, the first bias to his genius, and determined the future object of his studies.

His education at home being completed, Surrey is said to have gone as a student to Cardinal College, now Christ Church, Oxford. Wood is the sole author of this assertion; which, he says, was current as a constant tradition in the University; adding, that it is probable that the Duke of Richmond accompanied Surrey thither. This fact may be reasonably doubted. Had two persons of such eminence as the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Surrey, both of them noblemen of the highest hopes and of the highest rank in the kingdom, been educated at Oxford, some proof of the fact would have remained on record: there would have been some notice of their admission into the University; some of their

certain authors. But the beautiful little ode, "Awake my lute!" ascribed to him in the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, was written by Sir Thomas Wyatt.

^a See the note ^a p. xviii. where some of the works dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk are enumerated. Hardinge dedicated his Chronicle to him; and Borde his Dietary of Health. Barclay undertook the translation of Sallust at his commandment. *Athenæ*, Vol. I. p. 205. When he was imprisoned in the tower, the books he asked for to read as his amusement were Sabellicus, Augustinus de Civitate Dei, and Josephus.

^b The Countess of Surrey, whose clerk Skelton calls himself in the Crown of Laurel, must have been Surrey's mother; for that poem is dedicated to Wolsey, who is twice called Legate à latere: a title which was not conferred upon him until many years after the death of the Lady Anne. The scene of the poem is laid in the Forest of Galtres. The castle described must have been Sheriff Hutton, which then belonged to the Duke of Norfolk, with whom it is probable that the Countess of Surrey was on a visit. The whole passage is curious, and will be found in the Appendix, N° IV. It is illustrative of the manners of those times.

departure from it. Whereas their names do not occur in either the Archives of the University, or in those of the College to which they are said to have belonged. I believe the fact to be, respecting Richmond, that he studied at Cambridge, at King's College, under the learned Richard Croke, who was then public Greek reader there.^a As for Surrey, the presumption is, if he went to either University, that he went to Cambridge also.^b

In 1531, or, at latest, early in 1532, Surrey's education was finished; as far, at least, as concerned the learning of languages.

^a Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, speaking of the part which Croke had in forwarding the business of the divorce, says, incidentally, "that he was the Duke of Richmond's tutor." Vol. I. p. 85. Wood, in his second edition of the Athenæ, (for it was not in the first edition) has inserted this notice from Burnet into his account of Croke: but he has perverted it strangely. For having said that Croke took his Doctor's degree in 1524, he adds, that "he was *then*, or *about* that time, tutor to the King's natural son, the Duke of Richmond, then with him at King's College, at Cambridge." Now, all that can be collected from Burnet is, that Croke was Richmond's tutor at the time of his being sent into Italy, to collect the opinion of the Italian Universities on the nullity of the marriage. But this was in 1530. Croke could not have been Richmond's tutor in 1524; for the duke being born in 1519, could have been "then" only five years old. Neither could he have been resident "about that time" with him at Cambridge; for it is clear, from positive evidence, that Richmond "about that time" was living in Yorkshire. That the Duke quitted Sheriff Hutton about the year 1529, or 1530, to study at Cambridge under Croke is very probable. Croke was then Greek Reader at that University, and was in the height of his celebrity. On the 18th of July 1532, Croke was made one of the Canons of Cardinal College (which by the Charter granted at the same time was called King's College), Oxford. But this will not support the conjecture that Surrey and Richmond, went at that time to Oxford to study under Croke. For Wood says himself that he could not find in all his researches that Croke was then a Public Reader. Besides which we have proof that Surrey was married in 1532, before Croke's appointment. As for the "constant tradition" spoken of by Wood, no trace of it is now to be found in the University, nor can I find that those whose knowledge of the place extends the furthest back, have any recollection of having ever heard it mentioned.

^b His father's connections would lead him to give the preference to Cambridge. His intimate friend and companion in literary pursuits, Sir T. Wyatt, was educated there; so was his son Henry; and he was himself chosen by that University as their High Steward; a circumstance hitherto unnoticed.

It is true that Surrey could not then have been more than fourteen, or fifteen years old. But in those days education began sooner than it does at present; and was pursued with an activity which is beneficial to the expansion of the intellect; as it early gives the mind consciousness of its own powers, and enables men to enter early with confidence on public life.

An antient author tells us, that noblemen, at about the period of which we are writing, were accustomed to send their children to school to learn to read at four years of age; that at six they were taught languages, and the first principles of manners; that from ten to twelve they were instructed in dancing and music, and “to speak of gentleness;” that at fourteen they were initiated into the sports of the field, by means of which they were prepared for the ruder exercise of arms; and, that at sixteen, they learnt to joust, to fight at the barrier, to manage the war-horse, to assail castles, to support the weight of armour, and to contend in feats of arms with their companions. There their education terminated. At seventeen or eighteen they were considered as being fully qualified to take part in public business, and to be entrusted with military command.^a

^a We learn these particulars from a very valuable passage in Hardinge's Chronicle, omitted in the common editions, but judiciously preserved by Mr. Ellis in the Preface to his late edition in 1812.

And as Lord's sons been set, at four year age
At school to learn the doctrine of letture;
And after six to have them in language
And sit at meat, seemly in all nurture:
At ten and twelve to revel is their cure
To dance, and sing and speak of gentleness:
At fourteen year they shall to field I sure,
At hunt the deer, and catch an hardiness.

For deer to hunt and slay, and see them bleed
An hardiment giveth to his courage.
And also in his wit he giveth heed

Surrey's education being completed, the Duke of Norfolk sought to give him a proper establishment, and to marry him suitably to his rank. On the 13th of February, 1532, we find him contracted to the Lady Frances Vere, daughter to John, Earl of Oxford; a family which, though somewhat fallen from its former greatness, was still one of the most powerful and affluent in the kingdom. The marriage was to take place on, or before the feast of the Pentecost next ensuing; and it seems to have been solemnized at the time agreed upon. But as Surrey could not have then been more than sixteen years old, and as his bride was perhaps even younger, it is probable that they did not live together immediately upon their union.*

Imagining to take them at advantage.

At sixteen year to warry, and to wage,

To joust and ride, and castles to assail,

To skirmish als, and make sicker scourage,

And set his watch for peril nocturnal.

And every day his armour to essay,

In feat of arms with some of his meynie;

His might to prove, and what that he do may

If that he were in such a jeopardy

Of war befall, that by necessity

He might algaates with weapons him defend.

Thus should he learn in his priority

His weapons all, in armes to dispend.

There are many passages in Erasmus's Treatise "*De Pueris statim instituendis*," which confirm the account given by our simple Chronicler. Erasmus says, "*Vix ulla est ætas tam tenera, quæ Disciplinæ capax non sit.*" He speaks of it as customary to send children to school to learn to read at four; and he is very severe on those over fond mothers who kept their children at home till they were past six. "*Quid habent obsecro materni cordis feminæ quæ infantes suas usque ad annum fere septimum in sinu detinent.*" *Erasmi Op.* Vol. I. p. 490 & 495.

* The original indenture is preserved among the MSS. at Norfolk House. The Duke of Norfolk settled lands on Surrey, yielding a clear yearly rent of £300. The Earl of Oxford gave the Lady Frances a fortune of 4,000 marks; 200, to be paid on the day of marriage,

We come now to the first mention that occurs of Surrey in authentic history.^a Holinshed tells us that he was one of those noblemen who were appointed to accompany Henry into France, whither he went to meet the French King, as had been previously arranged by their respective ambassadors, with great pomp and solemnity on the 10th of October, at Boulogne.^b

and the remainder at half-yearly payments of 100 marks; unless either of the Countesses of Oxford then living should die, when the instalments were to be raised to 200 marks each. In the event of Surrey's death, before or after the marriage, the Lady Frances was to retain, as her jointure for her life, three estates in Norfolk, and the Duke of Norfolk was to keep 1000 marks of her fortune; the remainder to be refunded. There were seventeen trustees to the settlement. The Duke was to be at the charge of Surrey's clothes; Lord Oxford of those for the Lady Frances. The marriage was to take place before the Feast of Pentecost. The instrument is dated the xiii. of Feb. xxiii. H. 8^o. Among Mr. Frere's MSS. a notice of the same deed occurs. But it is in Latin, and speaks of the marriage as completed. "Matrimonii habiti inter Hen. Com. Sur. et. Dom. Franciscam. fil. com. Oxon." The date is the same. In Mr. Frere's MS. collections there is likewise notice of an indenture the year after, for a marriage between the Lord Thomas Howard, Surrey's younger brother, and Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Lord Marney. He was then within age, and was bound in the sum of 10,000 marks, to fulfil the covenant. The indenture is dated the xiv^o of May xxiv. H. viii.

^a There is a traditionary story of the great Earl of Surrey, riding over from Kenninghall to Kimberly, to attend the christening of one of the Woodhouse family, when he was so young that they were obliged to lock him in his saddle. The Earl of Surrey alluded to, has been generally supposed to be the Poet. But this is a mistake. Philip, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, son to Thomas the fourth Duke of Norfolk, must have been the person intended. See *Bloomfield's History of Norfolk*, Vol. ii. p. 554.

^b *Holinshed ut. sup.* p. 776. *Herbert.* Hen. viii. p. 367. and *Memoirs de Du-Bellay*. It is remarkable that several writers should have spoken of Surrey and Richmond as meeting Henry at Calais, on his landing there; they having been for some time previous on a tour in France; whereas Holinshed and Stow, and I believe all our early historians, speak expressly of both Surrey and Richmond, as coming out of England at the same time, with the other nobility, in Henry's train. Grafton gives a very circumstantial account of this interview, p. 442. Ed. 1809. Hall is even still more minute, p. 790. Ed. 1809. Both these authors mention the Duke of Richmond, as not having been at Boulogne; but as meeting the Kings on their return to Calais.

The object of that interview was one of considerable importance to Henry's interests. He saw that he was on the eve of an open rupture with both the Emperor and the Pope; for he had resolved to establish his divorce from Queen Katherine, and to marry Anne Boleyn. Previous to that step however, he wished to secure the friendship of Francis.

The meeting between the French and the English king took place, as had been settled, at Boulogne; where Henry arrived, attended by Surrey, amongst a numerous train of nobility, on the 21st of October. There Francis entertained his royal guest with great splendor, till the 25th. On that day Henry returned to Calais, accompanied by the French King, whom he received in his turn with equal, perhaps even greater magnificence. As the two Kings were on their way to Calais, they were met at the distance of about two miles from the town by the Duke of Richmond; attended by a train of noblemen who had not been at Boulogne. This probably was the first introduction of the Duke of Richmond to public notice. We are told that he "saluted the French king, and embraced him, in a most courteous and honourable manner."^a

Francis remained five days at Calais. His train consisted of more than twelve hundred persons. Upwards of eight thousand people altogether, connected with the two Courts, were assembled within the walls of the town. But all were so abundantly supplied with plate, wine, furniture, and every article of convenience and luxury, that, as the simple historian expresses himself; "it seemed wonderful to all present." On Friday the 30th of October, Francis took his leave; and Henry returned soon after to England. He landed at Dover on the 14th of November, and on the evening of the same day his marriage with Anne Boleyn was privately solemnized.^b

^a Holinshed, *ut sup.* p. 776.

^b Holinshed, *ut sup.* p. 777. But there is great difference among our early historians as to the time of this marriage.

The Duke of Richmond instead of returning to England went to Paris, to complete his studies in the University there; and to learn all the elegant and polite accomplishments which were to be acquired at the French Court. It is said that Surrey attended his noble friend thither.^a The fact, I believe, rests wholly on conjecture; but the conjecture is a probable one. It was then the fashion, as it ever has been with some, to send their sons to study in foreign Universities. What we find by experience can be acquired at home, only with difficulty; we are willing to believe may be obtained by a more compendious method elsewhere. Besides which, the University of Paris, lately re-established by Francis, had the powerful attractions of novelty and celebrity; and could boast of some of the most learned men in Europe amongst its professors.^b

Still the point is uncertain. One thing, however, is clear. Admitting that Surrey went with Richmond to the French Court, his residence there was not of long duration. Neither did it produce any sensible effect on either his taste, or his studies. We do not trace in his writings, as we do in those of his friend Sir Thomas Wyatt, any imitation of the French poets;

^a Dodd, in his Church History, expressly asserts this, and adds, that both Surrey and Richmond went to Paris to learn French! What credit may be given to Dodd the Reader will decide when he learns that according to that historian, Surrey went from Paris to meet Henry at Calais, when he landed there on his road to Boulogne: and that one of his motives for going to Florence, was to see the Fair Geraldine: he returned, he says, from his tour about the year 1540.—Vol. I. p. 172.

^b *Herbert ut sup.* p. 165. Leland affords abundant proof in his Poems, how much it was the fashion in his day, to study at the University at Paris. He went there himself:

Hinc mihi facta domus studiosa Lutetia ad unguem,

Doctos quâ colui sedulus urbe viros;

Budæum, Fabrum, Paulum Æmilium, Ruellumque:

Æternis planè nomina digna cedris.

Encom. Collect. Vol. V. p. 101.—See also p. 88

or any idioms borrowed from the French language. It is probable that Surrey had determined, even at that early period, on taking the Italian writers as his model.

Early in the ensuing year, 1533, when it was found that Anne Boleyn was far advanced in pregnancy, Henry gave orders for her being publicly proclaimed, and crowned Queen. The coronation took place at Whitsuntide; and the persons who were appointed to assist at the ceremony, are all enumerated by our early historians with great detail. Many of the Howard family, as might be expected, were present. Surrey attended among the rest. He was appointed to carry, as was the custom at solemn Coronations, the fourth sword with the scabbard, upright, before the King.^a The Earl Marshal's rod was borne by the Lord William Howard, as representative of the Duke of Norfolk, then absent in France; whither he had been sent on an embassy, which had for its object to prevent Francis from entering into an alliance with the Emperor and the Pope, in violation of the treaty, which had been made the year before with Henry at Boulogne. The embassy, as its object was important, was one of much solemnity. There went with the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Rochford, Sir William Paulett, Sir Anthony Browne, and Sir Francis Brian; followed by a train of one hundred and sixty persons. The conduct of Francis was suspicious; his answers evasive and unsatisfactory. After some fruitless negotiations, Henry on the eighth of August ordered the Duke of Norfolk home. Directions were at the same time sent that the Duke of Richmond should return with him. Hence we collect that

^a MSS. *Herald's Collec.* Coronation I. p. 18.—The fourth sword was that, borne immediately after the three Swords of State by the Lord High Chamberlain. That office was then held by John Earl of Oxford, Surrey's father-in-law. Surrey probably attended as his representative. For the minute description of the ceremony, see particularly *Hall's Chronicle* and *Hollinshed's*, p. 778 to 786.

Richmond remained from the preceding November, to this period at Paris, pursuing his studies there. As Surrey was the greatest part of that time in England, we have an additional proof that these two young friends could have received but a very small part, if any, of their education together.^a

The Duke of Richmond returning with Norfolk to England, arrived in London the seventh of September; just in time to be present at the christening of the Princess Elizabeth. He was affianced not long after, to the Lady Mary Howard; the Lady Mary of Norfolk, as Holinshed calls her; Surrey's only sister. The parties were considered as being related within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity. It was necessary, therefore, to obtain a dispensation for the marriage; which fortunately ascertains the precise time of the contract. The dispensation bears date the 26th of Nov. 1533.^b

We have been told that this marriage grew out of the friendship which had long subsisted between Surrey and the Duke of Richmond; in consequence of their having been educated together as children at Windsor. The ground of this assertion has been already disproved. The probability is, that the marriage did not originate so much in any previous friendship between those noble youths, as in the good offices of Anne Boleyn; who used her influence with Henry to increase the credit and power

^a *Herbert*, p. 387.—Du Bellay seems to have been Herbert's authority.—“Le Roi manda incontinent au dit Duc de Northfolk de prendre congé du Roi de France, et de ce retirer. Aussi revoqua-t-il le Duc de Richmond, son fils Naturel; étant lors à la Cour du Roi de France.”—*Memoirs*, &c. Vol. XVIII. p. 230.

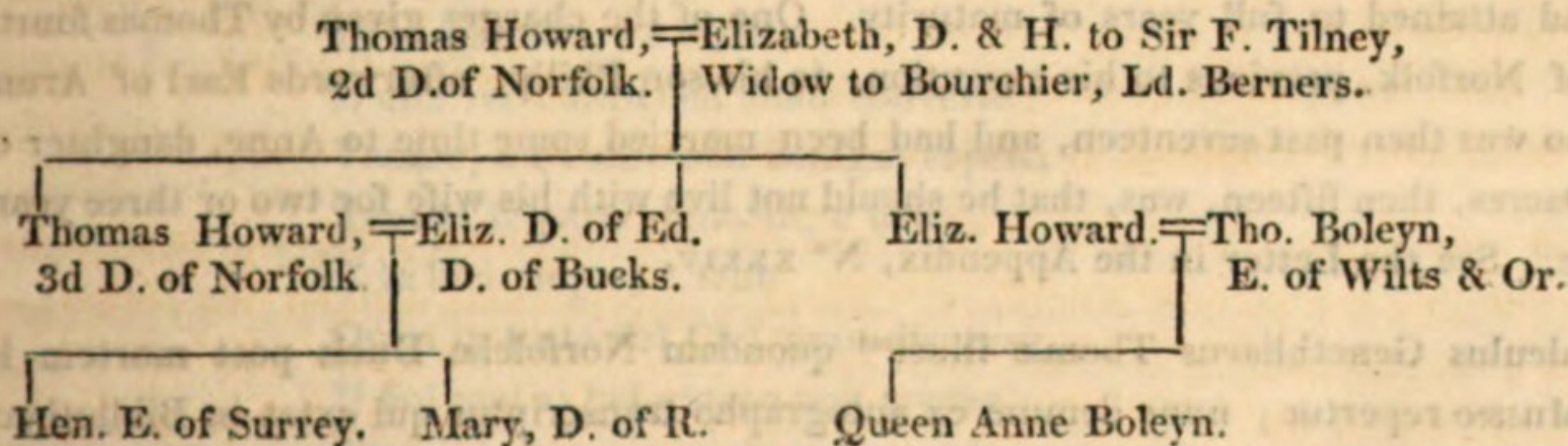
^b Sed quia quarto Consanguinitatis gradu invicem conjuncti estis, vestrum in hac parte desiderium non potestis adimplere, Canonicâ dispensatione desuper non obtentâ.—Henricus Dux Richmondiæ et Somerset Com. de Nottingham, Magnus Admirallus Ang. et præclara Femina Maria Howard Præpotentis Viri. Tho. Ducis de Norfolciâ Filia.—Richard Gwent. Deputatus pro Pet. de Vannes. 26^o Novr. 1533. 11^o Pontif. Clem. VII.—*Frere's MSS. Collections*.

of the Duke of Norfolk's family, to whom she was nearly related; though it should seem that the King himself claimed the merit of having made the match.^a

Owing to the tender age of both the Duke of Richmond and the Lady Mary, the marriage was not formally celebrated. The youthful Duchess continued to live with her own friends; and Richmond, it is probable, went to reside at Windsor Castle; where we may believe Surrey to have been, if not his constant companion, at least his frequent visitor.

It must have been in 1534 that Richmond resided at Windsor: and this forms the period during which I conceive that tender attachment to have been matured between Surrey and his Royal Friend; which Surrey afterwards so feelingly described; and which, had the lives of those noble youths been spared, might have been productive of the most lasting and beneficial effects. It was then, "their limbs yet shooting up in length," that they engaged in those manly amusements, to excel in which was a necessary accomplishment in a courtier of those days. There they imparted to each other, in soft confidence, what hopes they had of attaining their mistresses' favour; and of seeing those restraints removed which, on account of their tender age, it had

^a See the Duchess of Norfolk's letter to Cromwell. *Appendix*, N° xxix. and that of the Duchess of Richmond to her father, *Appendix*, N° iv. Anne Boleyn was first cousin to Surrey, and the Lady Mary, Duchess of Richmond.



been thought proper to interpose; restricting them from the full enjoyment of the society of their respective brides.^a

One year, one short year, the most unclouded, perhaps, in Surrey's life, was thus spent at Windsor; in that sweet alternation of study and active employment, which, mingled with gay hopes, and the vague, but eager expectation of future happiness in store, renders youth the season of our greatest enjoyment; and endears the recollection of it to the latest period of mortal existence.

In the ensuing year, 1535, at the latest, Surrey's marriage with the Lady Frances Vere must have been publicly solemnized; for on the tenth of March, 1536, his eldest son Thomas was born. Surrey directed his nativity to be cast; and if the calculation transmitted to us be really that which was submitted to him, he must have had not only the pain of learning that his infant child was doomed, by the adverse aspect of the stars, to sorrow and misfortune; but that he himself was menaced with untimely death.^b

At this enlightened period we may be justly disposed to smile at such an act of idle superstition. But it ought not to lower

^a The secret groves which oft we made resound

Of pleasant plaint and of our ladies' praise;

Recording soft what grace each one had found,

What hope of speed, what dread of long delays.—*POEMS*, p. 50.

Persons thus early married were seldom permitted by their parents to live together until they had attained to full years of maturity. One of the charges given by Thomas fourth Duke of Norfolk, previous to his execution, to his son Philip, afterwards Earl of Arundel, who was then past seventeen, and had been married some time to Anne, daughter of Lord Dacres, then fifteen, was, that he should not live with his wife for two or three years to come. See the Letter in the Appendix, N^o xxxiv.

^b *Calculus Genethliacus Thomæ illust^{ssi} quondam Norfolciæ Ducis post mortem in ipsius Musæo repertus; nunc demum ex autographo transcriptus qui extat in Bibliotheca Gul. Crashavii Ministri Londinensis.*

Surrey in our esteem. It was a weakness which he shares in common with many great men. A weakness which in him may derive some excuse from the comparative darkness of the times in which he lived.*

It is probable that the Duke of Norfolk gave to Surrey on his marriage, his house at Norwich, called Surrey House, as the

Thomas Dux Norfolciæ.

Anno.	Mense.	Die.
1536.	3.	10.
Hor.	Min.	Secund.
2.	36.	7.

h² d^{us} 4^{te} ac naturalis significator patres (cum sit nocturna genitura) debilis et retrogradus: calamitates infortunæ patris post genesin filii portendit hæc directiones ostendere quæ violentam mortem patris prædicabant: fortunam nullam expectet natus.—*Ashmole MSS. N° 394.* In the scheme the year mentioned is 1538; but this must have been an error in the transcriber: I have, therefore, ventured to correct it. For at the death of the Duke of Norfolk, his grandfather, in August 1554, the young Duke who succeeded him to the title was found, on inquisition, to have been eighteen and upwards. Consequently he must have been born in 1536. There can be little doubt but that the calculation above must have been made at Surrey's direction. He certainly was a believer in judicial astrology. Lloyd, in his account of the Earl of Northampton, Surrey's second son, says, that "this Lord told his intimate secretary, M. G. Penny, that his nativity was calculated, at his father's desire, by a skilful Italian astrologer.—*Worthies*, Vol. I. p. 6.

* Surrey had in this, also, the authority of his favourite Petrarch. When Laura was born, all the stars had united their happiest influences; every aspect was favourable.

Il di che costei nacque, eran le stelle

Che producon fra voi felici effetti

In luoghi alti, ed eletti,

L'una ver l'altra con amor converse:

Venere, e'l Padre con benigni aspetti

Tenean le parti signorili, e belle;

E le luci empie, e felle

Quasi in tutto del Ciel' eran disperse.

Il Sol mai sì bel giorno non aperse:

L'aere, e la terra s'allegrava; e l'aque

Per lo mar' avean pace, e per li fiumi:

PETRARCA 2^a PARTE, Can. XLIV.

place of his residence; for his arms were long preserved there in the windows in stained glass, quartered with those of his wife, the Lady Francis Vere.^a We are not to suppose, however, that Surrey lived there constantly. In those days the English nobility had seats and castles on almost all their principal estates; and changed their residence frequently in the course of the year.^b Surrey, in all probability, divided his time between Kenninghall, Framlingham Castle, Castle Rising, Shelfhanger, Lambeth, and Norwich.^c As for his magnificent palace at St. Leonard's, called Mount Surrey; that was not begun by him till some years after his marriage; though, according to the extravagant account of his life hitherto received, he must have been at this time employed in rearing it.^d

^a I am indebted for this notice to the Rev. J. Dallaway, Earl Marshal's Secretary, whose readiness to assist me in my inquiries on the subject of these Memoirs, I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to acknowledge.

^b Lowth, in his *Life of William of Wyckham*, describes that exalted Prelate, whose honoured name ranks in the highest place among those Benefactors of mankind, who

SUI MEMORES ALIOS FECERE MERENDO,

as dividing his year between no less than ten or twelve places of residence.

^c The remains of Framlingham Castle, in Suffolk, still shew what the grandeur of that mansion must have been in former days. Of Kenninghall, no part is now standing. It was pulled down in 1650. It was built by Thomas, the Great Duke of Norfolk, in a style of princely magnificence, on the site of an old palace, the residence of the east Anglian kings: whence its ancient name Cyning-hale. The office of chief butler was annexed to the possessor of the place by Edward the Third. The house built by the Duke of Norfolk was in the shape of an H, fronting east and west. In the reign of Edward the Sixth the Princess Mary lived there: and afterwards, on her accession to the throne, the Princess Elizabeth. There is a lane on the premises still called Bess Lane, from a traditionary story that the Lady Elizabeth riding in it, was once torn by the brambles. *Gough's Camden*, Vol. I. p. 103. *Bloomfield*, Vol. I. p. 215.

^d *Drayton's Works*, p. 132. Ed. 1748. It may be thought extraordinary that Surrey should have been married at this early period; this being the time when he has been gene-

Surrey may be now said to have entered upon life ; and at his very entrance into it received a mournful proof of that sad vicissitude of sorrow and disappointment, which clouds the transient gleam of human enjoyment, and is inseparable from a state of trial.

On the first of May, his cousin, the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, became publicly the object of Henry's displeasure. On the second she was arrested and sent to the Tower; where spies attended, who watched every look, and noted every word, to obtain some ground of accusation against her ; and justify the charges on which it was resolved even then, that she should be condemned.

On the 15th of May the unfortunate Queen was brought to trial. The Duke of Norfolk presided as Lord High Steward; and Surrey sat under him as his representative as Earl Marshal. The Duke of Norfolk may be supposed to have attended on that occasion without any strong feelings of personal regret; for there is reason to believe that he was not then on terms of friendship with his niece.* But Surrey was a person of a lively sensibility, and of an highly generous turn of mind. His feelings had not been exasperated by private animosity, nor blunted by intercourse with the world. He, therefore, could not but

rally supposed to have been occupied with his love for the fair Geraldine. The fact, however, is incontrovertible. Warton, indeed, says, that Surrey did not marry "until he had outlived his unfortunate attachment for Geraldine." *Hist. E. Poet.* Vol. III. p. 10. But that elegant writer must have been misled in his authorities. Geraldine was not born till 1528 ; therefore, in 1535, she could not have been more than seven years old.

* "What malice both my nieces, that it pleased the King's Highness to marry, [Anne Boleyn, and the Lady Katharine Howard,] did bear unto me is not unknown to such Lords as kept them in this house [the Tower, where Norfolk was then a prisoner,] as my Lady ———, my Lady Tyrwhitt, my Lady Kingston, and others; which heard what they said of me." Duke of Norfolk's letter to the council. *Cotton MSS. Titus, B. 1.* See Appendix XXXVII.

have grieved, when he heard the unavailing defence, and afterwards witnessed the unjust condemnation of an helpless woman, to whom the playfulness of innocence was imputed as a crime; and whose only offence was that of having a younger, and a more fortunate rival in the affections of her capricious husband.^a

Contrary to the expectation of all who heard her defence, Anne Boleyn was found guilty; and sentence was pronounced upon her by the Duke of Norfolk. On this she was remanded to the Tower; and orders were sent for her execution on the 19th.^b The horrid impatience with which Henry waited for that event; and the unfeeling levity shewed by him when he heard it announced, whilst it reveals the motive for his own conduct, establishes the innocence of his devoted Queen. The oak is, I believe, yet existing, called Henry's Oak, in Epping Forest, under which that King breakfasted, his hounds and his attendant train for hunting beside him, on the morning upon which he had directed Anne Boleyn to be beheaded. There he remained until he heard the gun fired, which was to be the signal

^a Anne Boleyn, in her affecting letter to Henry, earnestly sued for a public trial: "that thus, she said, whatever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife; but to follow your affection already settled on that party for whose sake I am now as I am: whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto you; your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein." *State Trials*, Vol. XI. p. 14.

^b Among the Harleian MSS. is one (N^o 2194,) which giving some minute particulars of Anne Boleyn's trial, tells us, "That the Queen being of an excellent quick wit, and a ready speaker, did so answer to all objections; that had the Peers given in their verdict according to the expectation, she had been acquitted; but they, among whom the Duke of Suffolk, the King's brother-in-law, was chief, wholly applying themselves to the King's humour, pronounced her guilty; whereupon the Duke of Norfolk was bound to proceed accordingly to the verdict." In that MS. Anne Boleyn's father is enumerated among those who sat as her judges. This shews that Burnet's first account, *Hist.* Vol. I. p. 202. was not wholly without foundation: though he retracted it at p. 364.

to mark the time of the striking off her head. No sooner did he hear it than starting up he exclaimed; "Ah! Ah! it is done! the business is done. Uncouple the hounds. Let us now follow the sport." It is painful to add, for it reflects discredit upon human nature, that Henry after his return from hunting, that very evening, married the Lady Jane Seymour.^a The gentler emotions of pity must have been long extinguished in Henry's breast: but something was due from common decency and common sympathy on the part of the Lady Jane, to the memory of the former Queen. Whatever triumph she might have felt at her own exaltation; when she received the King into her arms she could not have forgotten that the blood was not yet cold which had been shed to purchase for her the dangerous pre-eminence, which she lived but a short time to enjoy.

The execution of Anne Boleyn in May, 1536, was succeeded by another event of domestic calamity, which seems to have made a sensible impression upon Surrey's feeling mind. On the June following, his uncle, the Lord Thomas Howard, was attainted of high treason, and committed to the Tower, for having married the Lady Margaret Douglas without the King's permission. When we consider that no act of Parliament then existed to make such a contract criminal; and compare the different fate of Brandon, who had ventured unpermitted to marry Henry's own sister, we must refer the treatment which Lord Thomas Howard experienced to motives of personal resentment. He languished in confinement nearly two years in the Tower, where he died at last of a broken heart.^b

^a Rapin's Hist. by Tindal, Vol. VI. p. 577. Ed. 1757.—As this anecdote bears the appearance of being a traditionary story, we will hope that, like most stories of that description, it may not be altogether true.

^b Surrey's Poems, p. 27. A tradition is preserved in the family that he was poisoned. Certain it is that the Lady Margaret, who had herself been committed to prison, was liberated immediately upon her husband's death. The marriage was evidently one of mu-

But Surrey was destined to experience yet another, and that an heavier loss soon after, in the death of his friend, the Duke of Richmond. That amiable youth died, at about the age of seventeen, on the twenty-second of July. He is described to have been of a weakly constitution; but of a disposition so courteous and affable, and of such high attainments in learning and in every personal accomplishment, that his death was a subject of regret to the nation at large. The warmth of feeling with which Surrey speaks of him, ten years after his decease; and his declaration, that the recollection of that sorrow was even then so fresh in his mind, as to render him insensible to other subsequent calamities, proves the greatness of the regard which Surrey bore him.^a

tual attachment. The death of the Lord Thomas, however, did not entirely reconcile Henry to his niece; he seems to have cherished resentment for a long time against her. She was severely reproved for having entertained two servants who had belonged to her former husband though she declares that the cause for which she took them was the poverty in which she saw them; and *for no cause else*. "But seeing, my Lord, that it is your pleasure that I should keep none that ever did belong to my Lord Thomas, I will put them from me; and I beseech you not to think that *any fancy doth remain* in me as touching him; but that all my study and care is how to please the King's Grace, and to continue in his favour." *Cotton MSS. Vespasian. F. xiii.* That was an hard tyranny indeed which extended itself even to the affections. The letter is interesting as having been written by the mother of the ill-fated Darnly, whose descendants in the next century were destined to occupy the English throne: it is given in the Appendix, No. VII.

^a Surrey's Poems, p. 50. Hollinshed, Vol. III. p. 798, who promised to give a particular account of Richmond in his History of the Dukes of the land. Herbert in his MS. Collections, Vol. II. p. 125, has the following notice: "I gather also out of some treatises between the King and the Emperor, that he laboured to make his natural son Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond Duke of Milan, upon some advantageous conditions proposed to that end. And certainly had he lived it would have appeared that the King held him in singular esteem, as being studious of learning, and given to military exercises." We are surprized to find that this amiable youth was one of the few persons who attended Anne Boleyn's execution. *Burnet*, Vol. II. p. 204. Borbonius wrote a short poem on his death. It is of no particular merit. *Poemata*, lib. 5. Ed. 1540, p. 294. See also *Fuller's Worthies*.

It was soon after the death of the Duke of Richmond that Surrey is supposed to have taken his romantic tour into Italy; where we are told that he maintained, in obedience to the Fair Geraldine's commands, in tilts and tournaments, the superiority of her charms to those of all her sex; attracting the admiration of every court through which he passed in his chivalrous career.

As there is something pleasing in the picture here drawn, of an high-minded and honourable lover thus gallantly employed; I feel some reluctance in stating, that the whole of this romantic story is purely fiction.

Anthony à Wood is the first author by whom it is related, as a real occurrence; and he quotes Drayton as his authority. Wood's narrative, however, proves that he borrowed the account from a little romance written by Nash, and published in 1593, containing the adventures of an imaginary person called Jack Wilton. Wood does not cite Nash. He had his reasons for silence. He knew that a reference to Nash's work would have destroyed the credit of his narrative.

No one, I trust, will think that the account of Surrey's romantic travels requires a serious refutation, who is informed that the fair Geraldine, for whose sake, and at whose command, they were undertaken, was at that time little more than seven years old.

To believe that Surrey could have seen Geraldine then languishing on a couch, bewailing his absence in all the tenderness of ardent passion; or to give any credit to the story which represents her, a prey to jealous doubts and fears, anxiously entreating her lover to guard his heart against the seductive charms of the Italian ladies, and hasten his return, that their mutual love might be crowned by a blissful union; when she was only a child in the nursery, and Surrey himself a married man, would betray a credulity altogether irrational.

But as it may be said that no generally received opinion is entirely devoid of foundation, I will give a brief account of the whole story; which will be sufficient to expose its want of authenticity.

Jack Wilton, the hero of the Romance, whence the story is taken, begins by telling us that he went with the English army, in the early part of Henry the Eighth's reign, to the sieges of Tournay and Terouenne, as a tapster; and that he afterwards returned to England, where he remained till the sweating sickness induced him to go abroad. He then entered into the French service, and describes himself to have been present at the battle of Marignan, and the taking of Milan. Afterwards hearing of the wars in Germany, he went thither, and saw the taking of Munster. He then tells us that he set out on his return home; but that meeting at Middleborough with the Earl of Surrey, he was easily persuaded to accompany him on his travels into Italy.

At Middleborough the travellers were joined by Sir Thomas More, with whom they went to Rotterdam, to pay a visit to Erasmus. Surrey is described as enjoying there for some time the conversation of those learned men, who, when he left them, were preparing, the one to write his Praise of Folly; the other his Utopia. Surrey and Jack Wilton then proceeded to Wittenburgh, where they were present at a dispute between Luther and Carlostadius. Surrey there began his acquaintance with Cornelius Agrippa, who at Erasmus's desire, "for Erasmus was not wanting to that honourable meeting," conjured up the Ghost of Tully that he might hear him recite his oration for Roscius; which he did "with such fervent exaltation of spirits, and such soul stirring gestures, as filled all the auditors with amazement." After witnessing this, and many other proofs of the magician's art, Surrey went, we are told, to the Emperor's court. He there renewed his acquaintance with Agrippa, who

gratified him with the sight of the fair Geraldine in a magic mirror. He then hastened to Italy, but stopt unfortunately at Venice, at which place he was engaged in a series of disgraceful and dishonourable intrigues with a common courtesan (a practice which Wilton tells us was not unusual with his master), in consequence of which he was flung into prison, and remained in confinement several months, until he was liberated at the intervention of Pietro Aretino, and Russel, the English ambassador.

Surrey being freed from his confinement went to Florence. We are told that he there visited the house, and the very chamber in which Geraldine was born; and then published his challenge against the whole world, in honour of her beauty. The Duke of Florence inquired who the unknown knight was; and having learnt that it was a person of Surrey's high rank and character, he allowed the challenge to proceed. Then follows a long account of the tilts and tournaments which were held on the occasion. Surrey is proclaimed victor* (but no mention whatsoever is made of any shield given to him, as the reward of his valour) and Geraldine is declared to be the fairest of women.^a

Full of admiration at Surrey's gallantry and skill in arms, the Duke of Florence (Paschal de Medicis) offered the youthful hero large proffers to remain with him at his Court; but Surrey declined the invitation; and was preparing to celebrate fresh tournaments in the other great towns in Italy, when he was suddenly ordered to return home by letters from the King. Jack Wilton then continues his adventures by himself.

^a One of the traditions alledged in support of the story of Surrey's travels, is that of the shield which it was said was given to him by the Duke of Florence, when the tournament was ended. A shield is preserved in the Duke of Norfolk's family, which is considered to be the trophy in question. By the Duke of Norfolk's kindness I have been

The absurdities and anachronisms of this narrative are such at every line, as prove it to be entitled to no credit whatsoever.^a

gratified with a sight of that curious and beautiful relique. For the following accurate description of it, I am indebted to Mr. Dallaway. "The shield given after a tournament to the Earl of Surrey, by Cosmo the Second, Grand Duke of Tuscany, is two feet in diameter, and of an hemispherical form. It is composed of wood, covered with thick canvas, painted by Giovanni Stradano (Johannes Stradanus) who is mentioned by Vasari. The exterior subject is Curtius leaping into the Gulph. The inside is divided into two compartments. The one represents Porsenna at the altar; the other Cocles defending the Sublician Bridge. It is painted in chiaro-oscuro; the colours much heightened with gold. It is preserved among the Archives at Norfolk House." I am afraid that the name of Stradanus alone is sufficient to destroy the authenticity of the tradition. Stradanus was not born till the year 1536; the very year in which Surrey is reported to have had the shield given to him. It seems to me probable, that this shield was purchased by the Earl of Arundel, that great patron of the arts, during his residence in Italy: and as it was preserved with much care; when the story of Surrey's tournament at Florence became generally believed, it was easy to conjecture that the shield might have been won by him upon that occasion. The conjecture once advanced would easily be converted into a fact. In the picture of the Earl of Arundel's family, painted by Vandyke, and engraved by Vertue, one of the sons is represented as bearing this shield. Had it really been won by Surrey, it would have found a place in some of his portraits. What authority Warton had for saying that Surrey "presented the shield to the Duke before the tournament began," I have not been able to learn. *Hist. Eng. Poet.* Vol. III. p. 4.

^a The following are a few only of the anachronisms with which the story of Jack Wilton abounds. Surrey is supposed to set out on his tour in August or September 1536, about the time it is said, when Munster was taken. But Munster was taken in June 1535. Sir T. Moore, whom he is mentioned to have met on his road, was beheaded in May 1535, having been confined more than a whole year previous in the Tower. He wrote his *Utopia* in 1516. Erasmus died at Basle in 1536; and he wrote his *Praise of Folly* in 1509. Cornelius Agrippa passed the last years of his life in France, and died in 1535. Russel was never ambassador at Venice. Can it be necessary to expose further the palpable errors of this wild romance! I will but add that the Fair Geraldine was born in Ireland. How then could Surrey have contemplated with such rapture the very chamber, "which was illuminatively honoured with her radiant conception" at Florence. The credit given to this absurd story is the more surprising, as Nash, in his dedication, says expressly; "all that in this phantastical treatise I can promise, is some reasonable conveyance of history, and variety of mirth." That author would not deserve much attention who should follow Miss Lee's *Romance of the Recess*, as his authority in writing a life of the Duke of Norfolk.

That Walpole, and Warton, and subsequent writers should have repeated the story after Anthony à Wood, is to be lamented; because the weight of their names has served for a long time to give to an unmeaning fiction, the seeming authority of history.

To those writers, however, not much blame ought to attach. They might not have had the means of detecting Wood's inaccuracy. In him, the suppression of the real authority on which the story rested; and the giving the story itself studiously in a mutilated state, is a breach of that good faith which every author owes to the public, and deserves severe reprehension. If Wood wishes us to believe that Surrey appeared at Florence as the romantic lover, whose generous ardour entitled him to admiration, why does he conceal his having acted so disgraceful and dishonourable a part at Venice? Both the facts rest upon the same authority; and either we must admit, or reject both.^a

We may safely assert therefore, that Surrey did not travel through Italy in the manner hitherto so generally believed. I think it doubtful whether he went to Italy at all. Had he ever been there, we should have found some mention of the places which he had visited; some allusion to the remains of art which he had seen. The native places of his favourite poets, Petrarch and Ariosto, could not have passed unnoticed. They would have drawn from him some expressions of admiration or delight. Whereas in no part of Surrey's writings do we find the slightest reference whatever to the name of Italy. There is one

^a As the History of Jack Wilton is extremely scarce, that part of it which relates to Surrey's story is given entire in the Appendix, N° VIII. I know but of two copies of the work existing. Mr. Malone's, from which the extract was made; and Wood's own copy, preserved among his books at Oxford. The reader will see that Wood did not even stop to alter Nash's words. Nash's work was published 1594.—Drayton's Heroical Epistles, in 1598.

passage indeed, and but one, wherein he intimates his visiting a southern climate.

“ And now, though on the sun I drive,

“ Whose fervent heat all things decays.

But the poet who could magnify a journey to the Scottish border, as the being driven into

—————Boreas' reign

“ Where hoary frosts the fruits do bite :

“ When hills were spread, and every plain

“ With stormy winter's mantle white,

might have called even a journey into France an approximation to the sun. From such vague expressions as these no certain conclusions can be drawn.^a

Laying aside therefore, all mention of his travels into Italy, until some better proof of their reality shall be discovered, we proceed to state that Surrey, in 1536 and 1537, must have been engaged in pursuits of a far different nature at home.

We have already mentioned that his marriage with the Lady Frances Vere, was solemnized in the course of the summer of 1535; that on the 10th of March, in 1536, his eldest son Thomas,

^a Puttenham may be cited as an early author, asserting the reality of Surrey's travels into Italy. His words are as follows. “ In the latter end of King Henry's reign sprung up a new company of courtly makers (poets,) of whom Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, and Henry, Earl of Surrey, were the two chieftains. Who, having travelled into Italy, and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and style of the Italian poesy ; as novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of poesy.” *Art of Eng. Poe.* p. 48. Now, if this passage, be understood literally, it can be considered only as a proof that the tradition was then current. I conceive, however, that Puttenham, in his quaint and conceited manner, means no more than that Surrey and Wyatt formed themselves on the study of the Italian writers. The phrase is still retained. We say that an author has travelled into Greece for such or such a thought, who has borrowed it from a Greek writer. It may be a question whether Nash did not build his detailed account of Surrey's Travels from this expression of Puttenham. Jack Wilton was published in 1594; the Art of English Poetry in 1589.

afterwards Duke of Norfolk, was born; and that he was present at the Coronation of Anne Boleyn, on the ensuing Whitsunday. On the 18th of the October following, he received the honour of Knighthood from the King, at St. James's; which honour was conferred upon him with much ceremony, when Seymour was created Earl of Hertford, and Wriothsley Earl of Southampton.^a

On the 14th of October, in 1537, when the Lady Jane Seymour was buried, Surrey was appointed one of the chief mourners.^b On new year's day 1538 he was present at Court, and gave, as was then the custom for the principal nobility to do, a new year's gift to the King:^c and in the spring of 1539, Henry, his youngest son, was born.^d All these notices, of no importance in themselves, are sufficient to warrant a conclusion that Surrey was not rambling abroad on a vague romantic pursuit; but that he was engaged in fulfilling, as became him, his duties

^a *Cotton MSS. Claud. C. III. p. 127.*

^b *Cotton MSS. Arm. I. 14.*—There is a letter in the same Collection which speaks of the Lady Jane as having been attended in her last moments by her Confessor, "who did that which appertained to his office," and also by Master Stevyn, who was to minister to her the Sacrament of Unction." So imperfect was the Reformation at that moment among us.—*Nero C. X.*

^c "Item.—Three gilt bowls with a cover, having thereupon a double rose: the shanks of the bowls chased upright; and the feet graven in one pane. Given by the Earl of Surrey on new year's day, anno. xxix. weighing 69 oz."—*MS. Account of H. VIII. Jewels. Library of Society of Antiquaries.*—In the same book we have the following entry:—"Item. A collar of gold with knots and flowers of the Garter, poiz. 37 oz. with a George on a shield with ten small diamonds, poiz. vi. oz. which collar was the late Earl of Surrey's, containing liiii knots and Garters." It was delivered to Ed. VI. to wear at his coronation. Probably it was a collar of great beauty and magnificence. Perhaps it may be still in existence among the Royal Jewels.

^d *Fuller's Worthies and Brydges' Eng Peers*, p. 237.—Stow seems to be the general authority for saying that he was born at Shotisham, in Norfolk. But Shotisham belonged to the Whites—*Bloomfield*, Vol. V. p. 305. I apprehend there is some mistake. Lloyd says he was born at Shoreham, in Sussex.—*Worthies*, Vol. I. p. 67. I have never heard that Surrey had any residence there. Perhaps Soham, in Suffolk, where the family had an house of residence, is intended.

at home; either in the bosom of his own family, or at Court; whither his station and rank in life, and the places which he enjoyed must have frequently called him.^a

As Surrey's attachment to the Fair Geraldine cannot but be considered as a real occurrence, some period must be assigned for its existence. I think none so probable as the present; namely the autumn 1539 (for Surrey particularly describes his passion to have begun in autumn), or at latest that of 1540. The reality of the passion indeed has been called in question; and with some shew of reason. For the circumstance of Surrey's being a young married man, living with his wife in perfect harmony, his family increasing around him; at the very time when he is said to have been wholly engrossed with his passion for another, forms a strong objection to the fact. Had Surrey been a man of dissolute manners, indeed; or had the general character of those times been that of licentious intrigue, the objection would not have much weight. But those

^a Immediately on Surrey's disgrace, Lord Gray wrote thus to the King:—"Perceiving by Mr. Secretary Paget, that the office of the Stewardship of your Majesty's Court of Augmentations which my Lord of Norfolk had, is not meant by your Highness to be any longer continued; yet, if there be any other office that either he, or my Lord of Surrey had, now in your Majesty's disposition, which your Majesty thinking me meet therefore, would please to bestow upon me, I should be better able to serve your Highness."—*Foreign Correspondence*, Vol. VII. What these places were which Surrey held, I have not been able to ascertain. I suspect that he held some offices in the Duchy of Lancaster. I find in several arrangements for the attendance of the Nobility at Court, that he is constantly ranked the first of all the Earls.—*Cotton MSS.* C. XIV. Sometimes he seems to have taken precedence of the Lord Chamberlain. *Cotton MSS. Appen.* No. XXVIII. In the *Lansdown MSS.* No. II. he is mentioned as one of the King's cupbearers, and to have been one of those who had "Bouche at court; as being of the King's Chamber." Much might be ascertained if the Records in the Exchequer Office could be consulted. But the treasures of that Court are reduced to no better order than the Sybilline leaves, when once the wind had scattered them: and those who go to examine them like the disappointed inquirers of old,

"Inconsulti abeunt, sedemque odère Sybillæ."

were days, though of less refinement, of greater decency than the present: and Surrey was distinguished by a strong sense of religious duty, and a scrupulous regard to every moral obligation.

These discordancies may be reconciled by supposing Surrey to have deceived himself in his attachment, by the fallacious notion of Platonic love; a vain phantasm, in which the bent of his studies, and the romantic turn of his mind might lead him to indulge. Like many a person who has been misled by the same fatal delusion; he thought he trod secure on the brink of danger; and confident in the purity of his intentions,

Incessit per ignes

Suppositos cineri doloso.

But this point will be more properly considered, when we speak of the Fair Geraldine hereafter. I will only observe at present; that, admitting the reality of the attachment, it never seems to have produced any material effect on Surrey's general behaviour.

In the silent hour of reflection indeed, and in intervals of retirement from public business, we may suppose him to have sometimes pined with sorrow, when the thought occurred, what grief it was

“To live, and lack the thing should ease his pain.”

Alone, in the country, we may figure him to ourselves, as “withdrawing from every haunted place;” that there he might “more covertly complain;” and in the warmth of his feelings lament, that while all the objects around him seemed animated with joy, he alone was unhappy. But as far as his conduct was concerned, we do not trace that his passion ever betrayed him into any action unbecoming his character in life; or that he

ever left any duty unfulfilled for the gratification of his feelings. Viewed in this light, Surrey's attachment to the Fair Geraldine is of little importance.

In 1540, on the Feast of the Epiphany, Henry married the Lady Anne of Cleves. He is said to have early conceived a disgust at her person, and to have resolved on a divorce. Nevertheless he treated her with every demonstration of kindness and respect. In her honour, solemn jousts and tournaments were proclaimed for the May-day next ensuing. The proclamation was made in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain against all comers. The challengers were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir George Carew, Anthony Kingston, and Thomas Cromwell; all of them experienced soldiers, and the most renowned men for feats of arms in the kingdom. Against these challengers appeared, on the appointed day, forty-six defendants. The foremost of them was the youthful Surrey; richly arrayed in all the splendour of knightly magnificence.

On the first day the appellants maintained the jousts. Surrey issued out the first of the defendants, and ran eight courses against Sir John Dudley; and acquitted himself with great honour. On the day following the challengers did tourney with swords, on horseback. The defendants were twenty-nine in number. They were again headed by Surrey; who was again opposed to Sir John Dudley; and acquitted himself with as much honour as on the day preceding. Both Surrey and his antagonist lost their gauntlets in the first course; their courage and address were so equal, and the encounter so severe. The barriers were held on the 5th, after which the challengers broke up. The King was so well pleased with their conduct, and the great magnificence with which they kept their house during the whole

of the tournament, that he not only expressed his satisfaction, but dismissed them with considerable presents.^a

At the close of this year we find Surrey for the first time taking an active part in public affairs. Jealousies and discontents had begun for some time to shew themselves between the French, and the English Courts. Mutual representations were made; but neither party was satisfied. The French built a fort at Ardres, and threw a bridge over the river on which that town stands, into the English pale: it was destroyed by the English; but immediately rebuilt by the French. Advertised of this hostile disposition on the part of the French, Henry determined on putting Guisnes into a proper state of defence. For that purpose he sent over a large number of workmen; and a sufficient body of troops for their protection. This was magnified in France. It was reported that Henry was sending over a large army, with proportionate equipments. Francis immediately directed the Duke of Vendome to go to the frontiers of Picardy and oppose by force any hostile measures of the English. This looked like a prelude to an open rupture. Henry therefore sent over Surrey, with Lord Russell, and the Earl of Southampton, to see that every thing within the English pale was in a proper state of defence.

The commission did not detain Surrey long in France. He returned to England before Christmas, having acquitted himself entirely to the King's satisfaction.^b

^a See *Harl. MSS.* N° LXIX. and *Hollinshed*, Vol. III. p. 816, where he gives a particular account of the princely manner in which Henry expressed his approbation of the challengers for their magnificent hospitality during the time they kept open house. The order of St. John of Rhodes being at that time dissolved, and the revenues falling in to the Crown, the King "gave to each of the challengers for a reward of their valiantness 100 marks, and an house to dwell in, out of the said lands for ever."

^b *Hollinshed*, Vol. III. p. 820.

In the course of the next year an occurrence of a private nature happened, which shews at once the generosity of Surrey's temper; and the warmth of his friendships. Thomas Clere, Surrey's faithful attendant, of whom future mention will be made, was struck by Sir Edmund Knevett within the precincts of the palace. Knevett was a person of high credit at Court; he was powerfully connected; and nearly related to the Duke of Norfolk's family. Nevertheless, Surrey did not hesitate to support his friend Clere with all his influence. Knevett was brought to trial. He confessed his offence, and made submission. Upon which, by Surrey's means, the case was so favourably reported to the King, that all the penalties, which were numerous, were remitted; and Knevett was dismissed without any mark of displeasure.^a

^a *Holinshed ut sup.* p. 821. From the Privy Council Book, it appears, that the affray took place on the 27th of April. Both Knevett and Clere were committed to custody until the affair could be inquired into. Knevett was proved to have struck and drawn blood from Clere, and was condemned accordingly. The penalty for the offence was imprisonment, confiscation of goods, and loss of the right hand. The manner of inflicting this last part of the punishment is curious. The detail is taken from Holinshed. The prisoner being found guilty, there were called to do execution: "first, the serjeant surgeon, with the instruments appertaining to his office; the serjeant of the wood-yard, with the mallet, and the block whereupon the hand should lie; the master cook for the king, with the knife; the serjeant of the larder, to set the knife right on the joint; the serjeant ferrer, with the searing irons to sear the veins; the serjeant of the poultry, with a cock, which cock should have his head smitten off upon the same block, and with the same knife; the yeoman of the chandry, with sear cloths; the yeoman of the skullery, with a pan of fire to heat the irons, a chaffer of water to cool the ends of the irons, and two forms for all officers to set their stuff on; the serjeant of the cellar, with wine, ale, and beer. The yeoman of the ewrie, in the serjeants stead, who was absent, with bason, ewer, and towels." Being informed that every thing was ready for the infliction of the sentence, Sir E. Knevett desired that the King of his benign grace would pardon him his right hand, and take his left. "For," quoth he, "if my right hand be spared, I may, hereafter, do such good service to his Grace as shall please him to appoint." This being favourably reported to the king, he was pleased to remit the whole sentence, "in consideration of Sir Edmund's gentle heart."

As England was now at peace, both at home and abroad; and there was no public business of any importance to engage Surrey's attention, we may suppose him to have been occupied chiefly at this time in literary pursuits: perhaps in his translations from Virgil. In all the subsequent years of his life he was so much engaged in active service, that he could not well have found afterwards the leisure which such a work required.

In the autumn of this year Surrey was appointed, conjointly with his father the Duke of Norfolk, Steward of the University of Cambridge. From that appointment we may reasonably infer, that Surrey had belonged formerly to that University. At all events we may conclude that he stood high in the public opinion as a scholar; and as a friend of learning, and of learned men. The instrument bears date the eighth of September.*

On the twenty-third of April, in 1542, Surrey received a still higher distinction. He was made Knight of the Garter: an honour which Henry did not confer lightly upon any one. He granted it to those only whose abilities and fidelity had been long approved; or, of whose future conduct great expectations were formed.^b

Notwithstanding this mark of royal favour, we find Surrey on the thirteenth of July following in disgrace, for having chal-

* See the instrument in the Appendix, N° IX.

^b *Anstis' Order of the Garter*, Vol. II. p. 423. It ought to be noted, that Surrey received this mark of favour from the King about two months after the disgrace of the Queen Catherine Howard: which affords a convincing proof that neither his father nor himself owed their subsequent downfall, as some have imagined, to any anger which Henry had conceived against them on the occasion of that lady's misconduct. So free was the Duke from any imputation on this head, that he even made a merit of having contributed to the discovery of his niece's guilt. Some of the family, indeed, were proved to have been privy to it; and were punished for concealing what they knew. They were all, however, pardoned afterwards, and restored to the same degree of favour which they had enjoyed before.

lenged John à Leigh, a person of good family at Stockwell, in Middlesex, on the ground of a private quarrel. What the subject of that quarrel was, we have no means of ascertaining. We might conjecture, however, and the conjecture would not be wholly fanciful, that it had some reference to the Fair Geraldine. The present was the precise period at which Surrey complained of his mistress's insincerity; and remonstrated with her for the preference she had shewn to a rival, whom he considered to be greatly his inferior.^a Surrey was not of a temper to suffer a rival to triumph with impunity. That he was the person to blame is manifest, from his having been sent to the Fleet in consequence. Two servants were allowed to attend upon him; but no one was suffered to resort to banquet with him.^b It was on the occasion of this confinement that Surrey wrote the letter which stands the first in his correspondence; in which he requests to be liberated, or, at least, to be removed to an healthier place of confinement; and condemns himself for having been led, in the unbridled heat of youth, to adventure his life in a private quarrel. He concludes by promising to redeem his past error whenever he should be permitted to devote his life to the King's service.

^a "I see her pleasant chere" in chiefest of thy suit :

When thou art gone I see him come" that gathers up the fruit.

And eke in thy respect," I see the base degree

Of him to whom she gave the heart" that promised was to thee.

POEMS, p. 29.

This John à Leigh seems to have been of a turbulent and restless disposition. He was committed to the Fleet, by order of the Privy Council, for some misconduct in August, 1547, and was bound in £2,000 for his future good behaviour. In the November following, however, we find him again committed to the Fleet. *Privy Council Books.*

^b "At Asher, the 13th of July, 1542. A letter was sent to the warden of the Fleet to receive the Earl of Surrey, to remain there prisoner during the king's pleasure, having two of his servants to attend upon him; and to suffer none to resort to banquet with him." *Privy Council Books.*

Surrey made several applications before his request was attended to. At length he was removed, by order of Council, to Windsor on the first of August.^a On the fifth he was liberated, having entered into a recognizance of 10,000 marks not to offer any injury to John à Leigh, or to any of his friends in future.^b

It was not long before Surrey had an opportunity of distinguishing himself, as he had promised he would do when occasion offered, in his master's service.

War had been declared with Scotland; and a considerable army was levied, and put under the command of the Duke of Norfolk, who advanced in August as far as York. Commissioners were then sent from either party to treat of a peace. The negotiations lasted during the whole of September. At length it became evident, that the Scotch were insincere, and sought only to gain time, thinking that the English army would be compelled to disband at the approach of winter. In consequence of this, the Duke of Norfolk had orders to commence hostilities.

On the twenty-first of October he entered Scotland at the head of more than 20,000 men. Surrey bore an active part in this expedition. In what capacity he served under his father is not accurately ascertained. It has been said that he was lieutenant-general: by which we may understand that he was appointed the second in command.

The year was so far advanced, that Norfolk could not penetrate a great way into Scotland. He remained, however, eight

^a "At Windsor, the first of August. A letter was sent to the warden of the Fleet, to repair to Court on Saturday next ensuing the date hereof, and to bring with him the Earl of Surrey." *Privy Council Books, ut sup.*

^b "At Windsor, the fifth of August. Henricus Comes Surriæ, etc. Domino Regi x. mille. marc' solvend. Dom. Regi, etc. The condition of this recognizance is such, as if the above bounden Earl of Surrey do, neither by himself, his servants, or any other at his procurement, any bodily displeasure, either by word or deed, to John à Leigh, Esq. or any of his, this, &c. or else, &c." *Privy Council Books, ut sup.*

days within the Scottish border, during which time he laid waste the country to a considerable extent, and burnt a large number of towns and villages. Surrey describes himself particularly to have been present at the burning of Kelsal.^a

The weather proving more than commonly severe, Norfolk was compelled to hasten his return to Berwick. He arrived there in November; and having dismissed a large part of his army, he put the rest into winter quarters.

After his return from the northern expedition, Surrey resided chiefly in London. We collect this from a singular occurrence, which is interesting as it marks the romantic turn of Surrey's mind; and enables us to form some opinion as to the nature of his sentiments on the subject of Religion.

On the first of April Surrey was summoned before the Privy Council to answer to two charges which had been brought against him. The one was for having eaten flesh in Lent, contrary to the Royal prohibition. The other was a charge of an extraordinary nature. He was accused of having walked at night in an unseemly and disorderly manner through the streets of London, breaking windows with a cross bow.^b

To the first charge Surrey replied by alleging a licence; and on this point he held himself absolved, though he admitted that he had eaten flesh more openly than, in strict propriety, he ought to have done.

^a See the *Epitaph on Clere* in *Surrey's Poems*, p. 48. *Holinshed*, *ut sup.* p. 828, and *Herbert*, p. 544.

^b "At St. James's, the first day of April, 1543. The Earl of Surrey being sent for to appear before the Council, was charged by the said presence as well of eating flesh, as of a lewd and unseemly manner of walking in the night about the streets, and breaking with stone-bows of certain windows. And touching the eating of flesh, he alleged a licence; albeit he had not so secretly used the same as appertained: and touching the stone-bows, he could not deny but he had very evil doings therein, submitting himself, therefore, to such punishment as should to them be thought good; whereupon he was committed to the Fleet" *Privy Council Book*, *ut sup.*

The truth of the second charge he allowed; and as far as it was a breach of the peace, he submitted himself to such punishment as the Privy Council should think proper to inflict. He besought them, however, not to impute the offence to a light and disorderly turn of mind; such as would disgrace him at his years, and be unworthy of his rank and station in life.

“My motive,” he said, “was a religious one, though I confess that it lies open to misconstruction. It grieved me, my Lords, to see the licentious manners of the citizens of London. They resembled the manners of Papal Rome in her corruptest state, and not those of a Christian communion. Was I to suffer these unhappy men to perish without warning? That common charity forbade. The remonstrances of their Spiritual pastors had been urged, I knew, in vain. I therefore went at midnight through the streets, and shot from my cross-bow at their windows, that the stones passing noiseless through the air, and breaking in suddenly upon their guilty secrecy, might remind them of the suddenness of that punishment which the Scriptures tell us Divine Justice will inflict on impenitent sinners; and so lead them to a reformation of manners.”^a

Surrey's defence, at no time admissible, at that particular juncture was certain of not being favourably received. Henry's fickle and versatile politics had induced him to quarrel with the Court of France, and to unite himself to the Emperor. The result of this alliance was, that the partisans of Popery received encouragement; while the friends of the Reformation were regarded with an evil eye. Surrey was, therefore, committed to the Fleet; and his companions, Pickering, and young Wyatt, who in Mary's reign was executed for taking arms in his zeal to

^a See “Satire against the Citizens of London,” p. 53.

serve the Protestant cause, were committed likewise. Wyatt to the Counter, and Pickering to the Porter's Lodge; whence they were afterwards both removed to the Tower.^a

Wild and extravagant as this attempt at reformation may be justly deemed, thus much is certain; it was the result of sincerity on the part of Surrey: it grew out of that romantic turn of thought and enthusiastic mode of contemplating common objects, which was peculiar to him. Neither was it the only effort made by him, as he expressly tells us,

“ To succour Truth, and falsehood to assail :”

though we have not been informed, in the other instances, what were the modes of conduct he pursued; or what was the success, he met with.^b

How long Surrey remained a prisoner in the Fleet is not known. It was during his confinement there that he wrote, in all probability, his Satire on the Citizens of London; against whom his resentment was directed particularly, as the com-

^a “ The same day [April the first,] were also called Thomas Wyatt and young Pickering; and being charged with the same offences, they confessed the first, alleging therefore their [licence]: but in the second, touching the stone bows, they utterly stood denial, notwithstanding they were condemned to shew the truth thereof upon their allegiance: whereupon Wyatt was commanded to the Counter, and Pickering to the Porter's Lodge. *Privy Coun. Books, ut sup.* The next day they were called again before the council, and, after some resistance, at last confessed the offence; on which they were committed to the Tower. They were not liberated till the third of May ensuing, entering then into a recognisance of 200*l.* each for their good behaviour. *Ibid.* 89. No notice is taken of the time of Surrey's liberation.

^b *Poems*, p. 80, l. 3, and again, p. 81, l. 17. From the above occurrence we may reasonably infer Surrey was no Papist. Had he not been a friend to the Protestant cause, he would not have thus associated himself with Wyatt, the avowed champion of that cause; neither would he have applied the Scriptural term of Babylon to the Romish church.

plaint upon which he was apprehended had originated with the Mayor, and chief officers of the city.* It is not unlikely but that he wrote at the same time his beautiful Elegy on Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had died a short time before of a fever, caught on his journey to Plymouth; whither he had been sent to meet and to conduct the Spanish ambassador to London. The commission with which that ambassador was charged, was to conclude a treaty of alliance between the English King and the Emperor; in which it was settled, that Charles should invade France early in the ensuing year, and that Henry should assist him with a body of 10,000 men, to be employed for three months, wherever the Emperor should direct. This treaty was announced publicly on the twelfth of July, accompanied with a declaration of war against France.

The troops which Henry had engaged to supply were raised, and sent over early in the year to Calais, under the command of Sir John Wallop; one of the most experienced generals of his age. It was late however in the summer before the Emperor could take the field. He had been detained a long time in Italy in negotiations with the Pope, whom he wished to detach from his alliance with France; and he had also been obliged to spend some time in reducing the Duke of Cleves to submission. At length he was enabled to commence his operations, which he resolved on doing by laying siege to Landrecy. The English commander received orders to advance accordingly.

Wallop began his march from Guisnes on the twenty-third of

* "March 31.—The Mayor and the Recorder of London, with certain of the aldermen, exhibited to the Council, containing certain misdemeanors and abuses used within the city, touching eating of flesh in Lent, and the breaking of sundry windows in the night in divers places of the said city, and the licentious manners of players, &c." —*Privy Council Book, ut sup.* This was the occasion of Surrey's opening his Satire thus:

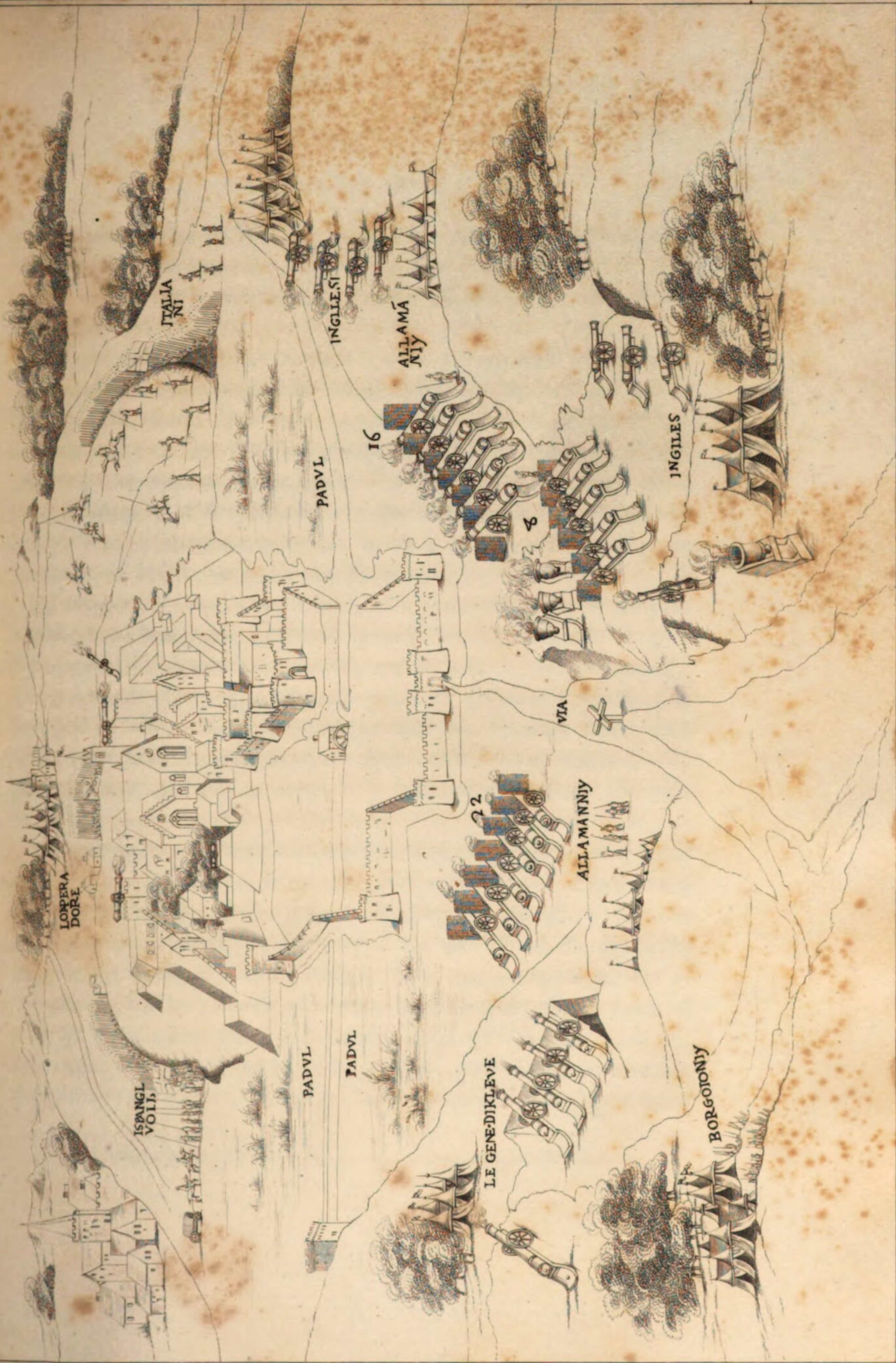
"London! hast thou accused me?" *Poem, p. 53.*

July. Passing by Terouenne,^a he got to Bethune on the thirty-first, where he remained till the fifth of August. On the twenty-second he formed a junction with the Emperor's army near Quesnoy; on the thirty-first the united army left Quesnoy, and on the fourteenth of September they encamped at Fontaine au Bois, one mile from Landrecy. On the twenty-fifth they approached still nearer, and afterwards invested the town.

An armament of so great magnitude, conducted by a commander of such high reputation as Sir John Wallop was, could not fail of attracting attention; especially as it was known that the Emperor intended to join the army in person; and that Francis had declared he would put himself at the head of his own army and risk a general engagement, rather than suffer Landrecy to be retaken; for it was a conquest which he had just made from the Emperor. It was for some time believed in England that the Duke of Norfolk would have joined the expedition; probably as a volunteer; for there seems no reason to suppose that Wallop would have been superseded in the command. Norfolk however was detained at home. But Surrey eagerly embraced this favourable opportunity of seeing service. He set out accordingly for the army, with letters from his father, re-

^a Wallop, in passing by Terouenne, wrote, in the true style of chivalry, a letter to the Commandant, "being an old acquaintance," telling him that if he had any gentlemen under his charge "who were willing to break a staff for their ladies' sake," six gentlemen from the English army should be sent to meet them. See Appendix, N° X. This spirit of gallantry was not peculiar to the English. Du Bellay tells us that "Passant l'Armée Imperiale par devant Chalons, ceux de la ville connoissant que l'Empereur passoit outre sans les vouloir attaquer, la Juenese de M. de Nevers sortit à l'escarmouche pour reconnoitre l'ennemie et rompre leurs lances pour l'Amour de leurs Dames." *Mem. per Servir à l'Histoire, &c.* Vol. XXI. p. 187.

^b As this expedition is very slightly mentioned by our early historians, I have given in the Appendix, N° X. a succinct but accurate journal of it from the original official letters in the State Paper Office. They occupy the greater part of the fourth volume of the collection, entitled, "French Correspondence."



commending him to Wallop's particular care. The Duke said that he had sent his son purposely to learn the science of war, under so great a master of it as he considered the English commander to be.

Surrey arrived at the camp before Landrecy on the beginning of October, accompanied by Blage, and his faithful attendant Clere. He found the siege begun. He was honourably received, not only by Wallop, but by the Grand Master and the Duke of Arscott, the commanders of the Emperor's army; who told Wallop, that they considered the attendance of a person of Surrey's rank and consequence, to be a mark of friendship on the part of Henry towards the Emperor.^a

Immediately upon his arrival Surrey was taken by Wallop to see the trenches. He exposed himself to considerable danger by approaching too near to the enemy's fire. His attendant, Blage, narrowly escaped from a piece of ordnance which was levelled at him. He then went to see the Spanish lines, and was conducted through them by the Grand Master himself, who came out in person to meet him half way between the two camps.^b

Surrey seems to have lost no opportunity that presented itself during the whole of the siege, of seeing service, and of acquiring knowledge in the art of war. Wallop in his dispatches to government desired Paget to inform the Duke of Norfolk, that "my Lord of Surrey hath lost no time since his arrival at the army; for he visiteth all things that be meet for a man of war to look upon for his learning: and such a siege hath not been seen this long time in these parties, and things devised for the getting of a town as this is; and although they have been

^a See Appendix, N^o XI.

^b See Appendix, N^o XI.

slow in doing the same, yet it groweth now to a right good perfection."

But the event did not answer Wallop's expectation. The Emperor indeed joined the army in person on the nineteenth of October, and expressed his satisfaction equally at the appearance of the English troops, and the dispositions which Wallop had made.*

The siege in consequence was pressed with greater vigour. Some of the outworks were carried. A battery of mortars was constructed by which the town was set on fire;^b soon after this a practicable breach was made, and arrangements were formed for a general assault: but the Emperor hearing that the French King was advancing at the head of a considerable army, called a council of war on the fourth of November. At this council Surrey assisted.^c After much deliberation it was thought advisable to raise the siege. Winter was now fast approaching; the roads were growing bad; and in a short time they would be impracticable. The allied army therefore broke up from before Landrecy, and advanced to give the French battle. Some partial actions took place; but Francis having flung succours into the town, prudently declined a general engagement, contenting himself with having saved the place. On the ninth of November, finding it no longer possible to keep the field, the English and Spanish army separated. The Emperor's troops went into winter quarters at Cambray. The English, after a tedious and

* See Appendix, N^o XIII.

^b This is the particular circumstance by which Surrey marked his having been at this siege.

Following whose steps thou sawest Kelsal blaze,
Landrecy burn, and battered Boulogne render.

Epitaph on Clere, Poems.

Wallop also minutely describes the event in one of his dispatches, which will be found in the Appendix, N^o XII.

* See Appendix, N^o XIV.

painful march, arrived at Calais on the twenty-second, having with great difficulty brought their artillery to Douay, where they were obliged to leave it until the Emperor supplied them with the means of removing it to Calais.

The result of this campaign was more honourable to the French than to the allies. The siege, however, was thus far beneficial to the English, as it served to form both their officers and their men; and gave them experience in military matters, which they could not have otherwise^a attained. With Wallop's conduct Henry was pleased to declare himself fully satisfied.^a Warmed with his master's approbation, the veteran commander thus expressed his joy: "Gentle Mr. Secretary, I "promise you," he says, "that I desire in this world no more "than to serve his Majesty according to his contentation; and "if his Majesty be pleased with the same, I wish no other recom- "pence. Rewarded and considered I am already by his Ma- "jesty much more than I have deserved: and from henceforth "will not ask, or look for other thing, but only a merry look "of his Highness, when his pleasure shall be that I may repair "into his presence; which hath been, and shall be, a prolon- "gation of my life."^b

There is something so artless in Wallop's mode of expressing himself, that we cannot easily believe him to have used the language of courtly adulation only.

Surrey came back, no doubt, with the army to England, in November. I find however, no mention of him, or of the

^a "I promise your Majesty," said Wallop, writing to the King, "that in all the wars I have been in, I have not seen such another time for youth to learn, as at our being before Landrecy, especially sithens th' Emperor's coming; who brought with him horsemen and foot of all nations; so as your Majesty's men here might learn, and chose what fashion they liked best." *Records, State Paper Office, ut supra.*

^b French Correspondence, *ut sup.* Vol. IV. N^o 86.

pursuits in which he was engaged after his return. It is not improbable but that he devoted this interval of leisure to the building, or at least to the finishing that magnificent seat which he is known to have erected at St. Leonard's, near Norwich, on the site of an ancient cell of Benedictine friars.^a

Of this palace nothing more than the name, for the spot is still called Mount Surrey, and a few ruined walls remain. It was pillaged and greatly impaired, at the time of Kett's rebellion, in 1554. For when that rebel had advanced to Norwich, he occupied the hill whereon Mount Surrey stood, as an advantageous position, which gave him the command of the town. The house he converted into a common prison; and as such it remained in his hands till the forces arrived, which were sent against him under the Earl of Warwick. Soon after the arrival of a regular army the rebels were dispersed. Kett, their leader, fled. He was taken and executed, and public tranquillity was restored. But Mount Surrey was so much impaired through the injuries which it had sustained, that it seems to have been never after inhabited, and was therefore suffered to sink gradually into ruins. Who is there even at this remote period, that will not lament the effects of that wanton act of popular fury?

Mount Surrey is described to have been a building of more than common magnificence.^b It was one which accorded with the commanding situation whereon it stood; and bore impressed upon it that character of grandeur which formed a leading feature in the mind of him who raised it.

^a Bloomfield's Norfolk, Vol. IV. p. 427. Tanner's Not. Mon. Norfolk, LVII. Its value was £85. 15s. The grant was made to Surrey xxxiii^o H. 8ⁱ.

^b Exin collem Sancti Leonardi, Urbi Norwicensi ex adversum cepère; quo in loco Comes Surreius, præclaram ædificaverat et plenam dignitatis domum; cui infra flumen publicum præterlabitur quod medium inter civitatem et collem interfluit, habetque ex occidente et meridie sylvam et villulam Thorpensem; ex oriente vero, ac septentrione con-

Nor is this the only circumstance that makes us regret the destruction of the place. The style of its architecture was purely Grecian. We are told that it was the first specimen of a building formed correctly on ancient models, seen in this kingdom.^a

It was about the time when Surrey was engaged in finishing his new palace, that he received into his family the celebrated Hadrian Junius, one of the most eminent scholars of those days; who wanted nothing perhaps but a steady and an enlightened patron to have advanced the cause of learning among us more extensively than he was enabled to do. Junius had become acquainted with Bishop Bonner at the siege of Landrecy; and Bonner professing to admire his talents had invited him into England; holding out to him such flattering prospects as induced him to undertake the journey. But Bonner seems not to have had the means of assisting Junius on his arrival.^b He was introduced, however, to Surrey; who received him into the family in the quality of a Physician; and allotted him apart-

pascua Mousholdica quæ amplius millia passuum sex in longitudinem ac latitudinem protenduntur. Hic illi, furorum cubilia, ac quasi castra locarunt, et in silvosis illis latibulis canum instar delitescentes, omnia jura divina et humana polluerunt. Quinetiam domum illam magnificentissimam homines impurissimi invaserunt: atque omnibus in locis scelerum suorum impressa vestigia reliquerunt.—*De Furore Norfolkensi Ketto duce Alexander Nevylle*, 1575. 4° p. 30.—See also *Bloomfield's Norfolk*, Vol. IV. p. 426.

^a Though John of Padua was architect to Henry the VIIIth, no particular work has been attributed to him in the Grecian style but Somerset House: which was not built till the reign of Edward VIth. Walpole considers Holmby House as our earliest specimen of regular architecture. But that house was built as late as 1583. The Porta Honoris, and the Porta Sapientiæ, at Caius College, Cambridge, were built earlier. The latter of these was built in 1565, the former in 1573. Holbein is said to have had some skill in architecture. But did no more than give the design for the gate at Wilton. *Munimenta Antiqua*, and *Walpole's Anec. of Painting*, Vol. I. Who the architect employed by Surrey was, we have no means of learning. The Italian spies he was said to have entertained about his person, were probably no other than Italian artists.

^b *Had. Junii Epis.* p. 178.

ments at Kenninghall, which continued for some time after to bear his name. He gave him also a yearly pension of fifty angels: no insignificant sum for those days.^a Henry deemed a pension of ten pounds a year sufficient for Ascham, who educated the Princess Elizabeth.

Surrey's reception of Junius into his family is not the only instance that has come to our knowledge of the protection afforded by him to men of genius. The famous old Court Poet, Churchyard, was taken into his service about the same period. What situation Churchyard occupied in Surrey's family, we are not told. He might have been a page attending immediately upon his person; for Churchyard always called himself "Gentleman;" and considered himself as coming of gentle blood. Whatever his situation was, he received in Surrey's family those advantages of liberal education which his mother's generous disposition would lead him to bestow upon a youth (for Churchyard could not then have been more than ten years old) in whom he saw marks of a lively genius, and a fondness for learning. Churchyard, towards the close of his life, gratefully acknowledges that he owed what skill he possessed in composition to Surrey's liberality.^b

^a See *Epist.* p. 392. and *Note* ^a, at page xvii. Junius intimates that he stood high in Surrey's favour.—*Evocatus ego à verè regio Juvene, Comite Surreio, Nordofolciæ Reguli filio; et quidem opimiorè præmio, loquacè honorabiliore habitus quidvis consecuturus videbar intimæ ejus amicitia adhibitus, donec inversâ ut aiunt testulâ, ille calumniis adpetitus capite oppugnatus, fortunis eversis, suâ ruinâ totam etiam familiam involvit, atque pessundedit.*—*Epis.* p. 178. On Surrey's death Junius entered into the service of some lady of quality as physician: her name is not mentioned. He was encouraged under the new Government: for we find him receiving, March 30, the IVth of Edward VI. by order of Privy Council, £25 for "making and dedicating seven books to the King." He then went to his own country, where he married: but in the reign of Elizabeth he returned again to England; and appears to have been received on terms of friendship by the Duke of Norfolk and his family.—*Epis.* p. 203.

^b See *Churchyard's Chips*, Part I. fo. 2. 1575.—The extract is too long for a note: it will be found in the Appendix, No. XV. Churchyard in the second Part of his Chips,

But Surrey was not permitted to indulge long in the peaceful pursuits of literature, and in the cultivation of the polite arts. Henry had resolved upon prosecuting with vigour the war which he had begun the year preceding with France. A plan of operations was arranged between the Emperor and himself, in which it was settled that Henry, without stopping to lay siege to any place by the way, should march directly to Paris, through Picardy, at the head of 30,000 English, who were to be reinforced by a body of 10,000 Germans, under the command of Count Buren : while the Emperor was to advance with all the forces he could collect on the French capital, from the Netherlands, through Champagne. Their plan appeared so certain of success that they had in contemplation nothing less than a partition of the French dominions.^a

Henry's army was ready by the middle of July. It was divided into three parts. The vanguard was put under the command of the Duke of Norfolk ; and the rearguard under that of Lord Russell, the Lord Privy Seal : while the main army called the King's Battle, because he intended to take the command of it in person, was put, for the time, under the direction of the Duke of Suffolk. Surrey was appointed Marshal of the Army. An office of so great importance as that was, would not have been given to him, if he had not established an high character for skill and courage, both in the expedition into Scotland, and at the siege of Landrecy.^b

enumerating his works, mentions his having published "An Epitaph on the Earl of Surrey." This probably was printed on a single sheet. Could it be recovered, we might hope to find in it some details of Surrey's life.

^a See the *Memoires of Du-Bellay*, in the *General Collection of French Memoirs*, Vol. XXI. p. 150 ; and *Memoires de Montluc*. *Ibid.* Vol. XXII. p. 302.

^b "The Lord Marshal of an army, above all other officers, ought to be a most approved soldier : for howsoever in the greatness of other great places in the wars, there may be a dispensation of skill : countenance and virtue being as requisite as knowledge and judgment :

But though the troops were all assembled, Henry sent no orders for their march. Inactivity did not accord with Surrey's eager and enterprising spirit. Hearing therefore that the English fleet was at sea, he went as a volunteer for the interval, on board the *Harry Grace à Dieu*, with Lord Lisle the High Admiral, for he had learned that an attack upon the French fleet was in contemplation; and that hopes were entertained of bringing it to a general action. In this expectation he was disappointed. He remained on board, however, until notice was received that the army had orders to advance. Surrey then joined, and took his command.^a

The van and rearguard crossed over to Calais about Whitsunday; and passing by Boulogne proceeded towards Montreuil, near which place they were met by the Emperor's contingent of 10,000 foot and 3 or 4,000 horse. But the junction being made, the English army, instead of pressing on to Paris, stopped short, and laid siege to Montreuil. Henry it seems never had it seriously in contemplation to march to Paris.^b He limited his views to the conquest of Boulogne; which place

yet in this office it may not be so: for this man, above all others, hath the greatest place and direction in all the army. Next the General, the Lord Marshal hath the supreme command of the field: and therefore his trumpet is first in the morning to discharge the watch, and his troop ought first of all to be mounted: for it is an honour which the army alloweth him by reason of the infinite pains which he taketh in his own particular person.—

Markham's Deeds of War, p. 190.—See also *Ryches' Pathway to Military Practice*, 4to. 1587.—Some authors have said that Surrey was made a Field-Marshal. I apprehend this is a mistake, originating in a misconception of the nature of the office of Marshal of the Army.

^a *Haines' State Papers*, p. 52.—Hadrian Junius in his *Epistles* seems to allude to this expedition, p. 37.

^b “And whereas in your said letter to my Lord of Suffolk, and the Master of his Horse, you are desirous to know of his Majesty's determination for his own proceedings; his Majesty hath willed us to signify unto you *to be kept secret, unto your Lordship, and Mr. Treasurer*, that his Majesty mindeth to lay siege to Boulogne.—*Dispatches to*

was of importance, not only as it would contribute to the defence of the English possessions around Guisnes and Calais; but as it would protect the English coast itself from insult. For our navy had not then acquired that proud pre-eminence to which it has since attained. Instead of being, what they have since become, an impenetrable bulwark to defy the utmost efforts of combining nations, our fleets at that period were not always able to cope with those of France alone; or to preserve the communication open between Dover and Calais. Henry therefore justly deemed it a point of no trivial import to obtain possession of Boulogne.

The advance of the English to Montreuil deceived the French as to Henry's real views. They thought that it was his intention to proceed to Paris. The Mareschal de Biez therefore, who commanded in Boulogne, immediately left the charge of that place to his son-in-law Mons. de Vervins, a young and inexperienced officer; and flung himself into Montreuil, with the resolution of defending it to the last extremity; and thus give Francis time to cover the capital.

No sooner, however, did Henry find that the attention of the French was diverted from Boulogne, than he ordered the Duke of Suffolk to proceed with the centre of the army. Suffolk marched accordingly; and coming suddenly before Boulogne invested that place on the nineteenth of July. The King himself followed on the twenty-sixth, and taking the command in person, pushed the siege with vigour.

Nothing was wanting at the camp before Boulogne to ensure the fall of that place. The case was different at Montreuil.

the D. of Norfolk, Harl. MSS. No. 6989. In the same volume are two other letters which clearly prove, the just cause Norfolk had to be dissatisfied with persons at home, in withholding the assistance he required.

Notwithstanding the earnest and repeated representations which the Duke of Norfolk made both to the Council in England, and to those who were in command at Boulogne, he could obtain neither sufficient ammunition nor artillery, nor money to pay his troops. In vain did he urge that unless he was better supplied the service would suffer, and his Majesty's honour be impaired. In vain did he entreat Suffolk "by all the old love, and acquaintance which had of a long continuance subsisted between them," to afford him some assistance. He stated that his troops were sickly; that the foreigners were discontented; and that the enemy was increasing both in numbers and in confidence. But without effect. He had the mortification to find that his letters were disregarded; and he learned, what gave him greater pain, that his conduct was misrepresented. "Sorry am I," said the Duke, "that it is my fortune thus in my old days to be spoken of! But," continued he, "it is often seen that such men's doings be taken much better, than some other men's be: and often times it chanceth words to be spoken of some, in their absence, for whom such as they most esteem to be their friends will scarcely answer."^a

The fact was that the Earl of Hertford, who had long regarded the Duke of Norfolk and his gallant son, the noble Surrey, with a jealous eye, had succeeded in alienating to a certain degree the King's confidence from them. Norfolk had occasion to see this at the beginning of the expedition; and had made some complaints in consequence, which were reported to the King.^b This did not tend to conciliate matters; and as the proper supplies were not sent, a suspicion is excited of their

^a *Records. French Correspondence, Vol. V. No. 17.*

^b The story is preserved in *Ulpian Fulwell's Flower of Fame*, fol. 34.

having been withheld, that Norfolk's failure might be the ground of future accusation.

Under these circumstances Norfolk acted as became a wise and an honourable man. He omitted no exertion on his own part; and finding that it was not practicable to carry the place by force, he cut off all its supplies, and reduced it to such distress that it was upon the point of capitulating. "We know of truth," said Norfolk, writing to the King, "that many of them eat horse-flesh; and some of their soldiers, gentlemen, Italians, are glad to eat of a cat, well larded, and call it dainty meat."^a

Surrey throughout the whole course of the siege seconded his Father's exertions with a zeal and an ability, which, had the object been attainable, would have ensured the capture of Montreuil. On one occasion hearing that the French were assembling in the neighbourhood of Abbeville, he went to reconnoitre at the head of a considerable body of men. He proceeded as far as Abbeville, and burnt the suburbs of that place; having previously defeated the garrison which came out in force to defend them. He also destroyed St. Requier, a considerable town beyond Abbeville: and pillaged Riew, another town on the sea coast. Afterwards hearing that the main body of the French army was advancing, he retreated to Montreuil, driving the whole country, and bringing with him a large quantity of supplies of which the camp stood greatly in need,

^a *Records, ut sup.* Vol. IV. No. 27.—Those who were acquainted with Henry's character knew that he was fond of hearing at all times a merry story, and loved a merry look. This accounts for Norfolk's introducing so trifling a circumstance as the above into a serious dispatch. Another of Henry's peculiarities was, his desire of having men of large stature and comely appearance around him. Sir Ralph Sadler is said to have been almost the only little man whom he employed confidentially, and liked personally.

without the loss of a single man: Surrey was out on this expedition two days and two nights.^a

At another time, a little before the siege was raised, when an attempt was made to take Montreuil by storm, Surrey put himself at the head of the troops, with that personal intrepidity for which his family was ever distinguished, and succeeded in establishing himself in the Abbeville Gate. But they failed of taking the town; Surrey being dangerously, and as it was supposed at the time mortally wounded. He owed his life to the attachment and bravery of his faithful attendant Clere, who carried his master safe out of the field of battle; though in so doing he received a wound, in consequence of which he died some few months after.^b

At Boulogne, however, every thing succeeded to Henry's wishes. By the end of August a practicable breach was made. The attempt to storm it, indeed, was not successful, owing to the valour and activity of Philip de Corse, an officer acting under Mons. de Vervins. But Corse being soon after killed, and a mine sprung which made a breach in the walls of the Castle, de Vervins offered to capitulate. The inhabitants remonstrated with indignation against the measure. They pledged themselves for the safety of the place if they might be permitted to defend it. They

^a See *Appendix*, No. XVI. and *Holinshed*, p. 843.—Holinshed is very particular in his account of the siege of Montreuil, and mentions many gallant actions performed by the young noblemen serving at it. But he says he could not but lament the negligence used at that season; there not being one English writer then extant who had written any thing effectually of that siege; so that he was compelled to rest on the authority of the French historians, p. 842.

^b This anecdote is preserved in *Surrey's Epitaph on Clere. Poems*, p. 48.—The D. of Norfolk in his dispatches of the 19th of September, mentions his intention of attacking the Abbeville Gate. That probably was the assault in which Surrey was hurt. It must have been immediately after his return from Boulogne. Clere died the following April, in his twenty-eighth year. He was buried at Lambeth.

even urged that certain advice was received of the approach of the French army.

De Vervins was inflexible: he said that he had promised to capitulate, and would not forfeit his word. To this promise he adhered so rigidly that afterwards, when a violent storm of wind and rain had greatly distressed and injured the English camp, and a well directed attack must have compelled Henry to raise the siege; he refused to avail himself of the advantage.^a

Surrey, who had come over from Montreuil to see the mine sprung upon the eleventh of September, remained before Boulogne till the fourteenth. On that day Boulogne surrendered. Surrey attended Henry when he went to receive the keys of the place, which were formally given up to him at the gates of the town. He returned immediately after to Montreuil. He was accompanied on this occasion by his Uncle, the Lord William Howard, and his faithful attendant, Clere.^b

Thus terminated the siege of Boulogne: in the course of which nothing was enterprised that reflected credit on the English arms.

If the accounts given by the French writers of those times be true, Henry owed his success to treachery. Thus far, at least, is certain. De Vervins was afterwards brought to trial for his conduct on the occasion. He was charged with having agreed with the Earl of Hertford to capitulate for the sum of 150,000 Rose-nobles; and with having procured the assassination of Phillipe de Corse; whose honest bravery had thwarted his treacherous designs. The charges were considered as having been fully proved; and De Vervins was beheaded.^c

^a See *Du Bellay dans les Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire*, &c. Vol. XXI. p. 198.

^b *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. VI. p. 3, p. 121, and the *Epitaph on Clere*, *Poems*, p. 48.

^c De Vielleville gives a particular and interesting account of the conversation of Francis the First with the President on the occasion of De Vervin's trial. See *Appendix*, N^o XXII.

As the Emperor himself, instead of marching directly to Paris, had lost considerable time in laying siege to St. Dizier, it may be questioned whether Henry can be justly chargeable with breach of faith for having stopped to secure to himself the possession of Boulogne. That he acted impolitically in so doing, there is no denying; for he thus gave the Emperor a pretext to make a separate peace with France, which he did soon after; and he lost the opportunity of strengthening and aggrandizing himself. All the French historians admit, that had the allied armies pursued the plan which had been agreed upon, and advanced to Paris, the ruin of France had been inevitable.*

De Biez was pardoned, but he lived in disgrace, and died shortly after of grief. There must have been some truth in the story of De Vervins' treachery. Vielleville details a conversation that passed between Somerset and himself, relative to the event, when he was ambassador in England, in Edward the Sixth's reign. Somerset had been boasting of the conquests made by the English formerly in France. "Ha! Monsieur," replied Vielleville, "ne le prenez pas là! car il n'étoit pas dans la puissance de six Rois d'Angleterre de faire telles conquêtes en France s'il n'eussent eu les Ducs de Bretagne et de Bourgogne pour confederés, parens et amis." "Et Boulogne" dit le Duc, depuis que ces deux Princes là sont éteints! que vous en semble?" "Il me semble," repondit il, "que vous ne la devez appeller conquête, mais plutôt achât; car nous tenons prisonniers en la Bastille de Paris les traitres qui la vous ont vendu." Cette parole chargea de rougeur le visage du Duc de Somerset, car il étoit le premier en ce marché. *Memoirs, &c. ut sup.* p. 317. De Vervins seems to have been a person of no conduct. Norfolk complained of his disorderly behaviour after quitting Boulogne. *Records, ut sup.* Vol. IV. N° 33. Among the Cotton MSS. Tiberius, E. XVIII. are the summons to De Vervins to surrender, and his answer: but the MS. is so much burnt, that it is of little use as reference. De Vervins gave the English herald 20 crowns and a flagon of wine, and made him good cheer.

* Mais Dieu qui a toujours voulu conserver ce Royaume le fit [Henry VIII.] changer d'opinion. Il entreprit de conquerer Boulogne & Montreuil, ce qui a été la ruine par apres du Royaume d'Angleterre: ainsi que l'on pourra connoître par ceux que écriront des choses advenues du regne du Roi Henri, à present regnant. Vol. XXI. p. 182. Du Bellay mentions that it was the advice of a great number of Henry's council to make a descent in Normandy; which province being absolutely defenceless, the English might without opposition have marched to Paris. *Ibid.* p. 181.

Pleased with the attainment of Boulogne, by whatever means acquired, Henry continued inactive before that town, from the day of its capitulation until the eighteenth, when, with much useless parade, he took possession of it.

On the twenty-fifth he sent 5000 men to the Duke of Norfolk at Montreuil. Had that reinforcement been sent on the thirteenth when it could have been spared from Boulogne, Montreuil might have been taken. As it was, the reinforcement came too late to be of any further service than to enable Norfolk to break up and retire, as he did immediately after, in good order. He had long foreseen that this measure was unavoidable; and knowing that the French were advancing, had expressed a wish that the King were safe in England, or at least at Calais.

Certain advice being received that the Dauphin was near at hand, with more than 50,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, Norfolk called a Council of war, which met in Sir Francis Bryan's camp on the twenty-eighth of September. They there ascertained that the English army was so much enfeebled by sickness, and so diminished in numbers, (especially as Count Buren had been directed by the Emperor to withdraw his troops), that they deemed it would be the height of imprudence to risk a general engagement, by remaining any longer before the town. They determined therefore that Lord Russell should break up that very night, and retreat to Boulogne; that the artillery should be conveyed to Estaples, whence it might be sent to England; and that the Duke himself, and Surrey, should follow the next day with the remainder of the army.^a

^a For the authorities followed in the above account, see *Holinshed*, Vol. III. p. 839, and all the early historians of those times. *Herbert*, Hen. VIII. p. 577, & seq. *Rymer's Fœdera*, and the *Memoirs of Du Bellay, De Vielleville and Montluc*. The minuter parts of the narrative are taken from the original official dispatches in the State Paper Office. Of those dispatches, such as are the most important are given in the Appendix. The whole tenor of those letters proves the difficulties with which Norfolk had to contend. On one occasion he assures the Council that some of his men had not eaten bread for two or three days.

Notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, the English sustained no loss in their retreat. This reflects considerable credit on Surrey's military skill and personal bravery; for it devolved on him, as Marshal of the Camp, to direct the march of the whole army; and it was part of his office to close the rear, as the post of danger. Norfolk reached Boulogne on the thirtieth, the very day on which Henry quitted it to return to England.

The French accuse Henry of having abandoned Boulogne with a precipitancy that threw some reflection on his courage. Certain it is that the place was left in great disorder; and that Henry would have been exposed to great danger had he staid longer there; for the Dauphin pressed the English army so close, that they were kept in constant alarm. The French cavalry even attacked the English in their position before Boulogne on the first of October, and obliged them to remain under arms all night.^a

On the third of October Norfolk withdrew to Calais, having previously examined the works of Boulogne, which were deemed sufficiently strong to resist any attack the French might make in the course of the winter.^b The miserable remains of the army, now not more than 8,000 men, sickly and dispirited, were then put into winter quarters. A garrison of 4,000 men was left in Boulogne, the command of which was given to Sir Thomas, afterwards Lord Poynings.

Poynings was an able and experienced officer. Had it not been for his activity and courage, Boulogne would have been lost a short time after it was won. For the Dauphin, disappointed at not being able to bring Norfolk, whom he had pursued nearly to the walls of Calais, to a general engagement, returned

^a See *Appendix*, N^o. XVII.

^b *Appendix*, N^o XVII.

and encamped before Boulogne.^a A reconnoissance was made by some of the principal officers in the French army, who finding that the lower town was ill provided with soldiers, and that its walls were in a ruinous state, determined upon a *camisade* on the night of the ninth of October. Their measures were so well taken, that before day-break the whole of the lower town was in their possession. Poynings made a skilful disposition of his forces from the upper town, where the strength of his garrison lay, and attacked the enemy without loss of time. He gained most of the breaches by which the French had entered, who then finding themselves on the point of being cut off from all communication with their main body, retreated with precipitation. They lost more than 800 men, besides prisoners; among whom were many officers of distinction.^b

^a Norfolk, in his dispatches to the King, speaks in terms of some contempt of the Dauphin for having failed in his various attempts upon the English army. "So as the Dauphin being disappointed to have environed our whole army at Boulogne, and to have hobbled us with horsemen, (in the further retreat to Calais), hath now hopped and leaped hither and thither, and lost well favouredly in both places; and so is likely to return without damage," i. e. without obtaining any satisfaction." *Records*, Vol. I. 1544.

^b Monluc, in his *Memoirs*, gives a detailed account of this *camisade*. Monluc was a Gascon; and never was gasconading more happily illustrated than in his narrative. "Nous etions tous abusé (he says) sur ce que nous avions oui de nos predecesseurs, qu'un Anglois battoit deux Francois:" so he proceeds to relate, that being determined to dissipate the illusion, he, at the head of six companions, attacks and puts to flight a body of two or three hundred English, and some Italian hackbutters besides. He allows, indeed, that the antient English bravery was an acknowledged point; but he accounts for it in the happiest way imaginable. "Croyez moi que les Anglois qui ont battus anciennement les Francois etoient demi Gascons: car, ils se marrioient en Gascogne, et ainsi faisoient de bons Soldat," p. 343. When, however, he goes a step further, and says "Je connois les Anglois; gens de peu de cœur; je crois qu' ils vaillent plus sur l' eau que sur la terre," p. 321, his editors are obliged to check this torrent of bravery a little, by reminding him that he had just before acknowledged himself to have been defeated by these very English. They then add, "L'Angleterre et la France n' ont rien à se reprocher à cet egard. La longue rivalité qui divise ces deux peuples a dû leur apprendre qu' ils sont dignes l' un de l' autre." In this sentiment we shall all concur. See *les Memoires de Monluc, dans les Memoires pour*

As no mention is made of Surrey upon this occasion, in either the French or the English historians, we may conclude that he was at Calais with his Father; who was painfully engaged there, with other Lords of the Council, in negotiating with the French and Spanish ambassadors on the subject of a general peace; and in an humiliating attempt to appease the anger of Henry, incensed against them for not having remained at Boulogne.^a

They succeeded in pacifying the King, though they were compelled to use terms of submission which we now should justly consider inconsistent with their high rank in life;^b but failing in their negotiations for peace, they returned to England about the middle of December.

Surrey, no doubt, returned with them; for we find him present at a Chapter of the Garter held at Hampton Court on Christmas day ensuing, when the King attended in person.^c If, however, we may credit the French historian, who was himself an eye witness to the greater part of the transactions which he describes, Surrey must have gone back to Boulogne soon after; where he distinguished himself on the following occasion.

Though the French army had been put into winter quarters at Montreuil, the Mareschal De Biez, who was left in command, had orders to make an attempt upon Boulogne whenever a proper occasion should present itself. With this design he took possession of Portet, a small village about a quarter of a league from Boulogne, thinking that this would give him the command of the harbour. The English, aware of his intention, assembled to the number of 4,000 foot and 700 horse, under the command

servir, &c. Vol. XXII. p. 444. Lord Herbert in his History relates this camisade at considerable length; and notices Monluc's gasconades. See p. 583.

^a See *Appendix*, N^o XVIII. where the King's letter, being on many accounts interesting, is given at length.

^b See *Appendix*, N^o XX. and N^o XXI.

^c *Anstis' Hist. of Garter*, Vol. II. p. 481.

of Surrey; and crossing the river at low water, fell unexpectedly on the French before they had time to strengthen themselves sufficiently in their position; and not only drove them from it with considerable loss, but compelled them to abandon their object altogether, and to retire in confusion to Montreuil. The French historian adds, that had it not been for the badness of the roads, which prevented Surrey from pursuing as rapidly as he otherwise would have done, the French army might have been entirely defeated.^a

On the twenty-third of April we find Surrey again in England, attending a Chapter of the Garter held on that day at Greenwich.^b He afterwards seems to have been either at Kenninghall, or at Lambeth, busied in raising men, and in equipping himself for the expedition, which Henry had given orders to prepare for the defence of the Boulonnois.^c

It was late in the summer before the army could be put in

^a “Durant cet hiver ne se fit de grandes entreprises si non que le Mareschal du Biez ayant mis ensemble toutes les forces qui estoient demeurees en Picardie, alla camper au Portet, (qui est un petit Port, où seulement se retirent les pecheurs) un quart de lieue deça Boulogne, etant la riviere du Pont de Brique entre la ville et lui; esperant au dessus du dit lieu tirant vers Boulogne, et le long de la côte de la mer, faire un fort pour tenir en subjection le havre de Boulogne. Mais le Milord Sorel, fils du Duc Norfolk pour rompre la dite entreprise assembla les forces que le Roi d'Angleterre avoit par deça la mer, et vint surprendre le Mareschal devant qu' il eut eu moyen de se fortifier: de sorte qu' il fut contraint de se retirer vers Montreuil, et sans l'ordre que fut mis par le Capitaine Villefranche Maitre de Camp, de Vieilles Bandes Francoises lequel demeura sur la queue, il y avoit grande apparence qu' il y eut une deroute.” *Mem. de Du Bellay, ut sup.* Vol. XXI. p. 206. Holinshed speaks of Hertford as the person who commanded, and makes no mention of Surrey. Herbert, in his MS. collections, speaks of Surrey as having had the command. In his published account he is silent respecting him.

^b *Anstis, ut sup.* p. 431.

^c See Surrey's Letters, No. II. And MSS. Herald's College, L. 14. To equip himself for this expedition, Surrey was obliged to mortgage his furniture at his seat near Norwich, to a person of the name of Spencer. See Appendix, N^o XLVII. where a detailed account of the furniture of that house is preserved.

motion, owing probably to the difficulty which Henry found in raising money ; and it was still later before the final dispositions were made for the command of it. Repeated advices however having been sent from Poynings, then commanding in Boulogne, of the danger to which it was exposed by the frequent assaults of the enemy, who had commenced the siege in form, the King at last directed the Duke of Suffolk to proceed with the main body of the army, and relieve the place. Surrey, who had been appointed from the first to the command of the vanguard, consisting of 5,000 men, with an allowance of five marks a day, had orders at the same time to advance.^a He immediately crossed over to Calais, where he was joined by a body of 3,000 troops which had been directed to put themselves under his command.

But the unexpected death of Poynings, on the seventeenth of August, and that of the Duke of Suffolk, which happened on the twenty-fifth, made a new arrangement necessary. Lord Gray was removed from his command at Guisnes to that of Boulogne; and Surrey was appointed to the command of Guisnes.^b

As he was upon the spot when the news of his appointment reached him, Surrey lost no time in proceeding to act upon it. His desire to serve was well known in England, and it was expected that "whatever was attempted against the enemy would be done by him." Nor was expectation disappointed.

Instead of shutting himself up within the walls of Guisnes, Surrey proposed encamping near a wood at some distance from

^a See two letters from Paget to Hertford, Appendix N^o XXIV. and XXV. and Acts of Council, from 1545 to 1547, among the Harl. MSS. N^o 256. All the passages in that MS. which have particular reference to Surrey's command, are brought together in the Appendix, N^o XXIII.

^b See Letter from Paget to the Earl of Hertford, Appendix, N^o XXV. and Appendix, N^o XXVI.

it, in a situation which enabled him to watch the movements of the enemy. His proposal was approved of; and he formed his camp accordingly. An advantageous opportunity presented itself soon after of attacking the garrison at Ardres. The necessary arrangements were made immediately. Lord Gray was to co-operate from Boulogne, and Surrey proceeded towards Ardres at the time appointed. But from some accident, not recorded, the plan failed. The English commanders were not able to bring the enemy to a general action. A sharp skirmish however took place, in which the French garrison was defeated with considerable loss, and Monsieur de Dampierre, the commandant at Ardres, was killed.^a

It was immediately after this engagement, which happened on the second of September, that Surrey received his appointment to go to Boulogne. His commission is dated the third. Lord Gray at the same time had orders to return to his former command at Guisnes.

This change was probably owing to Surrey's personal credit with the King, of whom he had solicited the command at Boulogne, anticipating, no doubt, much active service there.

But from a letter written by the Duke of Norfolk upon the occasion, it appears that Surrey had asked for the appointment with an earnestness which had displeased the King, and that

^a "My Lord Gray also having appointed to come with my Lord of Surrey at Guisnes, the second of this instant, and coming down to the water side to meet my said Lord of Surrey, the alarm was given; whereupon the Lord Gray returning took order for the safeguard of his men marching towards th' ennemy's; and anon after my Lords coming, the horsemen of Guines entered into skirmish with th' ennemy, where was slain Mons. de Dampierre, Captain of Arde, and many other to the number of 100, and above." *Records. Scottish Correspondence.* Vol. II. N° LIII. Holinshed omits to mention Surrey's name on this occasion. Vol. III. p. 580. Tavannes says Dampierre was wounded only. *Memoires pour servir, &c.* Vol. XXVI. p. 78.

^b *Privy Council Book*, August 31. *Appendix*, N° XXIII. and *Rymer's Fœdera*

though his request was granted, it was granted with reluctance.^a

If this was the case, we may easily account for Surrey's early removal from Boulogne. When there is a latent disposition to take offence, the most venial error, misfortune itself, becomes a crime.

Surrey however was not of a temper, or of a time of life to anticipate evils, or to imagine failure possible, when he was conscious of zeal and attachment to the service of his Sovereign. He made preparations therefore to live at Boulogne in a manner becoming both his rank in life, and the station he was to occupy there.

When Surrey went to Boulogne he found the place nearly defenceless. The breaches which had been made the preceding year had not been sufficiently repaired. The old fortifications were in a state of decay. The upper town indeed was strong, but the lower town lay open to assault whenever the enemy might choose to attempt it. The houses were for the most part ruinous, the inhabitants sickly; the several forts, owing to former mismanagement were imperfectly manned; and the magazines ill supplied with provisions.

Such was the condition of Boulogne within. From without it was surrounded with danger. The French had removed from Montreuil, and had established themselves at a place called Outreau, nearer to Boulogne than Portet. They had built moreover a fort called Chatillon, still closer to Boulogne, at the water's edge; by which means they had gained the entire command of the harbour, and could at all times fire into Base Boulogne, or cross over at low water to assail it. Besides which, their army was superior in numbers to that of the English.

^a Letters, N° IX.

This enabled them to cut off all supplies going to Boulogne; while they themselves received from Montreuil what provisions they wanted.

Under all these disadvantages Surrey entered upon his command. His attention was first directed to the re-victualling of the place, and the proper ordering of the garrison. He next examined the state of the fortifications, and drew up a plan which he submitted to the King, proposing such alterations in the works as he thought would render both the harbour and the town secure. This plan was approved of, and orders were sent to carry it into effect.^a

We cannot but lament that Surrey's original memorial upon this subject has been lost. It would have been pleasing to learn what his notions were of the mode of fortifying towns, and what his knowledge was in that important branch of military science.

Nothing could surpass Surrey's zeal and activity. A day seldom went by in which some enterprize was not attempted against the enemy. Sometimes single feats of arms were performed by individuals; as when Surrey directed his attendant Shelley, one of the bravest and most accomplished young warriors of the day, to accept a challenge which had been offered by some French Knights to any of the English who would venture to break a spear with them for their Ladies' sake.^b At other

^a *Privy Council Book*, Sep. 8, and Nov. 23. *Appendix*, N° XXIII. and *Letters*, N° VII.

^b The enemy are described as approaching the walls of the town, in defiance.

Quisque suas gestit vires per facta referre

Fortia, quæ rediens narret; Amica, probet.

Quisque alacri exoptans animo meditatur in hostem

Irruere; et proprior voce lacescit item.

times expeditions of greater importance were undertaken. On one occasion Surrey, at the head of a large body of men, advanced into the enemy's country as far as Samer au Bois, which he took and spoiled, and then returned with considerable booty safe to Boulogne.^a

These services were well received at home. We may consider it as a convincing proof of Henry's approbation of Surrey's conduct, that he conferred upon him, at this very time, a grant of the valuable Abbey of Wyndham, in Norfolk. As Surrey could not have been present to ask for this mark of royal favour, we may conclude that it was given to him unsolicited.^b

It was now the dead of winter, and the weather was uncommonly severe. But Surrey did not relax in his exertions. Hearing that the enemy intended to re-victual their camp at Outreau, he arranged a judicious plan of attack, and succeeded in compelling the French to abandon their object with considerable loss. He pursued them, though superior in numbers, as far as Hardilot, and was prevented from gaining a complete victory, through the want of cavalry. The account which he wrote

Hæc oculis cernens torvis Surreius Heros,

Quem penes Anglorum tunc stetit imperium ;

Non tulit instantes nostris illudere Gallos ;

Notaque Schellœi pectora sic acuit ;

“ Aspicias ? et patere intactos sub mœnibus hostes

“ Insolitâ demum laude referre pedem ?

“ Vade age !”—Sed multis ferventem accendere dictis

Quorsum opus ! aut alacri subdere calcar equo ?

Qua data porta ruit.

De Heroica Ed. Schellœi fortitudine inter Chaloneri Encom. Lond. 1579. Shelley kills the person who came out of the enemy's ranks to challenge him, and returns to his troop unhurt, though his horse was killed under him.

^a Letters, N° XII.

^b Tanner Notit. Monas. Norfolk, LXXVI. and Bloomfield, Vol. II. p. 58.

himself to Henry of the whole transaction, is to be found among his letters. It proves him to have had that clearness of foresight, and coolness of judgment, which are essential to form the character of a great commander.^a

This engagement took place on the fourth of December. On the seventh, having learnt that the French designed to revictual the fort by sea, Surrey gave notice of their intention to Cotton, the Vice-admiral, who availing himself of the information, waited for the French fleet near the mouth of the Somme. He attacked them unawares, dispersed them, and took seven sail laden with wine and provisions, which were brought into Boulogne.^b

It was now thought probable that the French, discouraged by so many defeats, would continue quiet during the remainder of the winter. Surrey was therefore directed to turn his attention to the fortifications of Boulogne, and to devise a plan of operations for the ensuing campaign. The King wrote to him to that effect, on the twenty-ninth of December, and sent over Bellingham, a person of high reputation, and considerable skill in military affairs, to consult and advise with him upon the subject.^c

But Surrey had anticipated the King's commands. He was fully aware of the importance of Boulogne, which he fancifully calls "a Jewell;" and of the value attached to it by Henry. He had therefore prepared, previous to Bellingham's arrival, a memorial of a plan for driving the French from their new position, whether of Outreau or Fort Chatillon is not expressly said, though the latter seems most probable, justly deeming that it was essential to the safety of Boulogne, that the enemy should be dislodged

^a Letters, N° XI.

^b Letters, N° XII.

^c See Letters, N° XV.

Chaloner, in his *Poem de Republicâ Restaurandâ*, mentions Bellingham as one of the most distinguished characters of those times. He has left us a Poem in his praise among the *Encomia*, subjoined to the Poem above mentioned. His name frequently occurs in our early historians.

from it. Surrey communicated this plan to Bellingham upon his arrival. It received, no doubt, Bellingham's approbation; for it was forwarded to the King, at Boulogne, on the fifth of January, as had been originally intended by Rogers, one of the principal engineers.

Surrey's memorial will be found among his letters. It proves him to have had great knowledge in military affairs, and reflects high credit upon his judgment and prudence; for he proposes to effect the object cautiously, without running the risk of a battle, or exposing his men to unnecessary danger. A striking instance of self command. We might rather have expected, from the ardor of youth, that he would have proposed to drive the enemy from their position by force, that he might have obtained the more brilliant, but less honourable triumph of a well fought victory in the field of battle.*

But an unexpected occurrence prevented the execution of this design. Surrey received intimation that De Biez was again advancing from Montreuil to revictual the fortress. He immediately took measures to intercept the convoy. On the seventh he sent out a detachment of 600 foot to occupy St. Etienne, a position in front of Outreau, near to which De Biez would of necessity pass, and at the same time he ordered all the horse he could muster to advance and reconnoitre.

Next morning early, Surrey, leaving two thousand men to defend Boulogne, put himself at the head of the remainder of the garrison, amounting to two thousand foot, and marched to St. Etienne, where he drew up in order of battle. The French were seen advancing; soon after their carriages, laden with provisions, skirted the sea shore, and the troops covered their flank, marching in order of battle. They had full five hundred horse, and four thousand foot. Notwithstanding his inferiority

* Letters, N° XVI.

in point of numbers, Surrey, weighing the importance of the object, and witnessing the ardour of his troops, resolved upon attacking the enemy. He formed his foot into two lines; his horse he placed on his left wing; his harquebussiers, with the archers, on his right. The French made a similar disposition of their forces. The attack was begun by the English horse, who, charging the French horse drove them out of the field, and pursued them with great slaughter to their carriages, of which they destroyed ninety. Meanwhile the foot, where Surrey commanded in person, advanced to the charge. The first rank behaved gallantly. But the second rank, when they came to the push with the pike, were seized with a sudden panic, and retreated with cowardly precipitation, first to the lines of St. Etienne, and afterwards to Boulogne, notwithstanding all the efforts which Surrey made to rally them and lead them back to the charge.^a The horse, when they found that the foot had fled, retired unmolested in good order to Boulogne.

The French, though they might claim the victory, lost more men than the English, and, what was of greater importance, they failed almost wholly of their object; for not more than twenty carriages, laden with provision, found their way into the fort. Those carriages which had not been destroyed by the English horsemen on the day of the engagement, were abandoned and pillaged the next morning on the sea shore. De Biez withdrew on the evening of the engagement to Montreuil.

The loss of the English on this occasion was only two hundred and five men; but it was severely felt from the quality of

^a It was hard on Surrey that he might not plead in his defence an excuse once used by Lord Dacres, to account for a similar panic among his men, through which he had lost 800 horse. He assures the King it was all owing to evil spirits, and that he had credible witnesses to prove that the devil himself had been seen no less than six times that night among the baggage. *Birch MSS. N° 3139.*

those who were killed. For it so happened that the first rank on which the heaviest part of the action fell, was composed chiefly of Gentlemen and Captains, who being all armed in corsletes, and wishing to distinguish themselves, had volunteered their service there. Among the number of the slain was Sir Edward Painings, an experienced soldier, and a great favourite with the King.^a

It has been generally said that this defeat was the cause of Surrey's removal from his command, and that it operated eventually to accelerate his death. I do not think there are sufficient grounds for this opinion. Surrey was continued in his command at Boulogne nearly three months after that defeat, and all his dispatches, subsequent to it, were written with the same confidence, and received with the same approbation as before. Whatever indulgencies he solicited were granted; and whatever recommendations he made were attended to. So far was Surrey from contemplating his recall as probable, that he wrote, in the beginning of March to request that his wife, the Countess, might be permitted to join him at Boulogne.^b If Surrey's request was not acceded to, this was owing to the fears which were entertained of an approaching siege, and not to any unfavourable disposition towards himself.

He soon after received a visit from Paget, the King's private secretary, who gave him no intimation that any change was in contemplation, and on the fifteenth he gained a victory over the French in a skirmish, which he deemed of sufficient importance to be noticed in a dispatch to the King, sent by Sir Andrew Flammock, the knight porter of Boulogne.^c After this he wrote a

^a See Letter N^o XVI, where the French account of that engagement will be found subjoined.

^b See Letter XXIII.

^c See Letter, N^o XXVI. This Sir Andrew Flammock was a personal favourite with the King, and was famous in those days for wit and repartee. Puttenham, in his

long letter to the King, wherein he entered at large into the state of Boulogne, suggesting the propriety of destroying the lower town, with the exception of the citadel, which he said might be connected by works to the upper town; and giving it as his opinion that Boulogne, as a military station only, would be of far greater importance than as it then was, with the appendage of a large and ruinous town, which could not be retained but at a great expense both of men and money, seeing that the situation was an unhealthy one in itself, and open to attack so long as the enemy were masters of the opposite shore;^a In all this we trace nothing to warrant the supposition that Surrey laboured under disgrace with the King, or that his removal from Boulogne was then in contemplation.

Toward the latter end of March, however, Surrey heard from Paget, informing him that Hertford had been appointed the King's lieutenant-general within the English Pale in France. This measure had been long in agitation. It was well known that Henry had resolved upon relieving Boulogne; and when it was ascertained that the nature of Hertford's commission would for the time supersede Surrey's, Paget, who was friendly to the Norfolk interest, gave it as his advice to Surrey, that he should apply for some command under Hertford, either of the

Art of Poetry, has recorded two of his jests. They are both so coarse that they cannot be repeated: they ought never to have been preserved. Gross indeed must have been the manners of the age which could have tolerated them. It is true that Henry took one of them in so evil part, that he bid Flammock "avaunt Varlet! and that he should be no more so near to him." Surrey seems to have selected Flammock to be the bearer of this dispatch, as it afforded him the means of recommending him to the King's notice; for he adds, "he is a poor man, and his service, as I have observed both in the town and in the field, hath been always of such sort as me thinketh he hath well deserved to be defended from poverty now in his old days."

^a Letters, N^o XXVI. The plan of Boulogne, with which Surrey's observations were accompanied, is perhaps that which is preserved among the Cotton MSS.

van or of the rear guard, telling him, that if he remained at Boulogne inactive during the campaign, men would either reflect upon his courage, or conceive that he was disgraced.^a

Paget's advice was grounded on his knowledge of the Earl of Hertford's ambitious views, and of the ascendancy which he had then gained over the King's mind; and he was fearful that Surrey would be exposed to considerable danger, if at that moment he were to irritate so powerful a rival. Of this the Duke of Norfolk, as high minded as his son, but more cautious from experience, was fully sensible. He had perceived the necessity of conciliating Hertford, and of strengthening himself by an alliance with that family. He had therefore proposed to marry his daughter, the Duchess of Richmond, one of the most beautiful women of the times, to Sir Thomas Seymour, Hertford's brother.^b But whether it were that the Seymours had higher views, or that the Duchess of Richmond, actuated even then by that unnatural resentment which afterwards so fatally displayed itself, was unwilling to enter into a negotiation, the result of which would be beneficial to her brother, certain it is, that the proposed union did not take place;^c and Surrey, yielding to the suggestions of his own feelings, refused to apply for any place under a man whom he treated with an ill-timed scorn, as being one of the new nobility, and a person whom he considered, perhaps, to be in every respect his inferior.

It was early in April that Hertford went over to Calais. Surrey at the same time received orders to go to England. Yet even then nothing indicated displeasure on the part of the King.

^a Letters, N^o XXVII.
and Herbert's Henry. p. 625.

^b See the Duke of Norfolk's Letter, Appendix, N^o XXIX.

^c She said that her brother also urged her to marry Sir Thomas Seymour, wishing her to endear herself so into the King's favour, that she might the better bear rule, as others had done.—Herbert, *ut supra*.

Surrey was told that Henry wished to confer with him personally on the subject of those alterations which he had proposed to make at Boulogne; a clear intimation being at the same time given to him that he was to return shortly to his command.^a Henry would not have acted thus towards a person with whose conduct he was dissatisfied.

Surrey, however, had no sooner quitted Boulogne than Lord Gray was appointed to the command there; and a vague promise was given to him of being employed in his Majesty's service elsewhere.^b This was a breach of faith which could not fail of exciting Surrey's indignation. He felt the injury the more sensibly, perhaps, as Lord Gray seems to have ever borne him personal animosity, in consequence of which he had opposed and harassed him whilst in his government at Boulogne: and afterwards treated him with studied insolence and disrespect.^c

Surrey considered Hertford, however, as the cause of his removal from the command. He therefore spoke of him in terms of severe animadversion and reproach; and being naturally warm and impatient of injury, he used expressions of contempt, mingled with menaces; and incautiously promised himself revenge in a new reign. Surrey was surrounded by secret enemies, under the name of friends. They conveyed all his unguarded speeches to Hertford; who reported them, magnified no doubt and misrepresented, to the King. Surrey was in consequence committed a prisoner to Windsor Castle.

^a Letter, No. XXVII.

^b See Privy Council Orders, Appendix, No. XXII.—Lord Gray's commission bears date April 9th, 1546.—*Rymer's Fœdera*.

^c See Letter, No. XXX.—From a passage in Letter XXIII. it should seem that some persons were endeavouring by underhand means to make a breach between Surrey and Lord Gray. That Surrey was well disposed towards Lord Gray is evident from the manner in which he speaks of him and his services in his letters.

That this was the cause of Surrey's imprisonment, and not any supposed misconduct at Boulogne, as some authors have hastily inferred, appears certain, as well from what was adduced in evidence on Surrey's trial afterwards, as from a letter written by the Duke of Norfolk to the Council: in which he acknowledges the King's goodness in having informed him "of some foolish demeanour on the part of his son," requesting that he might be "earnestly handled; to prevent his giving cause for discontent in future."^a This letter bears date the fifteenth of July, which gives us the time of Surrey's imprisonment. Had his conduct at Boulogne been the real cause of his disgrace he would have been committed immediately upon his return from his command. But so little does Surrey seem to have been out of favour when he came back to England, that we find him assisting in his place as usual, at a Chapter of the Garter, which was held at St. James's on the twenty-third of April.^b

^a In *Lord Herbert's MS. Collection* the following notice occurs:—"A letter from the D. of Norfolk to the Lords of the Council—he intreats them to give the King thanks that it hath pleased his Majesty so to advertise me of my foolish son's demeanour, &c. I am glad my said son used himself humbly and repentently. Well! I pray God he may often remember and not trust too much to his own wit, &c. Wherein your Lordship's advertisements may do him much good, &c. And much more if his Majesty be pleased to cause the same to be spoken on his behalf, &c. I desire you, that my son may be so earnestly handled, that he may have regard hereafter so to use himself, that he may give his Majesty no cause of discontent."

^b *Anstis' Hist. of Order of Garter*, Vol. II. p. 434.—It was only a few days before, that he had lost his friend and favourite attendant, Clere. He died April the 14th, and was buried at Lambeth, in the chapel belonging to the Howard family. Surrey seems to have been very liberal to him. He made over to him all his rights in the Manor of Wyndham, which he had received by grant from the King, the 26th of November, 1545. On the 12th of May previous, he sold to him the Manor of Bradcarehall and the Rectory of Shropham in Norfolk.—*Pat. Rolls*. The warmth of regard which Surrey bore this faithful friend and attendant is beautifully expressed in the Epitaph which he wrote upon him. See *Poems*, p. 48. The verses were engraved on a tablet, suspended on the wall near to the tomb, upon which was the following simple inscription,

But Surrey's imprisonment in Windsor Castle, though he seems to have resented it deeply, could not have been of long duration: for we find him in attendance on the King at the beginning of the ensuing August, when the French Ambassador, sent to ratify the peace which had just been agreed upon between Henry and Francis, was received so honourably at Hampton Court. On that occasion Surrey was selected by the King himself together with the Duke of Norfolk and Cranmer, to bear a leading part in all the ceremonies which then took place.^a This alone would be sufficient to prove that Henry, at that time, did not cherish any resentment against Surrey. In confirmation of which we may remark, that Surrey, alluding to his confinement, tells us that the King's conduct towards him was marked with great forbearance as well as princely equity: he acknowledges having deserved, by the hastiness of his temper, the correction which he had experienced; and he congratulates himself on the prospect of being restored to his Royal Master's favour. It is not credible that Henry, who is well

Here under this tomb lieth buried the
body of Thomas Clere, Esquire, son of
Robert Clere, in the County of Norfolk,
Knight, which Thomas deceased the
xiv. day of April, Anno Domini
M.C.C.C.C.C. XLV. on whose Soul and all
Christian Souls Jesu have mercy.

See *Aubrey's Surrey*, Vol. I. p. 246 and p. 248.

^a See *Holinshed, ut sup.* p. 859.—The order in which the nobility were arranged is preserved in the *Cotton MSS. Appen. XXXVIII.* Surrey is there ranked with the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. In another of the *Cotton MSS. Otho. C. XIV.* many particulars of that ceremony are likewise preserved. Surrey is throughout selected for the most honourable offices. Four persons are named for horses, with footstools for the Admiral. These are the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, and Surrey. The magnificence with which the French Ambassador was received on that occasion was such, that Fabian tells us the very torchbearers were clothed in cloth of gold, p. 708. Ed. 1810—Hall says; “to tell you of the costly banquet houses which were built, and of the great

known to have expressed anger whenever he felt it, would have treated Surrey with so much kindness and consideration, if at that moment, he had it in contemplation to destroy him.

Here closes the transient scene of Surrey's better fortunes. On the twelfth of the December following (so narrow are the confines which divide prosperity and adversity, happiness and sorrow) Surrey was arrested, and committed to the Tower; where an unjust sentence terminated soon after his short, but honourable career in life.

The following are the causes which are generally supposed to have led to Surrey's untimely death.

Henry was now advancing rapidly towards his dissolution. He had settled the Crown on Prince Edward; and was solicitous equally, we are told, to insure to him the undisturbed possession of it, and to provide for the permanent establishment of the Reformation. It is said, that the only persons whom he deemed powerful enough to thwart his wishes in these two points, were the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey; and it is added, that he had good grounds for suspecting them of an intention to disturb the succession, and to re-establish Popery. They are represented as having been the head, and the avowed supporters of the Roman Catholic party; and of the Earl of Surrey in particular it is affirmed, that he had been for a considerable time a widower; and that he had refused every match which had been proposed to him, openly aspiring to marry the Princess Mary. All these circumstances, we are told, determined Henry to destroy both Norfolk and his Son; conceiving it to be a duty to remove them, which he owed both to his successor, and to the kingdom at large.^a

banquets, the costly masks, the liberal huntings, that were shewed to him, you would much marvel, and scant believe," p. 876. Ed. 1809.

^a See *Hume's* and *Rapin's History of England*.

It is at all times difficult to say what part of a story is true, when the principal fact upon which it turns, is false. Surrey could not have excited jealousy by aspiring to the Princess Mary's hand; for he never was a widower. His wife, the Lady Frances, was then living; she survived him many years.^a Besides which, it is by no means clear that Surrey was a friend to the Roman Catholic persuasion. The Duke of Norfolk probably was well disposed towards it: but there seems good reason for believing that Surrey was a friend to the Reformation, and a zealous opposer of Papal tyranny and Papal corruptions.^b

The account then of the causes which led to Surrey's death, as given above, cannot be received as accurate. That account wears indeed the semblance of probability so far as it accords with Henry's character; of whom it has been said, "that he

^a The Countess of Surrey was living in 1563. On the seventeenth of January in that year she walked at the interment of Margaret Duchess of Norfolk, who was buried at Framlingham, as chief mourner, between two gentlemen; Mr. Staynings her husband, and Mr. Hare. Her train was borne by Mrs. Cath. Howard: Sir Nicholas Strange supported her with a white staff in his hand, as Chamberlain.—*MSS. Archives Norfolk House.*

^b We have no direct evidence indeed of the nature of Surrey's religious sentiments, but there is every reason to believe that he was a sincere friend to the Reformation. His Satire against the City of London, and his Paraphrase of the 55th Psalm afford a strong presumption of this. His intimate friend Sir T. Wyatt, is considered to have been one of the first movers of the Reformation: and Surrey says of him, that he was entitled to the veneration of all "who covet Christ to know;" an expression he could not have used had there not been a similarity of opinion in matters of Religion. Surrey's children were Protestants. After his death, Fox the Martyrologist was chosen for their preceptor; which would hardly have been the case, had not their previous education been in the principles of the Reformation. Surrey's brother lived and died a Protestant, and but a short time before Henry's death was summoned before the Privy Council, and severely reprimanded for being too free in his religious opinions. *Harl. MSS. No. 256.* The inference to be drawn from so many concurrent circumstances, is nearly conclusive. No argument whatever can be deduced from Surrey's having set up an altar in one of the churches at Boulogne, as mentioned in his Sister's deposition. Surrey might have done it from his general respect for religion: or politically as Governor of a newly conquered place, the old inhabitants of which were Catholics.

never spared man in his wrath;^a and who often lightly sacrificed his favourites to his interests or his caprice.^b But contemporary writers, and those who lived when the means of ascertaining the truth existed, tell us that Surrey's death and Norfolk's downfall were owing, not to the personal resentments of the King, but to the ambition, the jealousy, and the fears of Hertford; who, anxious to secure to himself the Protectorship, during his Nephew's minority, wished to remove both the Duke and his Son; they being the only rivals from whom he had any thing to fear.^c

This was a motive of itself sufficiently powerful to influence Hertford's conduct. Unfortunately it was strengthened by other motives, of a personal nature. Surrey had openly declared his resolution to revenge himself on Hertford after Henry's death, for those injuries of which he considered him to have been the cause. Having learned this, and knowing the power of the Norfolk family; conscious also that he had many enemies among

Preface to Raleigh's Hist. of the World.

^b There is a remarkable anecdote preserved in the Life of Sir Thomas More, which shews how thoroughly that able man had read Henry's character. Henry came once to dine with Sir Thomas More; and after dinner walked with him an hour in his garden, his arm round his neck. Roper, his son-in-law, congratulated him on so distinguished a mark of royal favour; adding, that even with Wolsey the King had never been seen to do more than walk with him arm in arm. "I find his Grace my very good Lord indeed," said Sir T. More, "and do believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this realm: howbeit, Son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof: for if my head would win him a Castle in France, it would not fail to go."—*Roper's Life of Sir T. More*, p. 18. Ed. 1716. When Charles the Fifth heard of Sir T. More's death, he expressed his astonishment, and said, "Had I possessed a servant of such ability and worth, I would have given ten cities for his life."

^c Burnet, *ut sup.* Vol. I. p. 345. That love of the marvellous, which pursues us every where in the account of Surrey's life, has suggested, that the cause of his death was a prophecy, which foretold that the succession would be disturbed by an H. Surrey's name being unfortunately Henry, as well as Howard, the King, we are told, considered him to be the person who was destined to supplant Edward, and destroy the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and therefore resolved to cut him off. *MSS. Harl. No. 1579.* This is a coun-

the old Nobility, whom he had frequently offended, by an unbecoming pride and asperity,^a Hertford deemed it perhaps justifiable on the ground of self-defence, to act as he did. He probably reasoned with himself, that he was only anticipating Surrey's menaces, and pursuing towards a political rival the same conduct that might shortly be pursued towards himself. This, indeed, does not exculpate Hertford: but it may be urged as some extenuation of an injury, that it is not inflicted wantonly. A motive may be a bad one; but even a bad motive will prove an act not to be a gratuitous exercise of malice; the only offence which admits of no palliation.^b

And yet, notwithstanding Hertford's intrigues, and his own imprudence, in yielding to the suggestions of a proud and vindictive spirit, it was probable that Surrey would have escaped, had it not been for other causes, which about the same time conspired unhappily to effect his ruin.

It was mentioned in an early part of these Memoirs, that the Lady Elizabeth Stafford when she married the Duke of Norfolk, had accepted him reluctantly, being previously attached and engaged to another person. From a marriage formed under such auspices, much domestic happiness was not to be expected; especially as the Lady Elizabeth was of a resentful temper, was jealous in the extreme, and violent in her passions. After many

terpart of the prophecy which warned Edward IV. that his children would be murdered by a G. and caused the death of George Duke of Clarence.

^a See *Haynes' State Papers*, p. 5 and 7, where Paget and Wriothesley were obliged to desire Hertford to behave in a more conciliating manner to the Duke of Norfolk and others of the old Nobility.

^b I am aware that Raleigh, a writer whose opinion is of high authority, refers Surrey's death to Henry's tyrannical disposition. This certainly is the easiest solution. It is one at all times at hand to save trouble, and soften particular obloquy.

“ Upon the King—let us our lives, our souls,

Our sins, lay on the King—he must bear all!

O! hard condition! twin born with greatness.

We have seen, however, that Churchyard, who was living in Surrey's family at the

quarrels, pursued with unbecoming warmth on either side, she separated from the Duke about the year 1533, and went to live at Redbourne, in Hertfordshire, on a yearly allowance of 300 marks. But the allowance being, as she said, both insufficient in itself, and irregularly paid, she applied to Cromwell, then Lord Privy Seal, for redress, and personally presented formal articles of complaint against her husband to the King. Her complaints were not received; and she obtained no redress, as she might have done had she urged her cause with temper and moderation.

The Duchess was not however of a disposition to forget her injuries; especially as the Duke added yet this aggravation, that he lived on open terms of intimacy with a lady of the name of Holland (originally, we are told, a menial servant in his family) who was the particular object of the Duchess's jealousy. He gave her apartments at his palace at Kenninghall; he provided her with magnificent jewels; he brought her with the Duchess of Richmond to the Court; and treated her with all those outward circumstances of respect, which the neglected Duchess considered to be due only to herself.^a

time, refers his master's death to the cancred hearts of private enemies, whose practices deprived him of his life. *Appendix*, N° XV. Junius living then equally in Surrey's family, says the same thing. "Quem summæ spei maximæque expectationis Juvenem, sceleratorum et conjuratorum hominum libido, sine causâ, sine lege, fortunis omnibus prius exutum, capite mulc tassent. *Epis.* p. 14. And again; extincto dolisque circumvento Patrono liberalissimo." P. 392. Chaloner, who had the means of ascertaining the fact, and who could have had no prejudices on the subject, in the long and laboured account he gives of Surrey's character, expressly refers his fate to the envy of a faction: he does not throw a single reflection on Henry. See *Appendix*, N° XLVIII. There is, indeed, a MS. in the Harleian Collection (N° 1579) which attributes Surrey's death to motives of personal hatred and jealousy on the part of the King. But that MS. is not of sufficient age, or authority, to be put in competition with the testimony of Churchyard, Junius, and Chaloner. It will be found given at length in the *Appendix*, N° XXXIV. See also *Burnet. Hist. Ref.* Vol. I. p. 346.

^a All these circumstances are detailed in the Duchess of Norfolk's Letters to Cromwell, *Appendix*, N°s XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX. XXX. XXXI. and XXXII. She writes,

The Duchess, therefore, remained silently waiting for an opportunity to revenge her injuries; and thinking she had found that opportunity in the present unfortunate crisis, she again preferred articles of accusation against her husband, impeaching not only his moral conduct, but his fidelity to the King.

The King, as has been said above, was not now in a condition to act or to think for himself. The accusation came unavoidably through Hertford, and found easy acceptance with him, as it supplied him with the means of advancing his own designs. Another circumstance which tended to hasten the ruin of both Surrey and his father was, that they themselves, owing, we are told, to some offence unintentionally given on the part of Surrey, had not been for some time on their usual terms of confidence, and were therefore prevented from acting in concert for their mutual preservation.^a Besides which, the Duchess of Rich-

however, as an exasperated woman, and evidently contradicts herself. She says Mrs. Holland "was but a churl's daughter, and of no gentle blood;" yet, in another place, she admits "that she was related to Lord Hussey." It may be doubted, therefore, whether Mrs. Holland had been, as the Duchess asserts, nothing more than a laundry woman in her service. The family of the Hollands was of very honourable descent. See *Bloomfield's Norfolk*, Vol. I. p. 343. George Holland, the brother, describes himself to have been Secretary to the Duke, and to have served him as clerk of his council in the wars of France, England, and Scotland, until the time of his commitment in 1547. After the Duke's release in 1552, he attended him again in the same capacity, when he headed the army against Sir T. Wyatt the younger, whom he calls the Duke's godson. Thomas Holland, the father, was comptroller of the household, and afterwards treasurer to the Duke of Richmond. *Bloomfield ut sup.* 344 and 345. From the title of "Mrs. Holland" we are not to suppose that she was a married woman. The title of Mistress was in those days, the common appellation of unmarried ladies. As Mrs. Holland was suffered to appear at Court, and was accompanied thither by the Duchess of Richmond, who was a person of unblemished character, some doubt may arise as to the extent of the Duke of Norfolk's attachment to her.

^a This rests on the sole authority of *Herbert*, p. 626, who, perhaps, had no other ground for his assertion than the letter quoted above at note a, page lxxxviii. But no more

mond, for what reason is not known, cherished a violent hatred against her brother;^a while Mrs. Holland, aware of the impending danger, and anxious to provide for her own personal safety, professed her willingness to reveal any thing she knew that might criminate the Duke.

Where there were so many enemies, accusations could not long be wanting; especially as it was given out that pardon would be granted to any one who should substantiate charges against either the Duke, or his devoted Son.

Such, however, was the respect paid generally to Norfolk for his long services and tried abilities; and such was the admiration in which the accomplished Surrey was held, that a considerable time elapsed before any thing was alleged against either. At last Sir Richard Southwell came forward to say that he knew certain things of Surrey, which touched his fidelity to the King. Surrey was immediately summoned from Kenninghall, where he seems to have been at that time residing, engaged in his favourite pursuits of literature, to appear before the Privy Council, at which the Chancellor Wriothesley and the Earl of Hertford presided; the one Surrey's avowed enemy; the other an ambitious, restless, and violent man; of mean extraction, and a known friend to Popery.^b

is there implied than that the Duke did not approve of Surrey's conduct in those points wherein he had then offended the King. This is no proof of any serious personal disagreement.

^a It has been supposed that this aversion on the part of the Duchess of Richmond extended equally to her father; and was owing to her not having obtained her jointure, of which she complained in a letter already referred to. But that jointure had been granted to her with other marks of royal favour, so far back as the year 1539. There must have been therefore, some other cause.

^b See *Rapin*, Ed. VI. The following verses on Wriothesley are given from the Harington MS. more from the circumstance of their having been written by one of Surrey's

Surrey conducted himself as became a true and honest man. He denied, on the sacred asseveration of a man of honour, the charges alleged against him; and he solicited a public trial, by which means, he said, either his innocence would be clearly proved, or his falsehood exposed. Should that mode of defence be denied him, he then requested that he and his accuser might be permitted to decide the cause in single combat. For himself, he declared, he felt so secure in his integrity, that he would forego the advantage of his armour; and, in the highest strain of chivalry, said that he would fight with his accuser in his shirt.*

The Privy Council came to no resolution; Surrey, and his friends than from any merit they possess. Blage, the writer of them, was the person who attended Surrey to Landrecy; and is the same to whom he addressed the paraphrase of the LXXIII. Psalm. He was of a Kentish family; of good descent, and was educated at Cambridge. I am not aware that any other piece of his composition is preserved. Wriothesley died in 1550.

G. BLAGE, OF LORD WRIOTHESLEY.

From vile estate, of base and low degree,
 By false deceit, by craft, and subtle ways :
 Of mischief mould, and key of cruelty
 Was crept full high, borne up by sundry staves.
 Picture of pride; of papistry the plat :
 In whom Treason, as in a throne did sit ;
 With ireful eye, aye glearing like a cat,
 Killing by spight whom he thought good to hit.
 This dog is dead; his soul is down to hell,
 The carrion corpse within the ground is laid,
 Whose festred flesh above the earth did smell,
 Plagued with pocks; so was this wretch arrayed.

* Some offence has been taken at this expression; as if Surrey's offer to fight with Southwell "in his shirt," was derogatory to his rank and high station in life. It is dangerous to judge of antient manners by ideas drawn from modern usages. To forego the advantage of armour, and to fight only in the linen dress which was worn beneath it, against an antagonist armed in mail, was considered justly to be the highest pitch to which romantic bravery could soar. In the tragedy of Soliman and Perseda, the French knight, proclaiming himself at the tournament, says,

unworthy accuser, for Southwell had long been one of Surrey's confidential friends, were both of them ordered into confinement. As this accusation was not repeated on Surrey's trial, and as it formed no part of the process on which he was condemned, we may be certain that it was wholly without foundation. This happened on the second of December. On the third or fourth the Duke of Norfolk hearing what had passed, wrote to London to Gardiner, for he seems to have been then at Kenninghall, to inquire into the extent of the danger.

His letters fell into the hands of the Privy Council, and were, probably, made the groundwork of an accusation against him. He was sent for immediately to London; and on his arrival on the twelfth was committed to the Tower. It was on the same day that Surrey himself was sent thither; the one was conveyed by water, the other by land. Neither was acquainted with the other's imprisonment.^a

No sooner were the Duke and his Son committed, than the depositions were taken upon which their future indictment was to be grounded. An instance of tyranny and oppression, perhaps, unparalleled in history. The quality of the persons who afterwards appeared against them as their accusers, was the

In Italy I put my knighthood on;
Where, in my shirt, but with a single rapier
I combatted a Roman much renown'd.

Hawkins's Eng. Dram. Vol. II. p. 205.

In the *Fabliaux* is a story of a person, who, to shew his love for his mistress, fought in a tournament, and gained the prize, with no other armour than "*la chemise de sa Dame*." This exploit gained him the reputation of being the most perfect lover in the world. *Fabliaux par le Grand*, Vol. I. p. 168. In the *Roman du Lancelot*, a similar instance of heroic gallantry occurs.

^a *Herbert's Hen. VIII. p. 642.* It has been sometimes said that Surrey was attainted on the seventh of October. This seems to be a mistake, originating in the mention made in the indictment, of his having openly caused his arms to be painted on that day, quartered with those of the Confessor, on which act the indictment was grounded.

only circumstance that could have added to the bitterness of the injury.

The first was Mrs. Holland. She deposed nothing to criminate Surrey. She only spoke in general terms of the Duke's having blamed him for his want of skill in quartering the family arms. Of the Duke she reported no more than that he had complained of the King's having withdrawn from him his wonted confidence; that he had remarked the King's increasing infirmities; that he had spoken with warmth of some of the new Nobility, who, he said, "did not love him;" and that he had seemed, at times, favourably disposed to the Roman Catholic religion.

The next person that deposed was the Duchess of Richmond. She exhibited the afflicting spectacle of a young and beautiful woman presenting herself———Oh! how it adds to the natural deformity of perfidy and unkindness to come thus accompanied—as the unsolicited accuser of her Father and her Brother: knowing that her accusation went to take away their lives, and not only to destroy the credit, but to endanger the very existence of her family. Yet all her depositions went no farther than to say, that her brother had spoken with asperity of Hertford, to whom he attributed the disgrace of his late imprisonment; that he had manifested a dislike to what were properly called the new nobility; that he had complained of the King's having been displeased at him for the "loss of the great journey," by which he meant his defeat the year before at Boulogne; that he had dissuaded her from going too far in reading the Scriptures; and that he had set up an altar in a church at Boulogne. She closed her deposition with two allegations, which serve but to add a still deeper die of guilt to her unnatural conduct. She said that Surrey wore on his arms, instead of a Duke's coronet, what "seemed, to her judgment, much like a

like a close crown ;” and a cypher, “ which she took to be the King’s cypher, H. R.” On these two surmises did she intimate that her brother was guilty of high treason.

Sir Edmund Knivett, the same whose punishment had been remitted at Surrey’s instance, when he was condemned for striking Clere within the precincts of the palace, came forward to depose, that Surrey was fond of the company of foreigners ; and that he entertained Italian servants, whom “ some suspected to be spies ;” but he admitted that he could charge him with no untruth.

The last person who deposed, was Thomas Pope. He alleged nothing against Surrey. His depositions only went to charge the Duke of Norfolk of having some years previously expressed his disapprobation of a particular act that had been passed respecting some of the changes in Religion.

These were all the depositions. And the sum of all, had every part of them been proved, did not constitute any legal, or even any moral offence. Nevertheless, the depositions were sent down to Norwich, where the King’s Judges then were and on the seventh of January a verdict was returned, in which Surrey was declared “ to have falsely, maliciously, and traitorously set up and bore the arms of Edward the Confessor, “ then used by the Prince of Wales, mixed and joined with his “ own proper arms.”

Surrey was then indicted for High Treason. A special commission was immediately issued to try him on the thirteenth of

* The original indictment will be found in the Appendix, N^o XXXIII. with the names of the several juries before whom the cause was tried. The indictment proves that Surrey was impeached solely on the ground of having borne the arms of Edward the Confessor. That other matter, therefore, should have been brought against him which was not contained in his indictment, (as we collect was done, as well from the witnesses examined, as from Surrey’s refutation of their charges) is an additional proof of the injustice of the whole proceedings carried on against him.

January, at Guildhall, before Henry Hoverthorn, the Lord Mayor, and Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor, who presided at the trial. Surrey appearing in court, pleaded not guilty, and a jury of Norfolk men being formed, the trial proceeded.

What evidence was brought into court to substantiate the charges alleged against Surrey; and what witnesses he himself produced in refutation of them, we are not informed.^a

We are told generally that Surrey, being a man of deep understanding, sharp wit, and high courage, defended himself many ways: sometimes denying the accusations brought against him as false; sometimes weakening the credit of his adversaries; and at other times interpreting the words he had spoken in a far

^a The following deposition, if it deserve that name, extracted from a MS. in the Heralds' College, was probably adduced against Surrey upon his trial. "Also concerning the Earl of Surrey a little before he went to Boulogne, Richmond Herald wrote a letter to me to come with all speed to speak with the said Earl in a morning: and thither I ran, and tarried the same morning the space of an hour, or I spake with him: and at the last he sent for me into a gallery at his house in Lambeth, and there shewed me a scutcheon of the arms of Brotherton, and St. Edward, and Amory, and Moubray quartered; and said he would bear it: and I asked him by what title; and he said that Brotherton bore it so: and I shewed him it was not in his pedigree: and he said he found it in an house in Norfolk, in stone graven so, and he would bear it: and I told him it was not for his honour so to do: and so, at the last, he said he would bear it, and that he might lawfully bear it: and after that I saw him so wilful, I spake to Mr. Warner, in Paul's, to tell him that he might not do it." "Vii^o. Aug. An^o. H. VIII. xxxvii^o." *MS. Heralds' College, L. 14.* Had not this deposition been designed as evidence, to be produced as occasion should require, there seems no reason why the entry should have been made. We need hardly remark; that the deposition contains the opinion of an individual only; and that the opinion was in opposition to "good and substantial matter of record, by which the claim had been of a long time justly and lawfully allowed." Besides which, the deposition, to have had any legal weight, ought to have been made at the time. Why was it delayed above a year? and why was not the fact remembered until Surrey's death was in agitation? There seems little doubt therefore but this evidence was a fabrication, made by one of those unhappy men, always to be found lurking in the obscure corners of a Court, who lend themselves as instruments to effect the ruin of any one whom it may be deemed expedient to remove.

other sense than that in which they were represented. With respect to the main point contained in the indictment, the bearing the arms of the Confessor, Surrey proved that he had the authority of the heralds in so doing; that his ancestors had, of a long continuance, worn them as well within the kingdom as without; and that they had been constantly borne by himself in Henry's presence; and by others of his family in the presence of the several Kings, Henry's predecessors.^a

In conclusion; when a witness was brought, who detailed in court a pretended conversation, wherein he repeated some high words which Surrey had used, and his own braving answer, in consequence of which he had been struck; Surrey made no other defence than turning to the Jury and saying:

"I leave it to yourselves, Gentlemen, to judge whether it were probable that this man should speak thus to the Earl of Surrey, and he not strike him."^b

Notwithstanding Surrey's manifest innocence, and the frivolity of the charges alleged against him, the Jury was base

^a This point was particularly insisted upon in the petition presented to Mary, to reverse the supposed attainder. The claim of the Howards to bear those arms originated thus. Richard the Second, out of regard to his patron, St. Edward, placed his arms on the dexter side of the scutcheon, granting the same honour to his favourites; among whom were Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, and his descendants. From him the right to wear the arms passed to the Earl of Surrey; his ancestor, Sir Robert Howard, having married one of the co-heiresses of the Mowbray family. *Anstis' Hist. of Garter*, Vol. II. p. 175. *Dugdale Mon.* Vol. II. p. 194. See also *Mr. Dallaway's Heraldic Enquiries*, Part I. p. 184.

^b Holinshed, in speaking of Surrey's defence, says, "had he tempered his answers with such modesty as he shewed token of a right perfect, and ready wit, his praise had been the greater," p. 861. Holinshed's observation was, probably, occasioned by the speech of Surrey in the text. No one will either wish that speech had been spared, or think the censure passed upon it just, who can appreciate the value of that glowing spirit of independence, innate in generous minds, which no pressure of misfortune can subdue, and which breaks out, with unabated splendor, to irradiate even the gloom of death.

enough to find him guilty; and the Chancellor pronounced sentence of death against him. On this Surrey was sent back to the Tower, where he remained till he was beheaded. That event took place on the nineteenth, some authorities say on the twenty-first of January, which was but a few days before the King's death;^a when certainly he must have been in a state incompetent to business, and unable, perhaps, to sign the warrant sent to direct the execution.^b

We have been denied the melancholy satisfaction of knowing how Surrey conducted himself in the last moments of his life. His enemies were sensible that their conduct was reprobated, and being apprehensive of the effect which might be produced on the minds of the people, took care that the execution should be as private as possible, and suppressed all the circumstances attendant upon it.^c

^a In the notes in Lord Burley's hand-writing, preserved in Murden's State Papers, p. 745, we find this entry. "1547, 21 Jan. H. Co. Surrey de Col."

^b Holinshed tells us, that on the thirteenth of January, the day of Surrey's trial, the King was "lying in the extremities of death." It is observable, that in the general account of Henry's decease no dates are preserved. We are told that he died on the twenty-eighth, whereas he certainly deceased on the night of the twenty-seventh. To save appearances, the nominal difference even of a day was important. It is well known, that Henry, a long time previous to his death, was so unwieldy, that he could not write his name but with difficulty: he therefore had caused a stamp to be made, which he used whenever his signature was necessary. The advantage that might be taken of that stamp to obtain surreptitiously the shew of Royal assent is obvious. The use that was made of it in the affair of Henry's will, for the purpose of affecting the succession, is notorious. See *Burnet's Hist. of Ref.* Vol. I. p. 349.

^c For the general authorities for Surrey's Trial, see *State Trials*, Vol. XI. p. 18. *Burnet's Hist. of Ref.* Vol. I. p. 345, and chiefly *Herbert's Hen. VIII.* p. 626. Herbert's reference is to Records generally. It is evident that he had seen the original trial. It is now no where to be found. Of Lord Herbert's MSS. Collections, unfortunately, that volume is missing in which he had brought together his authorities respecting the trial. Should that volume be recovered, it will probably throw all the light we want on the subject. From an entry in the Privy Council Book of Edward VI. we learn that Sir Richard Southwell "deposited in the study at Westminster, where the other records lie, two bags, containing papers relating to the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey." July 5, 1547. Those papers have been there sought for in vain.

That Surrey conducted himself to the last with that intrepidity which was natural to him ; and that he expressed himself as became a man of his high sense of honour ; and a Christian, strong in Faith and Hope, no doubt can be entertained. It might, however, have been beneficial to others to have collected his dying words. From them we might have learnt some sentiment worthy of eternal record ; and from his example have been taught the lesson which cannot be too strongly, or too frequently impressed upon us all: that death has no terrors but for the guilty.

Surrey was beheaded on Tower Hill. His body was buried in the church of All Hallows, Barking ; it was afterwards removed by his son, the Earl of Northampton, to the church at Framlingham, in Suffolk,^a where he erected over it an handsome monument, with the following inscription.

HENRICO . HOWARDO . THOMÆ . SECUNDI . DUCIS
 NORFOLCIÆ . FILIO . PRIMOGENITO . THOMÆ . TERTII
 PATRI . COMITI . SURRIÆ . ET . GEORGIANI . ORDINIS
 EQUITI . AURATO . IMMATURE . ANNO . SALUTIS
 MDLXVI . ABREPTO . ET . FRANCISCÆ . UXORI
 EJUS . FILIÆ . JOHANNIS . COMITIS . OXONIÆ . HENRICUS
 HOWARDUS . COMES . NORTHAMPTONIÆ . FILIUS
 SECUNDO . GENITUS . HOC . SUPREMUM . PIETATIS
 IN . PARENTES . MONUMENTUM . POSUIT
 ANNO . DOMINI . MDXIV.^b

^a Such is the commonly received opinion. But there is good reason for believing that Surrey's remains were not removed from London, for no mention is made in the Register of Framlingham of the fact ; whereas there is a regular entry made of the interment of the remains of the Countess of Surrey, which are there stated to have been removed from Soham.

^b *Hawes' History of Framlingham*, p. 299.—The Epitaph has been considered incorrect ; for Surrey was son to the third Duke of Norfolk, and Father to the fourth. But what is intended is, that he was son to the second Duke, of the name of Thomas, and Father to the third Duke, so named. This is correct. The name of the first Duke of Norfolk was John Howard.

Thus fell, in the thirtieth year of his age, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey; a man of such elevated virtues, and such rare endowments, that his untimely death may even at this remote period be justly a subject of regret; for had his life been spared, the English name might have been advanced earlier to that high rank in learning and in literature which it has since obtained amongst civilized nations.

He was somewhat small of stature, but excellently made; strong and active, and able to endure labour and fatigue. His eye was dark and piercing; his countenance composed and thoughtful; which gave him the appearance of being somewhat older than he was.

In his mode of living he was sumptuous and magnificent; splendid in his apparel, and profuse in his expenses; not from any idle love of extravagance, but from a sense of what he thought due to his high rank and station in life. The same principle led him to frequent the Court; but he appeared when there, not as one who borrowed importance from living with the great, but as a person moving in his proper sphere.

He was of an undaunted courage; quick and susceptible, and easily provoked to anger by affront or injury; yet easily appeased. His pride sometimes assumed the appearance of haughtiness; yet it was always the pride of an high minded nobleman; jealous of his honour in the extreme with those who might be thought his equals; but courteous, and condescending, and affable to all below him. He was ardent and eager in the pursuit of any object; impetuous, incapable of dissimulation; impatient of controul; and of a temper not to suppress the truth, though he spoke it to his own disadvantage. He had a refinement of thought which was peculiar to him, and threw an air of romance over all he said and did. He was unsuspicious, and confiding: a disposition which sometimes degenerated into credulity, as when it led him

to believe in judicial astrology ; but which gave him, at the same time, the virtues of candour, frankness, and simplicity. He was warm and faithful in his attachments ; disinterested and steady in his friendships. In the higher relations of duty, as an husband, and as a parent, he was faithful, gentle, and affectionate. He never suffered the fanciful delusion of fondness for another to impair that tenderness and respect which he owed to his wife : and amidst all his various avocations and pursuits, he watched over the education of his children with unwearied solicitude. He was liberal to his servants and dependants, and generous to all. He was of unshaken integrity, and scrupulous of his word : he was never known to have violated a promise which he had made, or to have deserted a person whom he had once undertaken to serve. He was animated in a high degree with that love of glory which is always the characteristic of the great. This stimulated him to military enterprize, and led him to seek for occasions of distinguishing himself in the field ; but the natural bent of his disposition inclined him to study and retirement. He was fond of the country, and a minute observer of the works of nature.

The endowments of his mind were various ; his acquirements great. There was no polite or manly accomplishment in which he did not excel. He played upon the lute, and was distinguished even in the dance. He was fond of active sports, and of the hardy exercises of the field ; and was skilful in the management of the spear, and of the sword ; so that he vied in tilts and tournaments with those who were esteemed the hardiest champions of the times.

He was a perfect master of the Latin, the French, the Italian, and the Spanish languages. He had a vigorous intellect, and a quick and ready wit. What he knew he always had at command ; and he expressed himself, even on the most sudden occasions, with force and dignity. He was fond of

literary fame, and studious of literary excellence: but he beheld it without envy in others. Whenever he discovered genius he honoured it with his praise, and fostered it by his protection. Nor did he limit his love of the polite arts to literature and poetry alone: he was the patron equally of music and of painting; and encouraged the taste for Grecian architecture.

His own genius was of a moral and contemplative cast; he delighted rather to describe what was natural and tender in feeling, than to indulge in flights of fancy and invention. His mind was too noble to stoop at any time to what might inflame passion, or solicit improper desire. It is his peculiar praise, that not a single thought, not a single expression can be found in all his writings to wound the nicest sense of modesty, or to degrade the dignity of poetry.

In this respect he owed much, no doubt, to a rectitude of thought, and a love of goodness which was natural to him. But he owed still more to his reverence for Religion, which certainly was not that of Papal corruption; and to his study of the Scriptures. These seem to have been equally his consolation and his delight: by these he strengthened the moral principle which glowed so strong within him; and confirmed in his heart that generous contempt of vice which is experienced by none but men of noble minds.

Such was the Earl of Surrey. Perhaps an unavailing speculation may mingle with our regrets, and tempt us to ask why so much excellence was suffered to perish so untimely. The question is a vain one. It is not applicable to Surrey's fate alone. It may be asked by every parent who has lost a child of virtuous promise. The answer, as far as we are concerned, is an easy one. We know not now the scope of God's Providence. That knowledge is reserved for a better and a more perfect state; when all that at present perplexes human reason being explained,

it will be found that the general interests of Virtue have been promoted by the sufferings, no less than by the exaltation of the innocent. Meanwhile be it remembered, that all human conduct has an ulterior end. He who exercises virtue benefits others indeed; and it is natural that we should wish his life to be of long duration which we feel to be useful. But it was intended primarily, that virtue should benefit its own possessor. When the Good and the Great are taken early hence, we may conclude them to have attained early to that perfection which was required of them; and console ourselves with believing, that had they been continued longer here, they might have lost somewhat of their excellence.^a

Surrey left by the Lady Frances, his wife, two sons. Thomas, who when the attainder was reversed in Queen Mary's reign, became Earl of Surrey, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk;^b and Henry, created by James the First, Lord Howard of Marnhill,

^a What has been said of the encouragement afforded by Surrey to painting, is fully justified by the large number of original portraits of him yet preserved, all painted by the best artists, and highly finished. A list of these will be found at the end of his life. One of the idle traditions raised on Surrey's well-known fondness for the art, is that of his having met Holbein at Basle, on his supposed travels into Italy, when, being struck with that painter's ability, he is said to have invited him to England. A single date confutes the story. Holbein came into England in 1526. Surrey's skill in music rests perhaps on better evidence. On the margin of an early copy of his Poems belonging to Sir W. W. Wynne are preserved in the characters of the times, several airs for the lute, to which Surrey's favourite little odes were sung. It seems highly probable that these airs were of Surrey's composition. They are remarkable for expression, for artless sweetness and wild simplicity; and are all marked with a peculiar character of plaintive melancholy. They will be found printed from the original MS. in the late edition of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets. 4to. 1814.

^b In the British Museum are several MS. letters of this Duke of Norfolk, none of which have, I believe, been published. In N^o 787, are those which he addressed to his children previous to his execution. The first of them is given in the Appendix, N^o XXXV. It contains sentiments worthy of the son of Henry of Surrey, and on many accounts merits publication. In MS. N^o 417 of the same collection, will be found some Latin letters written by the Duke to his venerable tutor, Fox, with Fox's answers.

and Earl of Northampton;^a and three daughters; Jane, who married Neville, Earl of Westmorland; Catherine, who married Henry, Lord Berkley; and Margaret, who married Lord Scrope of Bolton.^b

Of the Countess of Surrey nothing has been ever transmitted to us; and it cannot be expected that any thing should now be recovered. She probably was of that gentle and unobtrusive disposition which led her to delight in the blameless discharge of her domestic duties, the loveliest exercise of female virtue, rather than to court the dangerous admiration of the world. That she lived on terms of perfect harmony with her husband, may be inferred from his desire not to be separated from her when at Boulogne. That she was worthy of his confidence is manifest, from the children having been found under her care at the time of her father's death, and afterwards when they were called to court in Queen Mary's reign.^b She married, for

^a For the notices of the Earl of Northampton, see Appendix, N^o XXXVI. They could not be comprised within the limits of a note.

^b Of the Lady Bolton I have not been able to discover any particular mention. The Lady Jane, Countess of Westmorland, was one of the most learned ladies, of a learned age; when knowledge, as well as virtue, was deemed essential to the female character. Fox was her preceptor. He speaks of her as having profited so wonderfully in the Greek and Latin tongues, "that she might well stand in competition with the most learned men of that time, for the praise of elegance in both." She died in June 1593. See the *Life of Fox*, prefixed to the edition of his Acts and Monuments in 1686; and Ballard's *Learned Ladies*, p. 101. The Lady Berkley, we may collect from a MS. Treatise of Philosophy, written by her brother for her use, was probably a scholar, as well as her sister. All the children owed, no doubt, the advantages they enjoyed in point of learning to the early care their father paid to their education. Lady Berkley died in 1596. She lies buried in St. Michael's Church, Coventry. Her tomb bears no inscription.—*Dugdale's Warwick*, p. 168.

^c 1^o M. Aug. 27. Privy Council Book.—A letter to the Countess of Surrey to send up, to Mountjoy Place, in London, her youngest, and the rest of her children, by the Earl of Surrey, where they shall be rewarded by the Duke of Norfolk, their grandfather.—*Hart. MSS.* N^o 643. From the Council Books and MSS. among the archives at Norfolk House,

her second husband, Thomas Steyning, Esq. of Woodford, in Suffolk.^a

One of the first acts in Edward the Sixth's reign was to attend to Surrey's children. They were taken from under the care of their mother, and were entrusted to that of their aunt, the Duchess of Richmond, who charged herself with the education of them, and obtained in consequence a grant from government of an hundred a year for their maintenance.^b Why the Duchess of Richmond should have been selected for this office, in preference to the Countess of Surrey, it is difficult to say. We may conjecture that the widow, not enjoying any favour at Court, thought it prudent to relinquish the charge to the aunt, who having some credit with the Protector, might be better able to promote their interests. Certain it is that the Duchess, stung

it appears that Thomas Gaudy, a confidential person in the family, attended on the children. Lord Wentworth was appointed to the care of them. In the Privy Council Books are orders for payments of £100 to him for their diet. These orders were dated February 12th, 1547, and April 10th, 1548.

^a She married Mr. Steyning some time in the reign of Edward VI. for on the 24th of May, in the first of Mary, some lands were let at Rysing, in Norfolk, to Sir Nicholas Le Strange, "by the Duke of Norfolk, Mr. T. Stayning, and Frances, Countess of Surrey, wife to the aforesaid Mr. T. Stayning." *Mr. Frere's MS. Collec.* By this marriage there was one daughter, Mary, who married to Charles Seekford, Esq. of Woodford, in Suffolk. There is a small head, engraved by Hollar, from Holbein, which is said, (I know not upon what authority) to be a portrait of the Countess of Surrey. There is another, published in Chamberlain's Heads, from the Holbein Drawings in his Majesty's collection, which must be considered as authentic. Neither of these prints represents the Lady Frances as having been handsome. In the Shelburne collection is a MS. which gives the particulars of her dower.

^b See Appendix, N^o XXXVII. where several grants made to the Duchess of Richmond are enumerated. It has been mentioned in the course of these Memoirs, that this lady was beautiful. The portrait preserved of her in his Majesty's collection of Holbein's drawings, fully justifies this assertion. She died about the year 1555. It is singular that a person of her beauty and rank should never have re-married. Are we to infer hence that she was not of an amiable disposition? The Duchess, her mother, more than once accuses her of having been "an ungracious daughter."

with remorse, we will hope, for having contributed to her brother's death, fulfilled her duties uprightly towards his children. They were placed by her under the care of Fox, the celebrated martyrologist. The circumstances attendant upon his appointment to their education, as narrated by the historian of his life, are strange and mysterious.^a Fox spared no pains in the education of his pupils; and the Duke of Norfolk, their grandfather, was so well pleased with the fidelity with which the Duchess of Richmond executed her part of the trust, that he

^a "As Master Fox one day sat in Paul's Church, spent with long fasting, his countenance thin, his eyes hollow, after the ghastly manner of dying men, every one shunning a spectacle of so much horror, there came unto him one whom he never remembered to have seen before, who sitting by him, and saluting him with much familiarity, thrust an untold sum of money into his hand, bidding him to be of good cheer, adding withal, that he knew not how great the misfortunes which oppressed him were, but might suspect it was not a light calamity; that he should therefore accept in good part, that small gift from his countryman which common courtesy had enforced him to offer; that he should go and make much of himself, and take all occasions to prolong his life; in the mean time he let him know, that within a few days new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood. Never could Mr. Fox learn who that man should be, by whose so seasonable bounty, in that extreme necessity, he had been relieved, though he earnestly endeavoured to find him out. Some who looked further into the event which that prophecy foreboded, believed that this man came not of his accord, but was sent by some others, who by all means desired Master Fox's safety, and that it might be perchance through the servant's negligence that he suffered the extremest of all miseries before any relief came. Certain it is, that within three days space the issue seemed to make good the presage; there being some sent from the Duchess of Richmond, who, upon fair terms, did invite him into her service. It had so fallen out not long before, that the Duke of Norfolk, that famous warrior, and renowned general of his time, together with his son the Earl of Surrey, a man as far as may be imagined of sincere meaning and sharp understanding, was committed to custody in the Tower of London; for what crimes is uncertain. While they were in prison, the Earl's children were sent to the aforesaid Duchess, their aunt, to be brought up and educated. Thomas who succeeded in the Dukedom; Henry, who was after Earl of Northampton; and Jane, afterwards Countess of Westmorland. To these young lords was Mr. Fox appointed tutor, to instruct them both in manners and learning, in which charge he deceived not the expectation the Duchess, a woman of great wisdom, had of him."

left her five hundred pounds, by will, expressly on that account.^a

As for the Duke of Norfolk, (for it will be necessary to carry down the story yet a little lower) though his name had been mentioned in all the depositions, and though in consequence he had been committed to the Tower, nothing had been proved against him which could authorize the bringing him to a trial; and indeed it was evident, that the King could not live till the forms of a trial should be gone through. It was resolved therefore to proceed against him by a bill of attainder.

But it required considerable art and address to effect this. Norfolk's bitterest enemies knew that he was guilty of no offence cognizable by the laws. He had from the first asserted his innocence, and had appealed to many persons who could prove it, in a long letter written to the Council, from the Tower.^b A plea therefore for the proposed bill of attainder was wanting. It was obtained in the following manner. Norfolk's pretended friends advised him not to defend himself any longer on the ground of his innocence, as that seemed only to irritate the King, but to yield to circumstances, and making some confession of guilt, fling himself on Henry's clemency; telling him that this was the easiest way to extricate himself from his difficulties, and reminding him of Henry's well-known disposition, which was always to pardon those who submitted themselves to his mercy.^c Norfolk fell into the snare.

^a "Unto my daughter, the Lady Mary, Duchess of Richmond, the sum of £500, as well in consideration that she is my daughter, as that she hath been at great costs and charges in making suit for my delivery out of imprisonment, and in bringing up my said son of Surrey's children."—*MSS. Archives Norfolk House.*

^b See that letter given entire in the Appendix, N^o XXXVIII.

^c This was never more strikingly evinced than on the following occasion: The Duke of Suffolk, and several of the Council who had long been Gardiner's enemies, succeeded

He wrote to the King, making as ample a confession of guilt as his enemies could desire. That confession was all they wanted.^a

A Parliament was immediately summoned, for the purpose, it was said, of arranging the ensuing Coronation ; but in reality to expedite Norfolk's attainder. A bill for that purpose was hurried through both Houses. On the twenty-seventh of January the Lords were summoned to attend in their robes to receive it. The bill was then presented to them by a Commission ; for the King, they were told, was not sufficiently well to attend in Parliament himself ; and an order was sent at the same time directing that the bill should be enrolled immediately.^b

at last in ruining him in Henry's favour, and orders were immediately given that he should be sent to the Tower. Suffolk made arrangements to have him arrested the next morning. Meanwhile some of Gardiner's friends informed him of his danger. He contrived to get admitted into the King's presence ; and there made a free confession of all the offences, with which he knew he had been charged ; humbly suing for pardon. The pardon was granted. Next morning Suffolk finding what had been done, remonstrated with Henry, who immediately replied, " You should have kept him from me ; you know what my nature and custom hath been in such matters ; evermore to pardon those that will not dissemble, but confess their fault." The whole conversation is curious, as related by Fox, in *The Book of Martyrs*, p. 1290.

^a Norfolk's Letters of Confession are to be found in Herbert's *H. VIII.* p. 627, and in the *State Trials*, Vol. XI. Any person reading those Letters will perceive that they are not written with sincerity. They confess too much. As Norfolk was thinking only how to save himself, he abstained from all mention of his son. This accounts for a silence which would otherwise be deemed unnatural. Still posterity will judge that the noble-minded Surrey, who boldly maintained his innocence to the last, in defiance of his persecutors, acted a more becoming part than his aged father did, in craftily pleading guilty, hoping thus to obtain pardon for offences which he had never committed.

^b That bill was never enrolled, and consequently never passed into an act. But this is not the only circumstance that has been noted to prove the invalidity of the attainder. In the petition presented by Norfolk to Mary on her accession, the following points are enumerated : I°. That the King died the night next following after that the Commission for giving his assent to the bill did bear date. II°. That by the words contained in the Commission, it appeared that the King did appoint the Commissioners to give his royal assent to the bill ; but that there were no words in the same whereby it might appear that the King did himself give his royal assent to the bill. III°. That the Commission itself was not signed by the King's hand, but with his stamp in the nether part

Every thing was now deemed complete; and instructions were sent the same evening to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to behead Norfolk early the next morning. But whether it were that the Lieutenant declined to act, thinking the warrant an informal one, as it could not have received the King's signature; or that he had learned privately that the King was actually dead; (for he had deceased on the night of the twenty-seventh, though his death was not publicly announced till the thirty-first) certain it is, that he refused to proceed to the execution: so hardly did Norfolk escape.^a

But though Norfolk's death was not effected; one point at least was accomplished. He was in prison: there it was resolved to keep him during the remainder of his days; and being now considered as attainted, his property was confiscated, and the places which he held were declared void.^b

Of the Duke of Norfolk's, and of Surrey's landed property, of the said Commission, and not in the upper part, as his Highness was accustomed to do: And IV^o. That it did not appear from any record, that the said Commissioners did give any assent to the bill aforesaid.—*Archives, Norfolk House*. Norfolk's petition was therefore grounded upon this plea, that the act of attainder never was an act of parliament.

^a The interval between Henry's death on the night of the twenty-seventh, and the announcing of it on the thirty-first, is said to have been spent in debating what was to be done with Norfolk. We cannot have a stronger proof than this to shew that his ruin ought not to be attributed to Henry's personal resentment. Had that been the cause there would have been no need of deliberation after Henry's death, whether Norfolk was to be executed, or not; neither would the further acts of injustice, which were pursued against him, have been resorted to. One of Mary's first acts on her arrival in London after her accession, was to go to the Tower, and with her own hands to set Norfolk at liberty. He shortly after went to live at Kenninghall. On his arrival there, the city of Norwich sent their congratulations, and the following present to welcome him home, and to mark the attachment they bore him: "One hogshead of white wine, and one of red; two of claret; six sugar loaves, weighing sixty pounds; and two dozen of wax torches." *Bloomfield, Vol. III. p. 298.*

^b The three great offices he held were those of Lord High Treasurer, Earl Marshal, and Steward of the Court of Augmentations. It is probable that either he himself, or his son, the Earl of Surrey, was Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster. He had many other inferior appointments.

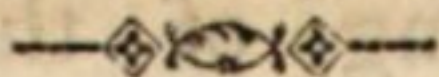
Henry did not live to make any division. We are told that he had it once in contemplation to have distributed their large possessions among Hertford and his friends; and an account is preserved of the portion which he had allotted to each of them. But the Duke of Norfolk, to prevent his numerous estates from being thus disposed of, well knowing that then they could never revert entire to his family, besought the King to retain them for the Prince of Wales's use, declaring "them to be good and stately gear." This succeeded. Henry altered his first intention; but died before any other arrangement could be made. To supply this defect an expedient was resorted to, which we shall justly deem unwarrantable. Sir William Paget, supported by Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Herbert, came forward to declare that they "felt it a bond in conscience" to reveal what they knew of the late King's intentions, respecting the provision designed for Hertford and his friends. This declaration, being made, all the subsequent steps were easy. The King's executors were bound by his will to make good whatever he had promised; and his intentions, it was argued, were in this case to be considered as promises. Such, at least, was the reasoning of those who were to benefit by the conclusion; and who was there to call it in question?

According to this arrangement Hertford, as might be expected, was amply provided for. He was to have the two great offices of Earl Marshal, and Lord Treasurer; and an ample revenue was to be given to him out of the Church lands. The Duke of Norfolk's lands were not wholly respected. His estates in Sussex and Kent were bestowed on some of the party; and to others were given the Stewardship of the remaining estates,* and the keeping of the Duke's several Castles; grants hardly less beneficial than that of the property itself.

* See *Burnet Hist. Ref.* Vol. II. p. 6.—He there gives large extracts from the original

As for the personal possessions of both the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Surrey, those were more easily disposed of. A careful inventory had been taken of all their plate, jewels, furniture, and of whatever was to be found at their several places of residence at the time of their attainder. Of these, part was allotted to the King, some to the Princess Mary, and a little to Surrey's unfortunate widow; but the larger portion fell to the lot of Hertford. Mrs. Holland was not forgotten. She was rewarded liberally for having assisted to ruin the man, whose only fault towards her appears to have been that of having loved her too well. The unnatural daughter received her portion also of the spoil.^a

There is implanted in the heart of man a natural love of retributive justice, which leads us in every instance of oppression to follow the fate of the oppressor. The blood of Surrey and the injuries of Norfolk seem to have lain heavy on the head of Hertford and his family. In the course of a few short years from Surrey's death, both Hertford and his brother were publicly arraigned, and condemned, and beheaded by the hands of the common executioner.^b



Declaration whence his information was derived. As that document is very curious, and has never been published, I have given it at length in the Appendix, No. XXXIX.

^a The account of the personal property of both the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey, as taken at the time, is preserved in three folio volumes, in the Office of the Auditors of the Land Revenue. See the Appendix, No. XL. XLI. XLII. XLIII. XLIV. LXV. XLVI. and XLVII. From the Privy Council Books, Harl. MSS. No. 256, it appears that a separate valuation was made of the house at Lambeth. Probably that house and all the furniture were allotted to the Duchess of Norfolk.

^b ————*Pœnas liventum à sanguine dudum
Exegit Nemesis ; nec tanto crimine flagrans
Invidiosa diù manus est lætata superstes !*

Chalonerus de Repub. Resta uranda.

HERE the Memoirs of the Earl of Surrey properly close, and here I should quit the subject, were it not that a fuller account of the Fair Geraldine, and of Surrey's attachment to her may be expected, than has hitherto been given.

That the Lady Elizabeth Fitz-Gerald, or as she was more commonly called the Lady Elizabeth Garrat, was the Fair Geraldine, the object of Surrey's amorous vow, no doubt seems to have been ever entertained. This fact is ascertained by the very name itself. For what we have been told of late was only, "her poetical appellation,"^a was known formerly to have been her real name. Her family were called sometimes the Fitz-Geralds, and sometimes the Geraldines.

As Chaloner's work is in the hands of a few, I have given the passage entire in the Appendix, No. XLVIII. But whatever censure we may think Hertford deserves for his conduct towards Surrey, it should not be forgotten in his praise, that the kingdom was indebted to him for the acts repealing the laws respecting treason, which had been introduced under Henry's arbitrary reign, and were grown oppressive to the nation at large. This, and several other beneficial acts of a similar nature, must be considered as originating in Hertford; the Parliament being then entirely devoted to him. See *Rapin's Ed. VI. an. 1547, & Burnet's Ref. Vol. II. p. 40.*

^a I forbear mentioning what I consider to be erroneous in Walpole's and Warton's particular account of the Fair Geraldine, that I may not uselessly swell the bulk of these notes. The reader on looking at those well known authors will soon see where I agree with them; whenever I differ, the ground of my dissent will always be found in the authorities referred to in the course of this narrative.

^b "Her poetical appellation was almost her real name."—*Warton*, Vol. III. p. 4. This is an oversight: it was altogether her real name. Spencer says, that the Irish "had Governors for the most part of themselves, and commonly out of the two families of the Geraldines and the Butlers."—*View of Ireland. Works*, Vol. VIII. p. 382, and again, 385.

She was daughter to Gerald Fitz-Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, whose ancestors were supposed to have descended from the Geraldini of Florence.^a Her mother was daughter to Thomas Marquis of Dorset. She was born in Ireland, probably at the

^a The tradition is, that Otho, one of the family of the Geraldini, quitted Florence early in the tenth century, and settled in Normandy; whence he afterwards removed to England; and succeeded so well in establishing himself there, that William the Conqueror found his family possessed of large grants of land, and offices of trust. But all this is traditionary, and would be refuted, I believe, by the history of the very family from which the descent is claimed. A more probable account derives the Fitz-Geralds from an English stock; from Othoere, Other, or Otho, a rich and powerful person from Norway, who settled in England in the reign of Alfred. See Francis Thynne, in the Notes to *Drayton's Heroical Epistles*, p. 133. *Dugdale*, Vol. I. p. 509. *Camden's Remains*, and *Collins' Peerage*, Vol. IV. p. 54. It is probable that Surrey followed the opinion of the Italian descent, as it fell in with his studies, and appeared to him to be the most poetical. The account given of the Norwegian Othere by Alfred, in his Preface to his Translation of Orosius, is highly interesting. He recommended himself to that wise Monarch by his skill in navigation; having made a voyage of discoveries to the North Cape, round which it seems evident that he actually sailed. It was a great object with Alfred to engage a person of so much merit to settle in England. Ample grants of land were therefore made to him; and he himself placed in offices of trust. This accounts for the distinguished situation which his descendant, William Fitz-Othere, held at the time of the Conquest. The description given by Othere to Alfred of the possessions he had in his native country, is curious. He told the King "he had six hundred rein-deer, all tamed by himself, and not purchased; of which six were stale-deer, or decoy deer, highly valued by the Finlanders, because they catch the wild deer with them." He said that though he was one of the "first men of the land, he had not more than twenty red cattle, twenty sheep, and twenty swine: and that what little he plowed was with horses."—*Barrington's Alfred's Orosius*. It is in allusion to this descent that Drayton makes Geraldine say;

My house from Florence I do not pretend;

Nor from those Geraldini claim I to descend;

Nor hold those honours insufficient are

That I receive from Desmond, or Kildare:

Nor better air will ever claim to breathe

Than that of Leinster, Munster, or of Meath;

Nor claim I other foreign far allies

Than Windsor's, or Fitz-Gerald's families;

It is enough to leave unto my heirs,

If they but please to acknowledge me for theirs. *Works*, p. 131.

Castle of Maynooth, her father's principal place of residence, about the year 1528; and was brought into England^a whilst yet an infant.

The subsequent misfortunes of her family in 1533 rendered her an object of pity to Henry; to whom she was nearly related by birth.^b Whether the protection afforded by Henry to the Fair Geraldine was an act of spontaneous kindness on his part, or one granted at the solicitation of her mother the Countess, is not known. It is certain that when a child, she was educated in the house of the Lady Mary, not as the companion of that Princess's studies, for the Princess Mary must have been fourteen years old when the Fair Geraldine was born, but from motives of pity and benevolence.

When she had grown up to be of a sufficient age to attend upon the Lady Mary, she became one of her Ladies of the

^a The account of her funeral as Countess of Lincoln, is preserved in the Herald's Office. Sixty-one old women were appointed to walk at it, which marks her to have been sixty years old at the time of her death, in March, 1589. Consequently she must have been born in 1528. Her sister, the Lady Margaret Garret, was chief mourner. I am indebted to Mr. Townsend, Windsor Herald, for this communication; as well as for the information, that in all funerals arranged by the Heralds, it is the custom to mark the years of the deceased, by appointing a corresponding number of old persons to walk in the train. Surrey's famous Sonnet

“ From Tuscany came my Lady's noble race,”

is the general authority for all the leading points of Geraldine's history.—*Poems*, p. 3.

^b Geraldine's mother was daughter to Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who was brother, by half blood, to Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. the mother of Henry VIII. Her father died of grief in the Tower, 1534, on account of the rebellion of his son, Lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald; who afterwards surrendering himself, was, with five of his uncles, executed at Tyburn in 1535. Gerald the eldest son, then ten years old, became a fugitive, and wandered about in great poverty and danger on the Continent till Henry's death.—*Collins*, Vol. VII. p. 164 & seq. Geraldine's mother, the Lady Kildare, was reduced to great distress, and was frequently compelled to petition the King for support. She always calls herself his kinswoman, and describes her children as being “ of his most royal blood.” *Cotton MSS. Titus. B. XI. 342.*

Chamber. This probably was about the year 1542, when the Fair Geraldine must have been about fourteen.

Some time in the year 1543 she married to Sir Anthony Brown.^a She could not then have been much more than fifteen years old. Sir Anthony Brown must have been sixty. After his death, which happened in 1549, she became the third wife of Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln,^b whom she survived.

There is some difficulty of reconciling Surrey's long and fervent passion for the Fair Geraldine, with these dates; but the difficulty is not such as should lead us to conclude, as some have done, that his passion was altogether ideal.^c

^a This is ascertained by an accidental entry, in an account of the Lady Mary's jewels and expences preserved among the King's MSS. 17 B. XXVIII.

X^o. Decemb. XXXIII^o H. VIII.

Item.—A Broach of Gold, with one Balace of the History of Susanne. Given to Mrs. Garret, at her marriage.

The ensuing entry was probably connected with it.

Item.—A Broach of Gold enamelled black, with an agate of the Story of Abraham, with iiij small rock rubies. Given to Sir Anthony Brown, drawing her Grace to his Valentine.

^b *Collins's Peerage*, Vol. II. p. 270, where particular notice is taken of the will which Lord Lincoln made in her favour: the inscription is there given, which she placed over his tomb.

^c See Mr. Chalmers' *Life*, prefixed to Surrey's Poems, Engl. Poets, Vol. II. p. 314. Ed. 1810.—But the testimony of Churchyard is positive: describing the Ladies attendant on Queen Elizabeth, he thus describes the Fair Geraldine, then Countess of Lincoln:—

Old Lincoln now, that stands on mighty mount:

Yet low on earth the first foundation lies,

He drew for that it was of great account,

And lifted up in favour to the skies.

The best we know did love old Lincoln well.

In former age her beauty did excel;

Of latter times her credit was not small,

For some do say that Lincoln pass'd them all.

Pleasant conceit penned in verse, colourably set out, and humbly presented on New Year's day last, to the Queen's Majesty at Hampton Court, 1593. By Tho. Churchyard. *Queen Elizabeth's Progresses*, Vol. II.

I suppose Surrey to have first declared his passion for Geraldine in the autumn of the year 1541. She then could not have been more than thirteen. I am aware that this is a very early age to have inspired love. But there are frequent instances of a premature developement of beauty; and Surrey seems always to have intimated that when he first spoke to his youthful Mistress of his attachment,

“ She wanted years to understand” the grief that he did feel.”

Besides which allowance must be made for the manners of those times. Marriages were then contracted much earlier than at present: consequently women became objects of attention at an age when now, we should not deem them old enough to enter into society. Laura herself was not more than thirteen when she inspired that passion, the ardour of which twenty years of suffering could not diminish, and which continued unabated even when death itself had extinguished hope.*

By the “ first foundation,” on which the Lady Lincoln’s fame rested, we can only understand Surrey and his attachment to her, when she was simply the Fair Geraldine. Her marriage with Sir Anthony Brown cannot be said to have “ lifted her up in favour to the skies:” neither could Churchyard with any propriety have distinguished that person as being “ the best he knew;” though he would naturally use that expression when talking of Surrey, his early friend and the patron of his youth; of whom it cannot be denied “ that he loved old Lincoln well !”

* The Wife of Bath dates her first marriage from her twelfth year: and no one ever drew living manners more accurately than Chaucer did:

——— Lordings since I twelve year was of age

(Thanked be God that is eterne on live)

Husbands, at church door, have I had five.

Cant. Tales, l. 5586.

Should it be thought that nothing more is here intended than satirical reproof, we may refer to the *Romant of the Rose*, which was designed to be a serious representation of what was the most perfect in love and manners. Chaucer there describes his female characters as selected by their lovers at the age of twelve, as if that particular age was

But at whatever time Surrey first made an open declaration of his passion, he tells us expressly that he had previously loved the Fair Geraldine two years in silence; and that the avowal of his attachment was at last extorted from him by the greatness of his sufferings.^a He tells us also that he first saw Geraldine at Hunsdon, when she was living there as a child, under the eye of the Princess Mary.^b Of course he beheld her then with no other sentiment than that of pity for her early misfortunes. But having frequent opportunities of seeing her, and of observing in her the promise of future loveliness, he allowed himself the dangerous indulgence of contemplating her charms as they gradually unfolded, until he was surprised by feelings of a more tender nature than simple admiration.

what made them perfect, in their lovers' eyes. Having described Mirth, who was, he says, "the fairest man he ever saw;"—"Guess," he exclaimed, "who was his mistress?"

Dame Gladness, that was him so lief (*dear*)
That singeth so well with glad courage;
That, from she *was twelve year of age*,
She of her love grant to him made.
Sir Mirth her by the finger had
A' dancing: and she him also,
Great love there was a'twixt them two.

Ram. of R. l. 847.

In the same manner Dame Idleness, another allegorical person, and the Portress to the Garden of Love, is seen dancing with her lover, and she

——— was not yet *twelve year of age*,
With heart wild, and thought volage.—*Ibid.* 1282.

Examples might easily be brought from real life. Elizabeth could not have been more than thirteen years old when Sir Thomas Seymour formed the design of marrying her. The Lady herself was so sensible to the attentions paid to her, that the Protector was compelled to interfere with promptitude (*Haynes' State Papers*), and to speak on the subject to her with severity.—*Cotton MSS.* Elizabeth is said to have always remembered her first lover with tenderness.

^a *Poems*, p. 1. l. 1. and p. 3. l. 7.

^b *Ibid.* p. 3. l. 19.

Meanwhile the lovely Geraldine grew to be of an age to attend upon her Royal Mistress's person. She then, as one of the Ladies of her chamber, accompanied her constantly to Court,^a whither the Princess generally went when Henry gave those splendid entertainments in which he seems to have delighted. On one of those occasions Surrey saw the Fair Geraldine at Hampton Court.^b That meeting decided his fate. He was

^a Some authors suppose her to have been an attendant about the Queen. Catherine is the Queen mentioned; and Warton says, for obvious reasons, Catherine Howard must have been the person, Vol. III. p. 6. But that elegant writer forgot that the Lady Catherine Howard married Henry in Aug. 1539; and that then Geraldine was a child, and not more than ten years old, living at Hunsdon with the Lady Mary.

^b Poems p. 3, l. 21. The following entry, if we chose to give the rein to fancy, might almost lead us to fix the precise date to Surrey's passion. Jan. 14^o H. VIII. (1543.)

Item.—Given to the grooms of my said Lady of Suffolk's stable, bringing
four horses for my Lady's women from Hampton Court to Sion, and
so to Westminster viis. vid.

Item.—News coming before with my Lady's stuff to Hampton Court..... iiis.

Account of my Lady Mary's jewels.—King's MSS. 17. B. xxvii.

There are some other entries in the same MS. which the lover of antiquarian research will not be displeased with me for giving, though not connected with our immediate subject.

Item.—To Philip of the privy chamber the same day, for teaching her the lute vs.

In other places he is called Philip, the luter: and is, in all probability, the same person on whom an Epitaph of considerable merit occurs among Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p. 200, Ed. 1814. He seems to have belonged to the Lady Mary's household. Ten Shillings were give to the nurse of Mr. Phillip's child; and 7s. 6d. to the midwife.

Item.—Given to Heywood, playing an interlude with his children before
my Lady's Grace xis.

Item.—Given to Christopher, who did let my Lady's Grace blood xxs.

Item.—To the same person for keeping her Grace's greyhounds viis. vid.

Item.—For hire of barge, bringing Doctor Michell and Mr. Potheary, her
Lady's Grace being sick viis. 6d

Item.—Bringing a leek to my Lady's Grace on St. David's day xvs.

Item.—To my young Lady of Norfolk's servant, bringing two pair of
sleeves, half a dozen handkerchiefs, and a steel glass

Item.—To the midwife, nurse, and rockers, at the christening of the Prince xxxlb.

Item.—Kirtle of cloth of silver against the christening xlb.

hurried away by the impulse of his feelings; and was surprised perhaps to learn their nature and their extent.

We often are not conscious of attachment until some external circumstance arises to call it forth. This probably was Surrey's case. The Fair Geraldine having just been introduced at Court, may be supposed to have attracted general notice. Imagination may represent her to have been surrounded by crowds of admirers; and followed by every eye with either envy or admiration. The doubts and fears, the mingled pain and pleasure which agitated Surrey's breast when he found his youthful Mistress thus suddenly the object of universal regard, might have then brought him acquainted with the secret of his heart, and taught him what before he had not suspected,

“How soon a look can print a thought” that never may remove.”

From that moment Surrey became the Fair Geraldine's professed admirer. She could not but receive with pleasure the homage paid to her charms by the most accomplished person of the times; and as he sought every opportunity of being with her, there can be no doubt of his having frequently found means to talk to her of his passion. The pain occasioned by the strangeness and reserve with which she received him when first “he sued to be her servant,” was soon obliterated by the “tenderness of what she said,” and the “sweetness with which she smiled” when afterwards “she pitied him;”^a and Surrey for a short time thought himself happy. Their interviews took place often at Hampton Court. But though the loves of Surrey and Geraldine were destined to be as famous almost as those of Laura and Petrarch, the incuriousness of that

^a Poems, p. 11, l. 1.

age has suffered all local memory of their attachment to perish. The high arched hall yet remains, though silent and deserted, where Surrey, among

“Stately seats, and ladies bright of hue,”

was wont to court the hand of his youthful Mistress; but no tradition is preserved of the retired window into which, after “the short dance,” they withdrew, to repeat to each other in tender confidence, “long tales of great delight:” no stone of all that princely pile retains the impression of their names; and, amid the surrounding groves, no tree is pointed out as their favourite meeting place, no embowering alley is recorded to have been the walk where they were used to linger. It might have mortified their pride to have known, if pride can find place in love, that in a short time no trace would be retained of their attachment in the place which gave it birth.

But Surrey’s happiness was not to be of long duration. He soon had occasion to remark, that Geraldine was of that ungenerous disposition, too often, alas! united to beauty, which makes attachment subservient to admiration; and seeks in love no higher gratification than that of the indulgence of vanity. Surrey observed that every admirer was received, though some were not worthy to be noticed;^a and he found with pain, that whenever absent, he was forgotten.^b Not long after he had the mortification to perceive, that his disdainful Mistress covered her face with her veil whenever he was present.^c I fear we cannot attribute to Geraldine the same amiable motive which, on a similar occasion, influenced her poetic proto-

^a Poems, p. 29, l. 19, and p. 27, l. 27.

^b Ibid. p. 11, l. 4, and p. 61, l. 11, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 17, l. 15.

type, the gentle Laura.^a In Laura such rigour was becoming. In her it was one of those

“Dolce durezza, e placide repulse,”

which Petrarch himself acknowledged were necessary to temper the ardour of his passion. But in Geraldine it seems to have been a wanton act of refined coquetry,^b that she might obtain a more absolute dominion over her too fond admirer. If ever Surrey was favoured with any expression of kindness, he owed it to his Mistress's apprehensions, lest her continued rigour should be the cause of losing him, and not to pity;

“For in her heart so sweet a thought” did never truly grow.”

Still Surrey's gentle nature, though he could not abstain wholly from complaint, led him to persevere in his attachment; and, in the height of amorous constancy, he declared, that

“Sweet is his death who takes his end by love.”

^a Mentr'io portava i be' pensier celati,

C'hanno la mente desiando morta,

Vidivi di pietate ornar' il volto:

Ma poi', ch' amor di me vi fece accorta,

Fur i biondi capelli allor velati

E l'amoroso sguardo in sè raccolto.

Petrarca Canz. I^a. Parte I^a.

^b Poems, p. 30, l. 12. So sensible was Surrey to Geraldine's insincerity, that even when she smiled he was compelled to confess to himself,

That she feeds me so,” I feel and find it plain;

Is but to glory in her power!

How different was the reflection which Petrarch drew from Laura's severity:

Divino sguardo da far l'huom felice;

Hor fiero, in affrenar la mente ardita

A quel che giustamente si disdice;

Geraldine's cruelty, however, became at last so excessive that Surrey was compelled to resent it. She affronted him publicly at a ball, given, it might seem, by himself, in compliment to her.^a A quarrel ensued, and Surrey expressed his determination to break his chains.^b But lovers' resolutions are easily shaken. He soon after sued to the Fair Geraldine for pardon; and, with expressions of sorrow which would have moved a gentle heart, requested to be restored to favour.^c Geraldine received his entreaties with scorn, and retorted those expressions of reproach, which hasty feeling had drawn from him, with cold and studied insult.^d This awakened a becoming sentiment of pride, and Surrey resolved seriously to conquer his ill-fated passion.

Geraldine's marriage with Sir Anthony Brown which followed soon after, a match evidently of interest on her part, supplied fresh motives for exertion. Surrey resolved on giving a new turn to his thoughts by engaging in public business: he solicited the command at Boulogne. From the time of his going thither we hear no more of his love. He speaks of it then for the last time; and though he dwells on past recollections with tenderness, he speaks of it as a passion which reason had taught him to conquer.^e

This is, I believe, the real story of Surrey's love for the Fair Geraldine. But as the whole detail rests not so much on positive authority as on conclusions drawn from particular expressions scattered throughout Surrey's writings, it could not, with propriety, be introduced into a regular narrative of authenticated facts.

Hor, presto a confortar' mia frale vita!

Questo bel variar fu la radice

Di mia salute; ch' altramente era ita. *Son. 314. Parte II^a.*

Poems, p. 28, l. 27.

^b *Ibid. p. 32, and p. 28, l. 11.*

^c *Ibid. p. 37, and p. 34.*

^d *Ibid. p. 31.*

^e *Ibid. p. 40.*

One thing is certain. Nothing seems to have ever grown out of Surrey's passion, as I have intimated before, that affected materially any part of his conduct. It might have influenced, indeed, his style of writing; and have determined his taste towards amatory composition. But even this is assumed rather than proved. We have no evidence that the Fair Geraldine is the object of all his verses. Perhaps some of his sonnets were addressed to other beauties, who might, for a moment, have engaged his wandering fancy in the earlier periods of his life. Many also might have been written to express the warmth of his feelings for the lady whom he afterwards did marry; or were intended to keep alive in her bosom feelings of tenderness corresponding to his own. There is no real ground for concluding that those elegant verses, wherein he declares his Mistress to be

"The chiefest work that nature wrought,"

were not addressed to the Lady Francis Vere, rather than to the Fair Geraldine.

Of the Fair Geraldine herself, little more is known than what Surrey has told us. She is one of those few beauties who have derived all their celebrity from their lovers' attachment. Had it not been for Surrey, Geraldine's name would never have attracted the notice of posterity. That she was handsome, we shall readily admit. There would be something unsatisfactory in supposing that she was indebted for her charms, as well as for her fame, to her lover's partiality. She was very fair; her eyes were of a light colour; and her flowing tresses of that golden hue which was regarded formerly as a circumstance essential to beauty.^a All the other notices transmitted to us by

^a Chaucer, and our early poets, almost always describe their beauties with

Tresses yellow, and long straighten,
Which unto their heels down raughten.

Surrey of the Fair Geraldine's person, are general. Those above mentioned correspond with her portrait.^a

What her accomplishments were we have never been told. We may believe them to have been such as accorded with her rank; for she must have received the best education of the times; and she lived always within the influence of the Court.^b Her father was a man of vigorous intellect, of high courage, and unimpeached integrity: he was one of the most honourable personages of his time. He was also, to a certain degree, a man of letters, and polite attainments.^c Her mother was a woman of

They were never

Brown, ne dun of hew
But white as snow, y-fallen new.

We shall readily concur in praising these two points of beauty; many esteem them now: but few will consider it an indispensable perfection that the eyes should be grey. All that can be said in defence of Surrey's taste is, that it was then the fashion. Erasmus describes Sir T. More to have had "oculi subcæsii, quæ species apud Britannos amabilis, cum nostri nigrore magis capiantur." *Epis.* 447.

^a The only portrait I have seen of the Fair Geraldine is in the collection of the Duke of Bedford: from which a print is given in the late edition of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets in 1814.

^b Geraldine, after she was married, appears to have continued constantly about her former Mistress's person, and to have stood high in her favour. At Mary's coronation, Lady Brown attended in the fourth coach in white satin: the horses trapped with the same. *Cotton MSS.* Appen. XXVIII. When preparations were made for Mary's expected delivery, the Lady Brown was appointed Serjeant of the pantry: and at her funeral she was one of the mourners in the second coach. *Frere's MS. Collec.* She appears in 1552 to have received from the Queen a present of jewels to a considerable amount. *Harl. MSS.* N° 7376.

^c The character of the Earl of Kildare is drawn at considerable length in Holinshed's Chronicles, Vol. VI. p. 308. Ed. 1808. "He was a wise, deep, and far-reaching man: in war valiant without rashness, and politic without treachery: such a suppressor of rebels in his government, as they durst not bear armour to the annoyance of any subject. His great hospitality is to this day rather of each man commended than of any one followed. He was so religiously addicted unto the serving of God, as what time soever he travelled to any part of the country, such as were of his chapel should be sure to follow him." The

more than common ability, of a ready wit, and of great strength of mind.* She possessed an excellence, the want of which has thrown discredit on her daughter's name: she was constant in her attachments.

Of Geraldine's moral disposition little can be known; that little is not advantageous to her. She seems to have been vain and fond of admiration; to have been artful in her professions of attachment to win the affection of the latest admirer, but cold and insincere when that attachment was put to the proof; and to have had the fatal power of concealing a refined coquetry under the gentle garb of artlessness and simplicity. She was one of those beauties of whom examples may, unfortunately, be easily found in all ages; who are sincere only so long as sincerity coincides with interest; and think to justify perfidy by imputing imaginary faults to their deserted lovers.

The marriages she formed may be considered as a proof of her having been of a mercenary turn of mind; and disposed rather to profit by her beauty for the gratification of ambition, than to cherish the more generous feeling of disinterested love. It should be remembered, however, that many of the above inti-

following pleasing anecdote, equally honourable to both the good Earl and his amiable consort, I am persuaded no reader would wish omitted. "This nobleman was so well affected to his wife as he would not at any time buy a suit of apparel for himself, but he would suit her with the same stuff; which gentleness she recompensed with equal kindness. For after that he deceased in the Tower, she did not only ever after live as a chaste and honourable widow, but also, nightly, before she went to bed, she would resort to his picture; and there, with a solemn congè, she would bid her Lord "good night." *Holinshed, ut sup.* p. 307. Among the Harleian MSS. is a volume, N^o 3756, which details many very interesting particulars respecting the Earl of Kildare. It gives, among other things, a catalogue of his books. This is printed in the Appendix, N^o XLVIII. It cannot but be interesting to know the extent of a nobleman's library at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

* Many of the Lady Kildare's letters are preserved in the British Museum. *Cotton MSS. Titus XI.* 342, and again 412.

mations of her character are drawn from Surrey's writings, who may be supposed to have spoken with a lover's resentment.

Whatever the Fair Geraldine's character might have been, Surrey's attachment to her was, I have no doubt, purely of the Platonic kind. A passion of that nature was countenanced by the authors whom he was in the habit of studying, and was congenial to the romantic turn of his mind. However dangerous such a passion may be; or however repugnant to the plain dictates of that pure Religion which forbids the aberration even of thought; to a person of an enthusiastic temper, it might have seemed not incompatible with virtue; especially as it came recommended by the sanction of great names.

The famous sonnet which Bernardo Tasso, the father of the great epic poet, had written on the subject of his love for the beautiful Ginevra, was then in the mouth of every one. The enthusiasm with which it was repeated by persons of all ages, and all ranks in life, proves that the sentiment on which it was founded was not thought blameable.^a Before Tasso, Petrarch had avowed his attachment for Laura when she was a married

^a Bernardo Tasso had been early attached to a lady of great beauty and accomplishments: he for some time aspired to her hand; but his fortunes not justifying his pretensions, he had the mortification of seeing her become the wife of a richer rival: on that occasion he wrote the following beautiful sonnet.

Poi che la parte men perfetta e bella,
Ch' al tramontar d'un dì perde il suo fiore,
Mi toglie il Cielo, e fanne altrui Signore
Ch' ebbe piu amica e gratiosa stella;
Non mi togliete voi l' alma, ch' ancella
Fece la vista mia del suo splendore;
Quella parte più nobile, e migliore
Di cui la lingua mia sempre favella:

woman; yet his love was deemed the purest and the most exalted that the human breast could entertain.^a

In judging of Surrey's attachment to the Fair Geraldine, therefore, we must place ourselves in his times. The Mistress of Bayard, the Chevalier "sans Reproche," as well as "sans Peur," was a married woman; and the husband thought himself

A mai questa beltà caduca e frale
Come imagin de l' altra eterna e vera
Che pura scese dal piu puro cielo:
Questa sia mia, e d'altri l'ombra è'l velo.
Ch' al mio amor, a mia fè salda e intera
Poca mercè saria pregio mortale.

Rimi di Ber. Tasso. Lib. 2.

Serassi, speaking of this sonnet in his *Life of Tasso*, says, that it was one "in cui si lagna della sua disavventura in così dolce e nuova maniera, che scrive il Ruscelli non esservi allora stato in Italia Signore o Donna di conto che à mente non lo apparasse." The lady's name was Ginevra Malatesta. This suggested the same conceit in which Petrarch indulged, who praised Laura under the name of the Laurel. Tasso complimented his Ginevra under that of the Ginevro. His second Sonnet opens thus,

Sacro Arboscel ch' il glorioso nome.

His hundred and eighty-first sonnet turns on the same idea.

Se ben, famoso Po! con l'onde chiare
T'honoran cento fiumi alteri e conti,

Non perciò il ciel t' honora, e'l mondo cole
Quanto, perch' un Ginebro almo odorato,
Le verdi rame le tue rive adorna.

See also the Ode to Monsignor di San Gale, which begins

Saggio e dotto cultore.

^a Some doubts have been entertained of late whether Laura was really a married woman, as has been generally supposed. Lord Woodhouselie has written a very ingenious essay to prove that she lived and died single. The point must be still considered as doubtful. But, which ever way the truth may lie, in Surrey's time Laura was, I believe, universally believed to have been married.

honoured by the preference. In our own country Sir Philip Sidney, at no very great interval, addressed his passion to the Lady Rich; yet not the slightest imputation has been ever thrown either on his character, or on that of the lady.^a The only difference in these cases was, that Bayard and Sidney continued to serve their respective Mistresses until their latest breath; for they were deserving of that distinction: whereas Surrey, having ceased to esteem, after a painful struggle ultimately ceased to love.

SUCH is the sum of what I have been able to collect of the life and writings of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. I regret that the account is still defective. Enough, however, has been discovered to shew that he was deserving of those high encomiums which have been bestowed upon him; enough to justify the belief, that had he lived longer he would have rendered important service to his country, by his liberal encouragement of learning, and the polite arts in peace; and by the vigour of his councils, and his courage, and abilities in war.

TANTA SUB ARDENTI TENDEBAT PECTORE VIRTUS:

TANTUS ET ILLE FUIT GENEROSI SPIRITUS ORIS;

ET VIGOR APTUS EQUIS STRUCTO ET CONCURRERE CAMPO.

APTUS ITEM SACRO PARNASSI VERTICE CULTAM

CÆSARIEM VIRIDI CANTANS ORNARE CORYMBO.^b

^a De l'appartement de la Duchesse il passa dans celui de ses premiers amours, la Dame de Fluxas, de qui les adieux ne se firent pas sans larmes versées de part et d'autre. Cette belle inclination ne fut interrompue qu'à leur mort, sans que leur réputation en souffrît la moindre atteinte, et ils conserverent toute leur vie l'habitude de s'envoyer des presents chaque année.—*Mem. du Chev. Bayard*, p. 93.

^b Chalonerus de Rep. Restaurandâ. 4^o 1597. p. 46. The character drawn of Surrey by Chaloner, of which the above lines form a part, will be found entire in the Appendix, N^o XLIX.

When however we consider how disproportionate our knowledge of so excellent a person is, to what we had a right to expect, a moral reflection cannot but present itself of the insufficiency of any sublunary reward, as the recompense of Virtue.

That man has formed an unworthy view of things who proposes to himself celebrity as the end of exertion; he who does so will often be deceived in his expectations, and find no pity for his disappointment. The truly generous spirit is stimulated to action by the sole love of doing good, and supports himself under every circumstance of labour and privation, with the consolatory reflection, that so long as his abilities are employed to the benefit of others, they are directed to that object for which they were entrusted to him. Viewed in this light, the scanty memorials of a person so eminent as Surrey was, afford an useful lesson to common life.

To those who move in the same exalted sphere in which Surrey moved, sufficient will be found recorded for their advantage.

From his example they may learn, that to acquire proficiency in literature is a duty no less than an ornament in the Great, as it contributes to refine the sources of action, and reflects dignity on learning.

Why literature should be considered almost exclusively the province of the retired scholar, no good reason can be assigned; since those who hold the highest ranks in life are best provided with the means of excelling in it. They are not depressed by any consciousness of dependence; their free spirit is not chilled by the sad necessity of providing for daily subsistence; they derive, from their modes of life, an habit of expressing themselves nobly, without effort, upon all occasions, and are cheered by the reflection, that what they write will be received with favourable prepossession; a prepossession founded on the very nature of things. For we reasonably anticipate, that what comes

to us sanctioned by the name of the Great, will bear impressed the glowing characters of all that is high in honour, and generous in feeling. This the world, the common judge of all, has a right to expect, and will demand.

He, who placed in an exalted rank stoops to palliate vice in his writings, and is base enough to give, by the seductive charms of poetry, a fatal currency to immoral sentiments and irreligious opinions, must not expect, like SURREY, to be hailed with the applause of after ages. He, when the short triumph of a delusive popularity is closed, shall be deservedly condemned in the just judgments of mankind, as one who has been guilty of a double breach of duty: as one who has wilfully degraded himself as a rational being, and has abused the confidence, at the same time that he disappointed the hopes of Society.

THE END.

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A CATALOGUE OF THE WORKS OF THE EARL OF SURREY.

1. A Paraphrase of Part of the Book of Ecclesiastes.
2. A Translation into English Verse of some of the Psalms.
3. A Translation of the 2^d and 4th Books of Virgil's *Æneid*.
4. One Book of Satires against the City of London.
5. One Book of Verses to the Duke of Richmond.
6. Juvenile Poems, those printed by Tottel.
7. An Epitaph on Thomas Clere.
8. A Book of Elegant Epistles.
9. A Translation of Boccace's Consolatory Epistle to Pinus on his Exile.

All these, with the exception of the two last named, are given in this edition of Surrey's Works.

By the Book of Verses on the Duke of Richmond, and the Book of Satires against London, it is probable that we are to understand no more than the single Elegy, beginning,

“ So cruel prison, how could betide, alas ! ”

which turns entirely on the death of the Duke of Richmond ; and the Satire,

“ London, thou has accused me.”

The Book of Elegant Epistles, for we can hardly conceive that Surrey's dispatches to Government were designated by that name, and the Translation of Boccace's Epistle to Pinus, have not hitherto been discovered.

The laudable attention which has of late been directed to the preservation of our ancient records, and manuscripts of every description, leads us to hope that those pieces may still be found. It would be pleasing to ascertain what were Surrey's notions of prose composition, and what were the improvements introduced by him into that branch of writing.

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A LIST OF THE PORTRAITS

OF

HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY.

- I. A FULL length, smaller than life, and dressed in scarlet, with a scarlet velvet cap and a white feather; painted by Holbein. In his Majesty's collection. *At Windsor.*^a
- II. A kit-kat, in black figured velvet, with a book in his hand, half hid under a mantle, and a ring on his finger; painted by Holbein. In his Majesty's Collection. *In Kensington Palace.*^b
- III. A three-quarters length, on pannel, dressed in black, with a dagger; the right hand holding a glove, the left resting on the pommel of the sword. In the possession of the Duke of Norfolk. *At Norfolk House.*^c
- IV. A large whole-length figure, with the arms of England and France quartered with those of Howard: the motto "Sat superest." Æt. 29; painted by Guillim Streets. In the possession of the Duke of Norfolk. *At Arundel Castle.*^d

^a It is from this picture that permission has been obtained to make the engraving given in this Work. Surrey is here represented as about eighteen or twenty years old. He seems at one time to have been partial to scarlet colour. See the Appendix, No. XLIII, p. cxiv, cxv. In the latter part of his life he was fond of very dark colours, or black.

^b It was from this picture that Vertue made his engraving. His original plate is preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. In the large engraving, by Vertue, of the Earl of Arundel's family, after Ffruytier's small picture, this portrait of Surrey is represented as hanging on the wall. Ffruytier's picture belongs now to Sir G. Jerningham.

^c This portrait was formerly at Lumley Castle. It was given by the late Lord Scarborough to the present Duke of Norfolk.

^d For a particular description of this picture, see *Memoirs*, p. ix. and *Note a*, p. x. It is in all probability the original picture painted by Guillim Streets. See *Walpole's Anec. of Painting*, Vol. I. I suspect that this portrait will be found to throw light upon a circumstance in Surrey's Life, which

- V. A portrait, apparently a copy in part of that last mentioned. In the possession of the Duke of Norfolk. *At Greystock Castle.*
- VI. A large whole-length, on canvas, very nearly the same as No. IV. differing only in the mode of placing the arms and motto, and in some other smaller points. In the possession of the Duke of Dorset. *At Knowle.^e*
- VII. A three-quarters length, in black, with a sword and dagger. In the possession of Lord Scarborough. *At Lumley Castle.^f*
- VIII. A three-quarters length, belonging to Sir R. Bedingfield. *At Oxborough Hall, Norfolk.*

hitherto has not been well understood. We know from the Indictment, that Surrey was charged with having caused to be painted, on the 7th October, 1546, in his house at Kenninghall (and having then assumed to bear) the Arms of England. *See Appendix, No. XXXIII. p. lxxxix.* We have been informed also, that the Privy Council ordered a picture of the Earl of Surrey, which was then painting, to be brought to London and produced before them. *See Memoirs, p. ix.* I conceive that portrait to have been the picture now under consideration; for it bears the arms of England as assumed to be borne by the Earl of Surrey: and it seems probable, that the painting those arms on this picture was the particular act which gave fatally the ground-work for the charge on which he was tried and executed. This explains the reason why the Privy Council should have been so anxious to obtain possession of a picture, and why it was brought before them. It was the proof of that act, which was to be constituted treason. It explains to us also, why Surrey should have said, as he has done so pointedly, that his foes were of his own house. The person, whoever it was that supplied this charge in the Indictment, must have been some one then living confidentially with him. Mrs. Holland, perhaps; or perhaps his own sister, the Dutchess of Richmond, who proved in the event his bitterest accuser. She might have been in the habit of sitting with him while this portrait was painting, and have watched the progress of the work that was so soon to be brought in evidence against her unsuspecting brother. Without the means of some domestic spy, the Privy Council could not have known so trivial a circumstance as the putting of the arms on the picture; much less could they have learnt the very day when the arms were painted. We may note further on this picture, that if Surrey was 29 when it was finished, namely, on the 7th of October, 1546, he must have been born in 1517, and not in 1516, or 1518, as has been by different persons conjectured. *See Memoirs, p. ix.*

^e This picture belonged originally to Margaret, Countess of Dorset, Surrey's grand-daughter; youngest daughter to his son Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk. She married Robert, 2d Earl of Dorset, and brought the picture with her to Knowle. Her own portrait is preserved there likewise. She was very handsome, and of a singularly fair and beautiful complexion. In the long Picture Gallery, at Knowle, is a portrait, supposed to be one of Henry, Earl of Surrey, as a youth, with a gold chain round his neck, and a pink flower in his hand. But this portrait must have been designed for his son, Thomas, who was Earl of Surrey from the reversal of the attainder on Mary's accession until 1553, when, on the death of his grand-father, he succeeded to the Dukedom.

^f This notice is taken from Pennant's *Tour*, vol. iii. p. 322. I suspect that it may be the portrait already described at No. III.

- IX. A small head, painted on board. *In the Picture Gallery, Oxford.*^s
 X. A very highly-finished head, on board, the same in every respect with the head of No. IV. In the possession of the Editor.^h
 XI. An original drawing, by Holbein, as a young man. In his Majesty's Collection. *At Buckingham House.*ⁱ

The Editor has an highly-finished carving, in Ivory, of the head of the Earl of Surrey; small oval, alto relievo; no name of the artist. It seems to have been taken from the picture at Kensington Palace, or from the sketch whence that picture was made.^k

BEFORE THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

^s A portrait, apparently of no great value or authority.

^h It is remarkable, that so many copies should have been made, either in whole, or in part, from Streets' picture. But we may account for it, by supposing that Surrey's friends would be disposed to multiply copies of it, as it was the portrait last painted; and might even look upon it with that sort of lively interest which would arise from considering it as the innocent cause of his untimely end.

ⁱ A Print from this drawing will be found in Chamberlain's engravings from the Holbein Heads. In the same Collection is a drawing of the Countess of Surrey. I have never seen any picture of her. She does not appear to have been handsome. See *Memoirs*, p. cx; and *note a*.

^k There is a print of Surrey among the Houbraken heads; but no mention is made of the authority whence it was taken. Houbraken seems to have engraved from some inaccurate drawing. That print does not bear much resemblance to any of the known portraits of Surrey. The Rev. Mr. Dallaway, to whom I am indebted for several of the notices in this list of Portraits, tells me, that having minutely examined the shield described in the *Memoirs* at p. xxxix, he cannot find the name of Stradanus upon it; though Vertue in his drawing of the shield, ascribes it to Stradanus.

But the influence of Surrey's genius upon our language and our literature did not perish with him. That has been permanent. It continues still to operate. On this account his works demand attention. He who first gives permanence to language, by establishing definite forms and modes of speech; who shows mankind the proper direction of genius and composition, and settles finally the laws of verification, is a general benefactor to mankind, in as much as he creates what would otherwise be evanescent; fixes the period from which knowledge may be said to accumulate; and enables succeeding generations to profit by the experience and the wisdom of the past.

That the Earl of Surrey was the first great reformer and polisher of the English language after Chaucer, no one has ever yet doubted.

But on what principles he proceeded, and how much he effected, has not hitherto been ascertained. It shall be the object of the present Dissertation to make the nature and the extent of his improvements known. To do this it will be necessary to inquire what was the state of English poetry before his time, and will occasion a dissertation.

A

DISSERTATION

The first step leads to perplexity, and will occasion a dissertation which, I fear, will be uninteresting to the generality of my readers. I have no alternative; unless I consent to leave a principal part of my subject involved in obscurity.

ON

THE STATE OF ENGLISH POETRY

BEFORE THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

To whatever praise and admiration the Earl of Surrey may be entitled for his personal accomplishments, his virtues, and the high heroic temper of his mind; it is on account of his literary attainments chiefly, his genius as a poet and his merits as a writer that his name deserves to be transmitted to posterity. It is true that his romantic gallantry must have had an influence upon the manners of his times. But that influence is now no longer felt. In this respect his example has ceased to operate. As far as manners only are concerned, it is almost as though Henry of Surrey had never been.

But the influence of Surrey's genius upon our language and our literature did not perish with him. That has been permanent. It continues still to operate. On this account his works demand attention. He who first gives permanency to language, by establishing definite forms and modes of speech; who shews us what is the proper diction of poetic composition, and settles finally the laws of versification, is a general benefactor to mankind, in as much as he arrests what would otherwise be evanescent; fixes the period from which knowledge may be said to accumulate; and enables succeeding generations to profit by the experience and the wisdom of the past.

That the Earl of Surrey was the first great reformer and polisher of the English language after Chaucer, no one has ever yet denied.

But on what principles he proceeded, and how much he effected, has not hitherto been ascertained. It shall be the object of the present Dissertation to make the nature and the extent of his improvements known. To do this it will be necessary to inquire what was the state of English poetry before he began to write.

The first step leads to perplexity, and will occasion a discussion which, I fear, will be uninteresting to the generality of my readers. It is a discussion which on many accounts I would gladly avoid. But I have no alternative; unless I consent to leave a principal part of my subject involved in darkness and uncertainty.

SECT. I. *The difficulty of ascertaining the nature of our Versification previous to Surrey's time—Mr. Tyrwhitt's System respecting Chaucer's Versification considered—Objections to it.*

It has been said of Surrey generally, that he improved our taste by giving us correct models of composition; that he polished our language, and reformed our poetic diction; and lastly, that he introduced a more perfect system of versification than had been known before.

Now, all such improvements as relate to poetic diction, language, and taste in composition may be easily ascertained, by comparing Surrey's writings with those of preceding and cotemporary poets.

But what the improvements were which he made in our versification is a question of no small difficulty. It is not sufficient to say, that Surrey's numbers are more fluent and harmonious than those of any earlier poet. The point to be ascertained is, whether their fluency and harmony was the result of principles first introduced by himself; or whether he did no more than improve upon principles known, and used generally before his time.

How is this to be ascertained? Not I fear by referring to those writers who have treated professedly of the history of our poetry. Little has been said by any of them on the subject of our early versi-

fication. They are not even agreed as to the meaning of the terms employed. Thus it is yet undetermined what riding-rhyme, and what rhyme doggerel meant originally : neither is it settled what is the exact difference between rhyme, and verses of cadence.

There is an author indeed justly famous for learning and critical ability, Mr. Tyrwhitt, the last editor of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, who in a dissertation prefixed to that publication has treated expressly of the subject of our versification, and has advanced opinions concerning it which have been ever since, if not universally, at least generally adopted. These therefore must be considered.

Mr. Tyrwhitt supposes our versification to have been completely metrical in Chaucer's time ; each Heroic verse consisting of eleven syllables. He admits that verses sometimes occur which have only ten syllables ; but he contends that these verses do not affect Chaucer's general system, any more than the Truncated Hendecasyllabic verse of the Italian poets does theirs. Thus in the following passage, the first and third lines have only ten syllables, notwithstanding which they are used mixed with verses that have eleven.

Qual è colui che cosa innanzi a se

Subita vede, ond'ei si maraviglia,

Che crede e no, dicendo, " Ell' è, non è ;"

Tal parve quegli ; e poi chinò le ciglia. *Purgat. Can. vii. l. 10.*

Mr. Tyrwhitt allows also that there is a still further apparent irregularity in Chaucer's verses, many of them having only nine, and some only eight syllables ; but he argues that this is a seeming and not a real irregularity, arising out of the changes that have taken place in our pronunciation ; in consequence of which he maintains that many words have not the same syllabic value they had formerly. He proposes therefore to establish certain rules of pronunciation, by means of which he says it will be easy to bring all Chaucer's verses, with very little exception at least, to one common standard, namely the Hendecasyllabic.

The grounds whereupon Mr. Tyrwhitt rests his hypothesis are plausible. Seeing there are many harmonious verses of eleven syllables to be found in Chaucer's poems, he infers that Chaucer both knew and approved the laws of exact versification; and from this inference he argues that it is highly improbable Chaucer should at one time have followed those rules, and at another time have abandoned them capriciously, to introduce lines hardly reducible to any measure at all.

This is reasonable. But the point is carried too far, when from the occurrence of these lines of eleven syllables it is concluded that Chaucer's system of versification was metrical, and that all his lines were Iambic Hendecasyllables; that is, lines consisting of five Iambic feet, and a redundant syllable; such as were the verses of the Italian poets, when they had finally settled the laws of their versification. The defects of this hypothesis shew themselves in the steps which are necessary to be taken for its support.

It is admitted that a very large proportion of Chaucer's verses have only nine or ten syllables; some so few as eight. How are the defective syllables to be supplied so as to make each verse a just Hendecasyllable? Mr. Tyrwhitt proposes the following expedients.

First, that the final syllables should be pronounced as well of nouns in the plural number, as of those in the genitive case. As in the following instances:

Full worthy was he in his *Lord-ys* war. *Cant. Tales*, v. 47.

He could *son-gès* make and well endite. *Ibid.* s. 95.

He would also pronounce the final syllable *ed* in verbs of the past tense, and in their participles whenever expressed: as *bath-ed*; *lov-ed*; and when not expressed, as in *sayde*, *coste*, still he would have these words to be considered as dissyllables, because they had been such originally, by giving sufficient sound to the final "e," which would otherwise be mute; as thus, *say-dè*; *cos-tè*. This mode of giving a syllabic value to the "e" so retained, was to extend to the infinitive moods and plural numbers of verbs, which in their Saxon form terminated in "en," and to a great variety of adverbs and prepositions.

A second expedient is that of giving all words which in their Saxon form terminated in "a," a sound equivalent to the original Saxon termination, though it had long ceased to be expressed. Thus *ore*, and *name* were to be pronounced *ox-è*, *nam-è*," because the original words were *oxa*, *nama*.

A third expedient is that of pronouncing the final "e" of words of every description so as to give it the value of a syllable, whenever a syllable is deemed wanting. This rule was to obtain not only in those words where the final "e" stood evidently for the letter "y," corresponding to the accented "è" of the French, as in "*beauty*," "*pity*," and the like; or as in "*secre*," for "*secrèt*;" or where it might be supposed to have been substituted for the Saxon "a;" but whenever it occurs, even though nothing more than a peculiarity in orthography. This licence is supported by the use of the "e" feminine, as it is generally, though I believe inaccurately called in French versification; from which therefore Chaucer may be supposed to have adopted it. Thus *sote* would be made a dissyllable, and be pronounced *so-tee*; *some*, the pronoun, *som-èe*; and *droughte*, the antiquated way of spelling *drought*, *drough-tèe*.

These three expedients failing, it is then proposed to consult MSS. and see whether some one MS. may not afford a reading which would enable us to complete the measure; or, if not a reading, a word at least so spelt as that by the help of the final "e," the number of syllables wanted to make an Hendecasyllabic line might be obtained. All these means of filling up the measure failing, the verse which still continues defective is to be considered corrupt.

Such is the general outline of Mr. Tyrwhitt's system, and he accompanies his plan with an analysis of the first eighteen lines of the Canterbury Tales, shewing where accents are to be laid, and how words are to be pronounced so as to render each line a just Hendecasyllable. In almost every instance this is effected by means of the feminine "e"; indeed, without that expedient, the far greater part of Chaucer's lines would still remain decasyllables.

I will not detain the reader with a minute examination of this

system in all its parts. It will be sufficient to adduce some general reasons why I conceive it not to be well founded.

Every one will admit that the final syllables of plural nouns, and of nouns in the genitive case, as well as of participles and verbs, may, and often ought to be pronounced in Chaucer, and in all our early poets. As far as this rule therefore applies, no objection can be raised to the system. But I do not see how the use of Saxon terminations can be allowed, unless the unequivocal consent of good manuscripts warrant the conclusion that Chaucer in particular cases allowed himself that licence.

That he ever did, I doubt. Chaucer's object was to polish the language of his day. To do this he would naturally reject all words of an obsolete form, and all vulgar modes of pronunciation. That a large number of Saxon words, with their original terminations, must have then become obsolete, or have been used by the common people only, or in particular provinces, may be concluded as well from the state of the best MSS. of Chaucer, as from the history of our language. We know that the use of the English, that is of the Anglo-Saxon language, had been discouraged from the time of the Conquest, and that it had been in a great degree superseded by the general introduction of the French, which had become for nearly two centuries as well the language of polite literature, as of the Court. The original Saxon terminations of words therefore, must in Chaucer's time have grown greatly into disuse; consequently, were we now to introduce those terminations into Chaucer's text for the sake of gaining syllables, the probability is that we should make Chaucer counteract his own purpose; for then, instead of having polished the language of his times, he would be found to have made it appear more rude and antiquated than in reality it was.

But the principal objections to Mr. Tyrwhitt's hypothesis, omitting to urge many of minor import, are those which apply to the assumption of the "e" feminine, without which the system, were every thing else conceded, could not stand. For, in the first place, such a mode of pronunciation would be in direct opposition to the

nature and genius of our language, which, instead of dilating words for the purpose of multiplying syllables, tends to contract words as much as possible, and throws off not only final vowels, the use of which may be often doubtful, but entire syllables, even where those syllables are wanted to preserve grammatical distinction. Now it appears to me incredible that Chaucer, who was remarkable for his common sense and practical view of things, meaning to form a standard style in language, should begin by introducing a novel mode of pronunciation, which, being contrary to common usage, could not be generally adopted. In this also he would have defeated his own purpose, and would have incurred the same ridicule to which a writer of later times has exposed himself in proposing to improve the harmony of our numbers, by giving an Italian termination to our words.

A still stronger objection to this supposed use of the "e" feminine rests upon a matter of fact. It is said to be similar to the use of the "e" feminine in the French, from which, therefore, we are to consider it derived. But it remains yet to be proved that the use of the "e" feminine, such as is here contended for, was then established in French poetry. It seems clear to me that it was not; nor do I doubt but that every one will arrive at the same conclusion, who will give himself the trouble to examine dispassionately the early French poets, and particularly the manuscript copies of their works. If therefore Chaucer really did employ the "e" feminine in his versification, in the manner supposed, it must have been a contrivance purely of his own invention; a supposition this which, I apprehend, few will be disposed to maintain.

These objections apply to the methods proposed for rendering Chaucer's verses Hendecasyllables, granting him to have had the intention of writing in verses of that nature. But that he should have had that sort of verse in contemplation, which is the point assumed as the basis of the hypothesis, appears to me as resting on no sure ground of proof whatever.

Mr. Tyrwhitt admits that we have no specimens of any such sort of

verse in our language previous to this supposed introduction of it by Chaucer. Chaucer therefore must have been the inventor of it. Mr. Tyrwhitt styles him such, and says that he took the idea either from the French or the Italian poets.

I hope I shall be acquitted of presumption, when I say that Mr. Tyrwhitt expresses himself here with less precision than might have been expected in a writer of his known scholarship and judgment. It could not have been a matter of indifference to his system whether Chaucer formed his versification on the French or the Italian poets; for the poets of France and Italy had each a system of versification peculiar to themselves. Again; it is speaking much too vaguely to say that Chaucer might have followed the French poets generally, since the poets of the South of France, that is the Provençal poets, differed widely from the poets of the Northern provinces in their system of versification. These latter used, perhaps we might say without any exception, for their long or heroic verse, the Alexandrine line, consisting of twelve syllables. Such are the following lines taken from the celebrated poem on the life of Alexander, from which the term of Alexandrine verse is said to have been derived.

Qui de riche Histoire " veut entendre et oïr
 Pour prendre bon exemple " et prouesse cueillir
 De connoitre raison " d'aimer et de haïr
 De ses amis garder " et cherement tenir, &c.

The Heroic verse of ten syllables, such as used by Ronsard, was a much later invention. The French poets therefore (those I mean who were distinguished from the Provençal poets) could not have been Chaucer's model, supposing him to have had it in contemplation to form a system of versification purely Hendecasyllabic.

The same observation, admitting Chaucer's verses to be Hendecasyllables, applies to the Provençal poets; for their system of versification was altogether Decasyllabic. Their Heroic verse consisted of no more than ten syllables; the rhyming syllable being strongly

accented, and generally a monosyllable; as will appear in the following lines from Arnaldo Daniello:

Sim fos amor de joi donar tan larg
 Qom eu ves lei daver fin cor e franc
 Jai per gran be non calgra far embarg
 Queram ten aut qer per me pula emplomba
 Qe tant ric loc me so mes e me stanc
 Qab son bel diz me tindra de joi larg
 E sagrai tant com men port a la tomba
 Qeu non soi ges celse lais aus per plomb &c.

Crescembeni della Volg. Poes. Vol. II. p. 237.

We are told indeed that the Provençal poets used equally the line of eleven syllables; and an Hendecasyllabic line from Daniello is cited as preserved by Petrarch.

Non gravi al mio Signor perch'io 'l ripregghi,
 Di dir libero un dì tra l' erba e i fiori;
Drez et raison es qui eu ciant emdemori.

Canzone. xvii.

I own it appears to me probable that this line, if it be rightly quoted, which Castelvetro disputes, was only a verse terminating with a double rhyme, like the fourth and seventh of those which are given above. At all events a partial use of the Hendecasyllabic line among the Provençal poets would not supersede their general system, any more than their occasional use of the line of twelve syllables, in which Guglielmo degli Amerighi certainly composed some pieces, would prove their general system to have been Alexandrine, like that of the French poets of the Northern provinces. The general system of the Provençal poets was clearly Decasyllabic, as a reference to the poems of Tibaut, King of Navarre, alone, would be sufficient to prove. The Provençal poets therefore, which is the only point we are concerned with, could not have been the model Chaucer followed, if his verses are to be deemed Hendecasyllables.

If Chaucer then formed himself on any one of the above-mentioned models, it must have been on that of the Italian poets. But it is by no means certain that the Italian versification was at that time altogether metrical as it is at present. The specimen preserved by Crescembeni from Ciullo d'Alcamo, proves it to have been originally rhythmical; and it may be easily shewn that Dante, Boccacio, and the poets of that period used verses of more than eleven syllables. But, not to stand on these objections, were it granted that the verses of the Italian poets were then, as now, regular Iambic Hendecasyllables, still I see not how the proposition could be maintained consistently with what has been said of Chaucer's having taken so leading a principle in his versification as that of the "e" feminine from the French. To suppose that Chaucer introduced into England a new system of versification peculiar to the language of Italy, which required his availing himself of a mode of pronunciation peculiar to the language of France, without which his versification could not be carried on, is in my mind a position less tenable than any of the rest.

It would be easy to extend these general objections, and their strength would be found to increase as they branch out into more minute particulars. I shall content myself with simply stating them. The more attentively the subject is examined, the stronger I am persuaded will be found the objections to Mr. Tyrwhitt's system. When I consider Mr. Tyrwhitt's eminent attainments as a scholar, and his high authority in points of critical skill and sagacity, I feel great diffidence in thus venturing to dissent from him. But what human judgment was ever yet infallible? or who is proof against the charm of supporting an hypothesis which he has been the first to advance?

SECT. II. *Of the different sorts of English Verse used before Chaucer's time—Of the Octosyllabic Verse—the Alexandrine—and the Alliterative Verse.*

What then were the improvements made by Chaucer in our versification? That he did improve it is incontestible. I apprehend, however, that his improvements were neither as extensive, or as systematic, as Mr. Tyrwhitt imagines. Indeed, had Chaucer attempted to introduce a system of versification entirely new, and that too of foreign original, I do not see how his Poetry could have become as popular as it was. Poetry to become popular must accommodate itself in a great measure to ordinary established modes of speech, and to the existing bent and genius of a language. Upon these an able writer may improve, but he cannot depart wholly from them. I conceive therefore that Chaucer would not have invented a system of his own, but simply have improved upon that which he found established. If this opinion be well founded it will follow, that the principles at least of Chaucer's versification are to be traced in the works of those poets who were either his cotemporaries, or his immediate predecessors. This point must be ascertained previous to any reasoning on the subject. To ascertain it we must enquire what were the modes of versification adopted generally by our English Writers about the time when Chaucer began to write.

I need not notice the versification used in popular romances: that would naturally be rude and inartificial; and such as was calculated to catch the attention of the unlettered audience to whom those romances were recited. I will limit myself to such forms of verse as were used by grave and serious writers.

The most approved forms of verse for regular composition then in use were, First, The verse of seven and eight syllables, for they were used indifferently, rhyming in couplets; Secondly, The long Alexandrine, varying in the number of its syllables from ten to fifteen, rhym-

ing equally in couplets; and Thirdly, The long alliterative line, which varied equally in its number of syllables, and was without rhyme.

The rhyming verse of seven or eight syllables was introduced into our language soon after the Conquest. It was the measure generally employed by the Norman and French Poets, and was adapted to all subjects as well serious, and religious, as amatory and satiric. It was the measure in which Wace, and all the Norman historians wrote their Chronicles; it served for the Serventes, those satiric songs which were so famous in former days: for the Fabliaux, or Ludicrous Tales, and for Lays, which appear to have been a more elevated style of Poetry than the common Fable: such were the Lays of Mary, the celebrated Norman Poetess. When, therefore, our native English Poets began to write in their own language, they naturally fell into that measure the use of which had been long established by the French, who were the fashionable Court Poets, and which the English Poets themselves, writing in the French language, had constantly adopted. It was in this measure that Robert of Brunne translated Wace's Brut d'Angleterre, or, as it is more commonly called, simply Le Brut. The following lines may serve as a specimen of the system of seven or eight syllables. I call it such because those lines seem to have been the basis of the system. In point of fact, verses of nine and ten feet, and sometimes of even more were used intermixed with them.

Lordingès that be now here
If ye will listèn and lere,
All the story of England
Als Robert Manning written it fand
And on English has it shewed
Not for the lered but for the lewed
For tho' that in this land wonne
That the Latin ne Frankis conne
For to have solace and gamen
In fellowship when they sit samen
And it is wisdom for to witten
The state of the land and have it written

What manner of folk first it wan
 And of what kind it first began
 And good it is for many thingès
 For to hear the dedes of kingès.
 Whilk were fooles and whilk were wise
 And whilk of them con the most queintise, &c.

See Hearne's Langtoft. Preface, p. cxvi.

The second sort of verse was that which may be called generally the Alexandrine verse. It rhymed in couplets, but varied in the number of its syllables, from nine or ten, to fourteen or fifteen. It was used in works of every description. We find treatises of devotion written in it, as well as love songs and satirical compositions. Of this verse the following description of the armament formed by the Roman governor against Arthur, from Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, may serve as a specimen.

Lucie the senator tho he wist his mandement
 Soon he had wide about his messengers y-sent
 For to gathery to his help all the power of Rome
 So that again Lammass all these Kingès to him come
 Of Afric and of Greece of Spain and of Syrie
 Of Medes and of Perses of Ytours and of Lybie
 Of Egypt and of Babilon and of Phrygie
 And also of Mesopot of Bytynie of Boecie
 All these kinges and all other that were by East Rome
 And all that to Rome sold service to him come
 So that forty thousand horse and sixty thousand also
 There were tho they yare were his chivalery to do
 King Arthur betook Mordred his sisters son I ween
 This land to look tho he wend and Guinevar his Queen
 For he trust to him most as me thinketh he well ought
 And as ye should hereafter y hear they brought him sith to nought.

Hearne's Robert of Gloucester. Vol. I. p. 201.

The third sort of verse was that used by the author of Peirs Plow-

man's Visions, by far the noblest effort of the English Muse before the time of Chaucer. That poem opens thus.

In a summer season when soft was the sun
 I shope into shrubbès as I a shepherd were
 In habit as an hermit unholy of workès
 That went forth in the world wonders to hear
 And saw many cells and selcouth thinges
 And on May morwening on Malvern hills
 Me befell for to sleep for weariness of wandring
 And in a launde as I lay leaned I and slept
 And marvellously me mette as I may you tell
 All the wealth of this world and the wo both.

This is what is called the alliterative measure. It was unquestionably the most ancient system of versification of the three. I think we may safely pronounce it to have grown out of the old Saxon rhythmical verse, and not, like the other two, out of corrupted Latin metrical verse. The principles upon which it was formed, are not exactly known. The number of the syllables in each line was not attended to; the point chiefly observed was alliteration. But how many words were to begin with the same letter in the same line, does not appear to have been accurately determined. The common number was three; yet we sometimes meet with only two, sometimes with as many as four or five.

SECT. III. *That our early Versification was rhythmical—Rhythmical Versification considered—Of the Cæsura—and Cadence—Specimens of Rhythmical Versification from the Poets antecedent to Chaucer.*

These three modes of versification had one common principle. They were all rhythmical, and not metrical; that is, they did not consist, as our verses do at present, of a certain number of feet, each foot of two

syllables, but they were constructed so as to be recited with a certain rhythmical cadence; for which reason they seem to have been called "Verses of Cadence." One of the consequences necessarily resulting from this use of cadence, or rhythm, was, that the number of syllables in each line, were they more or less, so long as the number was not extravagant, produced no real effect upon the verse; for two short syllables occupied no greater time in recitation than one long: so that, to borrow terms from Greek prosody, though it does not appear that our early poets had any knowledge of such artificial arrangements, the anapæst or the dactyl, produced on the ear the effect of the spondee; and the tribrachys, that of either the Iambic foot, or the Trochaic. As for the final syllable of each verse, that, without any respect to quantity, was always made long by giving it a strong accent. Verses of seven or eight syllables might be read without any suspension of the voice from one end to the other; at least this seems to have been often the case. But long lines, whether of ten or twelve syllables, or more, had always a cæsura in the middle, where a pause was observed; not as long indeed as that which was observed at the conclusion of the line, but sufficiently so to divide each verse into two distinct hemistichs, each hemistich having a rhythm, or cadence of its own.

That these were the rules upon which our versification before Chaucer's time was formed might be collected, were there no other proof, from the verses themselves; to say nothing of the argument to be drawn from their origin, which was unquestionably the Latin rhythmical verse, as it grew on the decline of learning out of the regular metrical verse. For, unless our old English verses had been read with rhythmical cadence, they would have been so unharmonious, that it is not to be supposed any people, however rude and unlettered, could have thought them verses, or have been pleased with them as such.

But a more positive proof is to be drawn from the Manuscripts themselves, in which the works of our early Poets are preserved. In all those MSS. the cæsura in the middle, and the pause at the end of the line are pointed out with a precision that leaves no room for conjecture. The points or marks made use of, have no reference whatever

to punctuation: they never occur but at the place of cæsura in the middle of the line, or at the pause at the end of it; and are often made with red paint, the better to catch the eye.

When the mark of cæsura is omitted, an interval is generally left in the middle of the line, between the two hemistichs. The second hemistich frequently begins with a capital, though the introduction of a capital there, instead of assisting, often confuses the sense. Had these marks and their evident object been sufficiently noticed by our early antiquarians, and had the only inference to be drawn from them been attended to, there would have been no need of inventing any system to solve the difficulty respecting Chaucer's versification.

In confirmation of what I have advanced it will be necessary to trespass a little on the Reader's patience, and adduce a series of extracts from our early manuscripts of poems anterior to Chaucer. From these he will be able to collect both the use of the cæsura, and the studious manner in which it was preserved. The first specimen is from Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle. It is taken from the Bodleian MS. which Hearne used. Why that careful and industrious antiquary did not notice the cæsura, I am at loss to conjecture.

England is right good : I ween it is land best
 In one end it is y-set : of the world all in the west
 And the sea go'th all about : it standeth also in one Isle
 Of foen it has the less doubt : bot it be through guile
 Of folk of the self land : as men it seth while
 From the south end to the north : been eight hundred mile
 And two hundred mile broad : from east-west to wend
 Amid the land as thou it see : and north-west by one end

The manuscripts of Peirs Plowman's Visions in like manner mark either the cadence at the end, or the cæsura in the middle of the line.

In a Summer Season • when Soft was the Sun
 I Shap me vnto Shrubbs • as I a Shepherd were

In an Habit of an Hermit • un-Holy of workès
 Went I forth in the World • Wonders to hear
 I Saw many Sellès • and Selcouth things
 As in a May Morwing • on Malvern hills
 Me befal to sleep • for Weariness of Wandering, &c.

Cotton MSS. Vesp. B. xvi.

In a summer season when soft was the sun •
 I schap me in a shroud as I a schep were •
 In an habit of an Hermit unholy of workès •
 And went wide in the world wonders to hear •
 But in a May morning on Malvern hills •
 Me befel a ferley of fairy methought •

Harleian MSS. No. 3954.

The following passage is from another MS. of Peirs Plowman's Visions in the Harleian collection. It is marked N° 2376.

What be-meanes the mountain ÷ and the mirk dale
 And the field full of folk ÷ I shall you fair shew
 A lovely Lady of lore ÷ in lenen y-clothed
 Came adown fro that castle ÷ and cleped me by name
 And said William sleeps thou ÷ and seest thou this people
 How busy hi been ÷ about the maze
 The most party of this people ÷ that passeth on this earth
 Habbe I worship in this world ÷ hi wilneth no better
 Of other heaven than here ÷ they holden no tale
 I was afeard of her face ÷ tho' he so fäer were

That the cæsura was preserved even in lines of seven and eight syllables, though not so necessary to the rhythm, the following instances will suffice to prove.

All hail Mary • full of grace
 Our Lord of Heaven • is with thee
 His Mansion • in thee he has
 Also of thee born • shall he be

His glorious body • shalt 'ou see
 Naked lying • in an Oxe stall
 And till him present • shall Kings three
 Gold Myrrh • and Incense royàl

Harl. MSS. No. 2251. fo. 1.

In the following hymn to the Virgin, not only the cæsura, but the rhythm is strongly marked by the introduction of the Latin hemistich.

Surge mea sponsa • so sweet in sight
 Come see thy son • that seke so sheen
 Thou shalt abide • with thy Babe so bright
 And in my Glory • be crowned a Queen
 Thy mammals Mother • full well I mean
 They were my meat • I might not miss
 Aboven all Creatures • my Mother sheen.
 Veni coronaberis

Ibid.

And still more strongly in these lines.

Hail blessed Lady • the Mother of Christ Jesù
 Of Peace and Concord • hail freshest on live
 Hail highest Cedàr • surmounting in virtù
 Hail who hath cunning • thy beauty to describe
 For there was never none • so fair on live
 Hail Bush unbrent • portula signatà
 Hail glorious Maid • with whom no Fiends may strive
 Hail Flos Campi • O ave Jesse virgulà

Ib. fo. 31.

The two following stanzas, one from a Love Song, the other from a little satiric Ballad, are taken out of the same volume.

Alas I woeful • creature
 Living between • hope and dread
 How might I • the woe endure
 In tenderness • of womanhod

In langour aye • my life to lead
 And set my heart • in such a place
 Whereas I • by likelihed
 Am ever unlike • to stand in grace
 There is so great • a difference
 Tween his Manhood • and my simpleness
 That danger • by great violence
 Hath me brought • in great distress
 And yet • in very sickness
 Though my desire • I never attain
 Yet without • doubleness
 I love him best • I shall not feign.

Ib. fo. 277.

This world • is full of stableness
 There is therein • no variaunce
 But Truth Faith • and Gentleness
 Secretness • and Assuraunce
 Plenty Joy • and Pleasaunce
 By example • who can have reward
 Verily • by resemblaunce
 So as the Crab • goeth forward.

Ib. fo. 40.

When the cæsura in the middle of the line was not marked, the pause at the end was carefully noted. Thus in a beautiful MS. of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* in the British Museum:

Of them that writen us before •
 The Bookes dwell and we therefore •
 Been taught of that was writ tho •
 Forthy good is that we also •
 In our time among us here •
 Do write of some new matere •
 Ensamplid of these old wise •
 When we be dead and elleswhere •
 Be live to the worlds ear •
 In time comend after this •

Harl. MSS. No. 3490.

The examples which follow are from Poems anterior to Chaucer. I adduce them that the custom of marking the cæsura and the pause may not be supposed to have been peculiar to his age. In fact they are both coeval with the rhythmical verse, and inseparable from it; as a reference to the origin of our rhythmical versification would prove.

The life of St. Margaret is quoted by Hickes as one of the earliest and finest specimens of the Anglo Norman Poetry; it has both the cæsura and the pause throughout. It begins thus:

Old and young I prayeth' ou : your follies for to lete •
 Thinketh on God : that gef you wit your sinnès to bete •
 Here I may tellen you : with wordes fair and sweet •
 The vie of one Maiden : was noten Margarate •
 Her father was a patriax : as I you tellen may •
 In Antiocha wife y-ches : in the false lay •
 Deaf Goddès and dumb : he served night and day •
 So diden many other : that singeth well-a-way •

Hickes's Thesaurus. Vol. I. p. 224.

The next piece cited by Hickes is the description of the country of Cockayne. In this piece the final pause is studiously noted throughout.

Far by Sea by west Spain •
 Is a land y-hote Cokayne •
 There nis land under Heaven rich •
 Of wel of goodness it y-lich •
 Though Paradise be merry and bright •
 Cockayne is of fairer sight •

Ib. p. 231.

It would be easy to multiply instances. In the Harleian Collection is a manuscript volume of the Lives of Saints, written about the thirteenth century. The cæsura occurs in every line. The following may serve as a specimen.

Saint Alphe the Martyr ÷ that good Man was y-now
 Y-bore was in England ÷ and to holy life drow

He come of high kin enough ÷ and heir was thereto
 Yet he forsook his heritage ÷ as soon as he come thereto

No. 2277. fo. 30.

Saint Dunstan was of England ÷ y-come of good more
 Marvel our Lord did for him ÷ or he were y-bore
 For tho he was in his mother's womb ÷ a Candlemas Day
 The folk was at Church y-now ÷ as to the time lay
 As hi stood with her light ÷ as men doth yet know
 Her light acqueint over all ÷ her none nist how

Ib. fo. 51.

The date of the two following extracts is perhaps still earlier. The first is entitled the siege of Jerusalem.

In Tiberius Time • the True emperor
 Sir Cæsar himself • Seized in rome
 While Pilate was Provost • under that Prince rich
 And Jews Justice also • of Judeas land
 Herod under His empire • as Heritage took
 King of gallilee Called • when that Christ died
 Though Cæsar Sakeless were • he that Sin hated
 Thorough Pilate Pined was • and Put on the rood

Cotton MSS. Caligula. A. II. fo. 109.

The second, with which I will close these extracts, is called Chevillere assigne (Le Chevalier du Cygne.)

All Wielding God • When it his Will
 Well he Weaveth his Work • With his own hand
 For oft Harmes were Hent • that Help we no might
 None the Highness of Him • that longeth in Heaven
 For this I say that a Lord • was Light in an isle
 That was called Lycor • a Land by himself
 The King hette Oryelis • as the Book telleth.

Ib. fo. 128.

SECT. IV. *Of Chaucer's versification—that his verses were Decasyllables, but rythmical—of the use and importance of the cæsura in rythmical versification.*

It seems certain then that our versification anterior to Chaucer, whether the lines were Alexandrine, Octosyllabic, or Alliterative, was uniformly rythmical. It now remains to ascertain what were the alterations which Chaucer made. First, he rejected alliteration; but it should be remarked that alliteration was beginning to be superseded by the increasing prevalence of rhyme. Secondly, he established the practice of always changing the rhyme with the couplet; for before his time the same termination was continued to four, eight, ten, and indeed to an indefinite number of lines, which produced a monotonous and an inelegant effect. Thirdly, he introduced the Heroic stanza of seven lines, whether borrowed from the Provençal or from the Italian poets is immaterial; a stanza, which for many centuries after was used as the system of verse best suited to serious and elevated subjects; supplying a greater variety of harmony, and a richer combination of sounds than the common couplet could produce.

But the chief improvement introduced by Chaucer into our versification was that of dropping altogether the use of the Alexandrine line, and substituting the line of ten syllables in its stead. This alteration was of importance; not only because it was adopted by all subsequent writers, but because it led the way to that further change which afterwards took place. It was the first step towards bringing our versification to its present form.

But though Chaucer reduced our verse to ten syllables, he suffered it to retain in other respects the properties of the old Alexandrine verse. Like that it was divided by the old cæsura into hemistichs; had the pause at the end, and was recited rythmically. It was till what Lydgate called "the verse of Cadence." It is true that many of Chaucer's lines have the appearance of being pure

Iambic Decasyllables. This however was the effect of accident. For accent and quantity, which are not of necessity the same, would sometimes coincide, and when they did, a pure Iambic Decasyllable was unavoidably the result. It was the frequent occurrence of these fortuitous Iambic lines that led Mr. Tyrwhitt, and before him Mr. Urry, and the learned Mr. Morell, to believe that Chaucer's system of versification was altogether metrical.^a But an impartial consideration of the subject, and a reference to good MSS. must I think lead us to conclude that Chaucer had not a metrical system of numbers in contemplation; but that, on the contrary, he designed his verses to be read, like those of all his contemporaries, with a cæsure and rhythmical cadence.

Should it be asked why so many Iambic lines are to be found in Chaucer, the answer is obvious. Our language had become more compressed. Most of the words in common use had dropped their final syllables, and monosyllables were multiplied. This could not but produce a corresponding effect on our versification; and lines of ten syllables would insensibly be written instead of lines of twelve or fourteen. In support of this opinion I would adduce Manning's continuation of Langtoft's Chronicle. Manning's system is nominally the same with that used by Robert of Gloucester; namely the old Alexandrine of twelve or fourteen syllables. But there is this difference, that Manning abounds with verses of ten syllables, which might easily pass for Iambic Decasyllables. Such are the following.

Wise men of good	gave answer to the King	<i>Vol. II. p. 327</i>
His father Edward north	made his journey	<i>Ibid. p. 333</i>
Now of King Robin shall I yet	speak more	<i>Ibid. p. 336</i>
The King at Carlisle held his	Parliament	<i>Ibid. p. 338</i>

^a Mr. Morell, the learned author of the *Thesaurus*, is the person alluded to by Mr. Tyrwhitt as the editor of a specimen of a new edition of Chaucer. One volume only appeared in 8vo. in 1737. It was afterwards reprinted I believe in 1740. Mr. Morell's opinion respecting Chaucer's versification will be found in the preface to that work. Mr. Urry's is given at large in the preface to his edition of Chaucer in folio.

But that Manning did not mean to use the Decasyllabic line intentionally and upon system, is clear from the way in which it occurs mixed with Alexandrines; as in the following passage:

Sir, said the Duke, "I am now comen here
 These Saracens to rebuke" and slay at my powere
 My land I hold with right" at no man's dome
 But of God Almighty" and St. Peter of Rome
 If thou to none that live" said Richard tho chene ne bow
 Thy land men shall give" till one that may it vow
 Great scathe afterward" in a little thrawe
 Came till King Richard" for that envious saw. *Vol. I. p. 180.*

Several of these lines are Decasyllables: each of them taken separately might be read as such, but the rhyme at the end of the first hemistich of each verse proves that the author intended his lines to be read connectedly in couplets; and if so, the whole must have been read rhythmically. With respect to those lines which are apparently pure Iambic Decasyllables, they were as easily reducible to cadence or rhythm as those which were confessedly Alexandrines, by laying a strong accent sometimes on the first syllable of each hemistich, sometimes on the second, as the case required. As in the following instances from Langtoft's Chronicle.

Ōf | Edgàr the Kìng || Thūs | found I writtèn *Vol. I. p. 36*
 Ah hā | said the Kìng || hād | that shank ne beèn *Ibid. p. 35*
 Whēn | Richàrd heard sày || thāt | Jamès was slàin . . . *Ibid. p. 190*
 Twō | dayès the Popè || wìth | outen meat lày *Vol. II. p. 323*
 Rañ | som should they gìve || āf | ter their Follie *Ibid. p. 325*
 Thē Kīng | gave his sòn || āt | the Parliamènt *Ibid. p. 315*

Manning's use of the Decasyllabic verse, therefore, was partial and accidental. The case was otherwise with Chaucer. He used it uniformly, and upon system. This admits of no doubt. I am not aware that a single instance of the Alexandrine verse occurs in all Chaucer's works; for I fully agree with Mr. Tyrwhitt that the Tale of Gamelyn was not written by Chaucer.

To give the reader a clear notion of what I conceive to have been Chaucer's system of versification, I will transcribe the opening lines of the Canterbury Tales, marking as well the cæsura in the middle of each verse as the pause at the end, and also the strongly accented syllables, to shew in what manner rhythmical Decasyllabic verses were, I apprehend, recited.

Whēn thāt Aprīl || wīth hīs shōurēs sòte |
 Thē droūght ǒf Mārch || hād piērcēd tō thē ròte |
 And bāthēd ēvēry vèin || īn sūch līquòur |
 Of whīch vīrtùe || ēngēdērēd īs thē flòur |
 Whēn Zēphīrūs ēke || wīth hīs sōote brēath |
 Enspīrēd hāth || īn ēvēry hōlt ānd heāth |
 Thē tēndēr crōppēs || ānd thē yōung sùn |
 Hāth īn thē Rām || hālf hīs cōurse y-rùn |
 Aūd smāll fōwlēs || mākēn mēlōdīe |
 Thāt slēepēn āll thē nīght || wīth ōpēn ēie
 Sō prīckēth thēm nātūre || īn thēir cōurāges |
 Thēn lōngēn fōlk || tō gō ōn pīlgrīmāges |
 And pālmērēs || tō sēekēn strānge strōndēs |
 Tō sērve hālwēs || cōuth īn sūndry lōndēs |
 Aūd spēcīāllīe || frōm ēvēry shīrēs ēnd |
 Of Eñglānd || tō Cāntērbūrī thēy wēnd |
 Thē hōly blīssfūl Mārtyr || fōr tō sēek |
 Thāt thēm hāth hōlpēn || whēn thāt thēy wēre sēke |

That I may be not thought to assume too much in this point without proof, I will adduce some reasons why I consider Chaucer's verses, though Decasyllabic, to have been rhythmical, and not metrical.

First, because a large proportion of them cannot be read as Iambic Decasyllables, without doing the utmost violence to our language; all which verses are harmonious as verses of cadence, if read with the cæsura rhythmically. And further, because all those verses might easily by a slight transposition have been made pure Iambic Decasyllables, had Chaucer either known that mode of versification, or intended to have adopted it: as in the following instance.

In her is high beauty withouten pride.

Cant. Tales. 4522.

Unless this line be read rhythmically it has no principle of harmony at all; but when so read, it has all the harmony that sort of versification aspires to.

In hēr is hìgh bēauté || wìthòutēn prīde

Had the Iambic Decasyllabic measure been intended, the line with the transposition of a single word, might have been made a perfect Iambic Decasyllable. We cannot suppose that this would have escaped Chaucer's notice.

In her high beauty is, withouten pride.

The above observations apply to a large number of lines of a similar construction, occurring in almost every page of Chaucer's works.

Again; the incessant recurrence of defective and redundant verses seems to me wholly inconsistent with the notion of a regular system of metrical versification, but not so with rhythmical versification. On the contrary those irregularities are, as I have said above, connected with that system. That some licence in the use of defective or redundant lines, answering to the catalectic and hypercatalectic lines of the Greek Poets, has ever been claimed by our best writers in the regular metrical Decasyllabic system, will be readily admitted. Milton availed himself of it. But that which is conceded as a licence, must be used occasionally only: should it occur at almost every other line, it is then no longer a licence; it forms part of the system.

Another, and I conceive a conclusive reason for believing Chaucer's verses to have been rhythmical verses, or verses of cadence, may be drawn from the Manuscripts themselves in which his poems are preserved. In these MSS. either the cæsure, or the pause at the end of the line, and sometimes both the pause and the cæsure are almost always noted, and that in so careful a manner as makes it questionable whether there be any MS. of good date and authority in which one or both of them is not noted, either by a point, or a virgule; though the virgule

or point may in some instances have been obliterated. Why this particularity, which must have been designed to answer some practical purpose, should not have been noticed by the several editors of Chaucer's works, I am at a loss to say. The omission is the more remarkable as it could not have escaped observation, that all the MSS. agree in fixing the cæsura in every line, with hardly any variation, at the same place. This is another evident mark of design, amounting to little less than proof that Chaucer not only meant his verses to be rhythmical, but did all he could to settle what their rhythm should be. And this explains the meaning of his caution to his scribe, not to "mismeter his verse;" that is, not to mark the cæsura in the wrong place; for if this were not attended to, the rhythmical cadence which formed the beauty of the verse could not be ascertained with precision, and all the harmony of his versification would be destroyed.^a For we must constantly bear in mind that Chaucer's verses were not submitted to the eye like those of modern poets. Few of the nobility, and still fewer of the common sort could read. The generality of people therefore had no other means of becoming acquainted with Chaucer's poems than what the Minstrels

^a And for there is so great diversity

In English, || and in writing of your tongue
 So pray to God || that none miswrite thee
 Ne thee mismeter || for default of tongue
 And read whereso thou be || or ellès sung
 That thou be understood || God I beseech
 But yet to purpose || of my rather speech

Troilus and Cressida, MSS. Harl. No. 1239. fo. 62.

It is remarkable that Gawin Douglas, above an hundred years after, gives exactly the same directions in his Protestation at the close of his translation of Virgil, beseeching his readers to "read lele," to read faithfully, that is according to the rule marked out,

*and tak gude tent in tyme,
 Ze nowthir magil" nor mis-meter my rhyme.* *Ed. 1553. fol. ccclxxx.*

The very lines in which Douglas gives his directions cannot be well read but with rhythmical cadence. One of them has nine syllables, one ten, and two eleven.

supplied, who went about in troops chanting them to the sound of the harp on days of public festivity, or when the great feudal barons entertained their vassals and dependents in their castle halls with almost regal splendour. It was on these occasions, and by those means alone that the English generally were made acquainted with the animated compositions of their favourite national bard. Sometimes they heard chanted to them his gayer tales of common life; and were told of the pains and pleasures, the exultations and despondencies of love as portrayed by him in his *Troilus and Cressida*. At other times they were charmed with the lofty achievements of Palamon and Arcite; or with the still wilder sublimity of Cambuscan's eventful story. In every instance they depended on their Minstrels, round whom they crowded, a mixed unlettered multitude, greedily drinking in the varied strains with wondering ears, and, like the throngs which listened to the fabled masters of the Grecian Lyre of old,

pendebant narrantis ab ore.

If Chaucer therefore, and our early poets had not, under these circumstances, given some rules to the Minstrels to guide them in their recitation, they would have left their numbers open to perpetual change, and have suffered their versification to become the sport of either accident or caprice.^a

^a There is a circumstance in the history of our antient versification, which deserves to be particularly attended to. Our old rhythmical Alexandrine verse, out of which grew the rhythmical Decasyllabic verse, originated in the *Versus Politici*, or verses used in popular composition, adopted by the Greek as well as by the Latin Poets of the lower ages. These were rhythmical; as the two specimens subjoined will suffice to prove. The first is by Tzetzes.

Ἀκριβεστάτως ἐκμαθεῖν | φίλτατε κεχρημένος
Μιᾶς ἐμῆς ἐπιστολῆς | σύμπασαν ἱστορίαν
Εὐκρινημένως μάνθανε | πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς τῆς Κρόισθ.

This which follows is from Muratori's *Antiq. Med. Ævi. Vol. III. p. 677.*

Gratia excelsa Regi" referamus pariter
Qui nos in unum congregavit" Te laudamus Domine
Ut possimus invenire" requiem in sæculum.

SECT. V. *Of the MSS. and early printed editions of Chaucer's poems—
General consent as to the use of the cæsura—Argument to be drawn
from this circumstance.*

I now proceed to give a series of extracts from the MSS. of Chaucer. These, though short, will I trust be sufficient to satisfy the reader that the cæsura and the pause, as they there occur expressed,

The direction subjoined proves the piece to have been recited rhythmically,

Te deosco dulce Frater" qui canis hunc versiculum.

But while the versification of the southern nations of Europe was thus beginning to be rhythmical, that of the northern nations had long been altogether such; emphasis and modulation of the voice supplying the place of quantity and prosody. If learning had not declined, the metrical system of the Classic poets might have stood its ground, and have gradually superseded the rhythmical system of the Northern Bards. But the reverse was the case; and as in the struggle for dominion at the fall of the Roman Empire the northern nations prevailed ultimately, their rhythmical system of versification grew to prevail likewise. For the northern conquerors would naturally retain a partiality for their own national Poetry, and this would impose a necessity on the Italians of accommodating their strains to the taste of their new masters. Hence it was that during the lower and the middle ages, the Latin verses written for the service of the Church, and for popular purposes, were almost all rhythmical. And afterwards, when poems were composed in the vernacular languages of Europe, those who made them fell naturally into the use of rhythmical verse; for it accorded equally with the old Northern dialects, which formed the basis of all modern European languages, and the Latin which had been incorporated into them. It will be found, I doubt not, that the versification of all modern Europe was at one time rhythmical, and that the measure used was generally speaking the long Alexandrine verse; a measure which was readily adopted, as it resembled in many respects the long rhythmical line in use among the northern tribes. That the early Spanish poets used the rhythmical Alexandrine is clear from Sanchez' *Colecion de Poesias Castellanas anteriores al siglo XV. Vol. II. p. 1.*

Quiero fer una prosa" en roman paladino
En qual suele el pueblo" hablar a su vecino
Ca non so tan letrado" por fer otro latino
Bien valdrá como creo" un vaso de bon vino.

In the same measure are the verses of Ciullo d' Alcamo, referred to at page cxlvi.

Rosa fresca aulentissima capari in ver l'estate

were used for the purpose of regulating the recitation of each line ; and that that recitation was rhythmical.

When that Aprìl • with his showrès soote •
 The drought of March • had pierced to the root •
 And bathed every vain • in such liquoür •
 Of which vertù • engendred is the flour •
 When Zephirus eke • with his sweet breath •
 Enspired hath • in every holt and heath •
 The tender croppès • and the young sun •
 Hath in the Ram • his half course y-run • *Harl. MSS. 1758.*

And small foulès | maken melody
 That sleepen all the night | with open eye
 So pricketh them nature in their corages
 Then longen folk | to go on pilgrimages
 And palmers | for to seeken strange strondes
 To serve halwès | couth in sundry londes
 And specially | from every shirès end
 Of England | to Canterbury they wend *Marques of Stafford's MS.*

When that Aperìl with • his showers swoot
 The drought of March • hath pierced to the root
 And bathed every vein • | in such licòur
 Of which vertù • | engendered is the flòur

Le donne te desiano," pulcelle maritate
 Traheme destè focora" se tessè a bolontate. *Allacci Raccolta.*

Compare these lines with the Ormulum, and the several pieces of early rhythmical versification preserved in Hicks' Thesaurus. Compare them with Peirs Plowman ;

In ð sūmmēr sēasōn || wĥēn sōft wās thē sūn.

The whole question is one that merits attention, and in the hands of some able and judicious scholar would form a work of considerable interest. The reader will find many admirable remarks on the subject, in Gray's observations on English metre, &c. Works, Vol. II. Ed. 1815, and in Tyrwhitt's Dissertation, prefixed to the Canterbury Tales. See also Ducange, Glossary. *Politici Versus*. Muratori Antiq. Med. Ævi. Vol. iii. p. 644. Crescimbeni Istoria della Volg. Poes. Lib. I. Quadrio Storia d' ogni Poesia Lib. II. Dis. 2, 3, and 4, and Tiraboschi Lib. III. Cap. 3.

When Zephirus eke • | with his sweet breath
 Enspired hath | in every holt and heath
 The tender croppès • And the young sun

Harl. MSS. 7333.

In another part of the same MS. the mark of cæsura is omitted, and the pause at the end of the line is noted.

At Sarray in the land of Tartary •
 There | dwelt a King | that warred upon Russy •
 Thorough which there died many a doughty man •
 This noble King was cleped Cambuscàn •
 Which in his time was of so great renouñ •
 That there was nowther in no regioùn •
 So excellent a lord in all thing •
 Him lacked nought that longed to a king • *Ibid.*

The final pause is noted also in another MS. in the British Museum.

When that April with his shourès soote •
 The drought of March hath pierced to the root •
 And bathed every vein in such licour •
 Of which vertue engender is the flour •
 When Zephirus eke with his sweet breath •
 Inspired hath in every holt and heath •
 The tender croppès and the young sun •

Lansdown MSS. 907.

In another part of the same MS. the point is dropped, and a virgule is employed; but it occurs so frequently that we may suspect it was used to mark some rules in recitation, with which we now are unacquainted.

In at | the hall door | all suddenly
 There | came a Knight | upon a steed | of brass |
 And in his | hand | a broad mirror | of glass |
 Upon his thumb | he had of gold | a ring
 And by his side | a naked sword hanging

A MS. belonging to the late Mr. Stevens, is marked thus.

In faith Squier | ye have you well y-quit
 And gentilly | I praise well your wit
 Quoth the Franklin | considering your youth
 So feelingly ye speak | Sir, I allouth
 As to my dome | there is none that is here
 Of eloquence | that shall be your peer *Brit. Museum, No. 1540*

In another MS. we meet with the following mode of notation.

There was also • a Nun • a Prioress
 That of her smiling • | was full simple and coy
 Her greatest oath • | was but by Saint Loye
 And she was called • Madame Eglentine
 Full well she sung • | the service divine
 Entuned in her nose • | full semely
 And french she spake • | full fair and fetisely
 After the school at Stratford • | of the Bow
 For french of Paris • | was to her unknow *Sloane MSS. 1686.*

Among the King's MSS. that marked 17. D. xv. has neither cæsura nor pause as far as fol. xl. but then all that part of the volume has been supplied by a later hand; from fol. xl. to the end, the hand-writing is that of the original transcriber, and he carefully marks the cæsura throughout.

Ne whence he came • ne whither he went
 But at Bologne • it to his sister dear
 That thilk time • of Pavie was Countess
 He should him take • and shew her this matere
 Beseeching her to doen her business
 This child to foster • in all gentleness
 And whose child • that it was he bade him hide
 Fro every wight • | for aught that may betide *Fol. XL.*

In another MS. we find the following varieties.

Nay Sire quoth he • but I will say as I can
 With hearty will • for I will not rebell
 Against your will • a tale will I tell
 Have me excused if that I speak amiss
 My will is good • and thereto my tale is this.

Harl. MSS. No. 7334.

A little further on, the virgule and the point are used indiscriminately.

The vertue of this ring • an ye woll hear
 Is this | that who • so lust it for to bear
 Upon her thumb | or in her purse to bear
 There is no foul | that fleeth under heaven
 That she ne shall understand his steven •
 And know his meaning • &c.

Ibid.

Such is the general consent of the MSS. of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, on the subject of the cæsura. Its use, and the object proposed by it is confirmed by the appearance of the early printed editions of Chaucer's works. In the editions subsequent to 1532, the cæsura is almost entirely disused: if it was retained, it seems to have been retained by accident. The reason is obvious. Our English versification had then become metrical. The cæsura was therefore no longer wanted for general purposes: it was consequently omitted, though strictly speaking in some works it ought to have been retained. But in the editions previous to 1532, the case was different. The rhythmical cadence was then still in use, and therefore the division of the hemistich was still to be continued. As those early editions are very rare, I will subjoin a few extracts from them.

The first extract is from Pynson's edition of the Troilus and Cressida. Cressida having surmounted that diffidence natural to her sex, which for a long time had restrained her from declaring her passion for Troilus, the avowal once made, tells him in the fulness of her heart all that she

had endured on his account. In this she is beautifully compared to a nightingale who hearing some one near her is at first fearful of singing, but afterwards assuming confidence, pours out her song without restraint.

And as the new || abashed nightingale
That stinteth first || ere she begin to sing
When she heareth || any herdès tale
Or in the hedges || any wight stirring
And after sickness || her voice doth outring
Right so Cressida || when that her dread stent
Open'd her heart || and told all her intent.

The passages which follow are from Pynson's edition of the Book of Fame.

For trust well | that thou shalt hear
When we be comen | there I say
Mo wonder thinges | I dare well lay
And of loves folk | mo tidingès
Both soth sages | and lesingès
And more loves | new begon
And long served | till love it won.

Fo. B. i.

no manner creature
Ne saw I | me to rede ne wisse
O Christ thought I | that art in bliss
From phantom | and illusioun
Me save | and with devocioun
Mine eyen | to the heaven I cast
Tho was I ware | so at the last
That fast by the sun an high
As ken might I | with mine eye, &c.

Fo. A. iii. 4.

The last specimen I shall adduce is from Godfrey's edition of 1532.

In faith Squier | thou hast thee well y-quit
 And gently | I praise thee of thy wit
 Quoth the Merchant | considering thine youth
 So feelingly thou speakest | I thee alouthe
 As to my dome | there is none that is here
 Of eloquence | that shall be thy peer
 If that thou live | God give thee right good chaunce.
fo. xxxii.

It does not in any shape invalidate the argument to be drawn from this appearance of the early printed editions of Chaucer, that they do not uniformly mark the cæsura throughout, and that in some editions it is omitted altogether. We know from Caxton's own admission, that he printed at first from bad manuscripts; and in such MSS. as were not originally written with care, the cæsura was either wholly omitted, or marked partially only. That the cæsura appears in any of the early printed editions is a proof that it must have prevailed generally in the MSS. Our early printers would have never introduced it at all, had they not seen it in the MS. before them. Of this we may be certain: but it is by no means certain that they would not sometimes have omitted inserting it, either from ignorance or carelessness.

SECT. VI. *That the versification of all our English Poets after Chaucer was rhythmical.*

The English heroic verse then, as finally settled by Chaucer, was, First, Decasyllabic; but not of that Iambic form which has since obtained. Secondly, it was rhythmical; divided into hemistichs by means of a cæsura, which generally fell in the middle of the line, though its place frequently varied. Thirdly; the system, though decasyllabic, being rhythmical, admitted of redundant and defective lines; not differing in this respect from the old Alexandrine system.

Such was Chaucer's versification; and in whatever light we may regard it, now that we are accustomed to numbers of a different construction, it must then have been adapted to the genius of our language; for it was not only received during Chaucer's life time, but was used by all our best succeeding writers till the reign of Henry VIII; that is, until Surrey new modelled our versification upon the metrical system.

That all the poets subsequent to Chaucer down to the period I have mentioned used the rhythmical decasyllabic verse, is the only point which now remains to be proved. The proof may be easily obtained by referring to their works. This however need not be done too minutely. Suffice it, if I shew what the versification was of the principal writers who flourished during the above-mentioned interval.

The first poet in point of time that succeeded Chaucer was Hoccleve, who called himself Chaucer's scholar. The following extract is from his chief work, *De Regimine Principis*. The MS. I follow seems evidently to have been a presentation copy. If so, it might have been written by Hoccleve himself; certainly under his eye. The passage in itself can lay no claim whatever to poetical merit. But it may be thought interesting from the mention made in it of Chaucer.

The first finder • of our fair language
 Hath said in case sembable • and many mo
 So lively well • that it is my dotage
 For to express • or touch any of tho'
 Alas! my Father • fro' the world is go
 My worthy master Chaucer • him I mean
 Be thou advocate for him • heav'n Queen

As thou well knowest • blessed Virgine
 With loving heart • and high devotion
 In thine honour • he wrote full many a style
 O! now thine help • and thy promotion
 To God thy Son • make a motion
 How he thy servant was • maid Marie
 And let his soul • flower and fructifie

Although his life quient be • the resemblànce
 Of him • hath in me so fresh livelinèss
 That to put other men • in remembrànce
 Of his person • I have here the likenèss
 Do make • to this end in sothfastnèss
 That they that have of him • lost thought and mind
 By this painture • may again him find.

The images that in the • Churches been
 Maken folk think • on God and on his Saintès
 When they the imagès • beholden and seen
 Whereas unsight of them • causeth restraintès
 Of thoughtes good • when a thing depeint is
 Or entailed • if men taken of it heed
 Thought of the likeness • it will in them breed.

Brit. Mus. The King's MSS. 17. D. VI.^a

^a This passage from Hoccleve seems to lend some support to Mr. Tyrwhitt's system respecting the sounding of the "e" final. For in the second stanza, as the lines now stand, the first and third verses can rhyme only by supposing that the word "Virgine," which terminates the one, and "style," which terminates the other, should be pronounced "Virgin-è;" and "styl-è." But the very sense requires that the third verse should be read

"In thine honour • he wrote full many a *line*."

This will be found, I am persuaded, to be the true reading; and if so, then we may be certain that the final "e" was added to the word "Virgin," not as having a sound of its own, [but for the sake of lengthening the sound of the preceding vowel, otherwise "Virgin" could not rhyme with "line." I have not met with a single passage, besides this, to justify the notion that the final "e," which we properly call the "e mute," was ever pronounced. I have no doubt but that an impartial reference to MSS. will fully justify this conclusion. I will detain the reader to adduce one instance to confirm it. Mr. Tyrwhitt in his edition of the *Canterbury Tales* has the following passage,

In faith Squier thou hast thee well y-quit
 And gentilly I praise well thy wit,
 Quoth the Franklin considering thine youthe
 So feelingly thou speake'st Sir, I aloue thee &c.

The next poet to be mentioned is Lydgate. To judge accurately of his versification we must refer to MS. copies of his works. Such of his as have been published, like Chaucer's, have undergone in printing that change which the disuse of the cæsura inevitably occasioned. The following passage from the Troy Book will shew that Lydgate's versification differed in no point from that of Hoccleve.

When Aurora : with her pale light
Under the mantle | of the merk night
And the curtain : of her hewes fade
Y-shrouded was : under the dark shade
Abashed rody : as I could define
Only of fear : that is feminine
For ashamed : durst not be seen
Because she had : so long in bed lain
With fresh Phœbus : her own chosen knight
For which he hid her : sothly out of sight
Till his steed : that is called Phlegente
Enhasted him : above his Orient
And Apollo : with his beamès clear
Hath recomforted : her oppressed chere
This is to sayn &c.

MSS. St. John's Coll. Oxford.

In the follow ng passage from Lydgate's Fall of Princes both the cæsura and the pause are noted.

Here, if the reading be correct, the final word in the third line must be pronounced "Youth-èe" to rhyme with "thee." But all the MSS. I have consulted, whether in the British Museum or elsewhere, read the lines as they stand in the edition of 1532, thus :

Quoth the Franklin, considering thine Youth
So feelingly thou speake'st I thee alouth

i. e. I praise thee, I give thee this commendation, which is the constant meaning of the word "aloue" derived from the old French verb "*alouer*." I am at a loss to discover on what authority Mr. Tyrwhitt could propose reading "I aloue thee."

When John Bochas | considered had and sought |
 The woeful fall | of mighty Conquerors |
 A remembrance | entered in his thought |
 Reciting | the numbers of our Predecessors |
 And first to mind | came the Progenitors |
 Of all mankind far yrun in age
 And toward him | holding their passage
 As him thought | in his inward sight |
 In their cunning | full piteously trembling |
 Quaking | for age | and for lack of might
 Their great feebleness | by signs outshewing |
 And one of them | first at his coming |
 Our father Adam | suddenly abraid
 And to mine Author | even thus he said

Harl. MSS. No. 1766, fo. 9.

In the same collection is a MS. volume of Lydgate's Poems, No. 2278, written with the greatest care, and bearing evident marks of having been destined for a person of some distinction. I believe there is hardly a single line in that volume which has not been carefully marked with the cæsure. The following stanza from the loss of Saint Edmund the Martyr may serve as a specimen.

The noble story | to put in remembrance
 Of Saint Edmund | martyr maid and king
 With his support | I will my style advance
 First to compile | after my cunning
 His glorious life | his birth and his ginning
 And by descent | how he that was so good
 Was in Spain born | of the royal blood

But the most satisfactory proof that Lydgate's versification was rhythmical, and in this respect like Chaucer's, is supplied by a MS. in the British Museum formerly belonging to Mr. Stevens, No. 1540, in which Lydgate's Book of Thebes follows the Canterbury Tales.

Both Lydgate's and Chaucer's verses are noted to be read in the same manner. The opening to Lydgate's poem is as follows.

When bright Phebus | passed was the Ram
 Mid of April | and unto the Bull cam
 And Saturn old | with his frosty face
 In Virgine | taken had his place
 Melancholick | and slow of motiðn
 And was also | in opposition
 Of Lucina | the moon moist and pale
 That many shourès | from heaven made availe
 When Aurora | was in the morwe red
 And Jupiter | in the Crabbès head
 Hath take his place | and his mansiðn
 The lusty time | and joly fresh seasòn
 When that Flora | the noble and mighty Queen
 The soil had clad | in new tender green
 With her flowres | craftily y-ment &c.

The next poet of any estimation was Stephen Hawes, who flourished in the reign of Henry VII. His principal works are "the Steel Glass," and "the History of Grand Amour and La Belle Pucelle." I am not aware that there exists any manuscript copy of his poems. The printed copies however are sufficient for all the purposes of proof. Hawes's verses are unquestionably Decasyllabic; but they cannot be reduced to harmony unless read rhythmically. Indeed the cæsura seems to be carefully marked throughout by means of a comma which uniformly, without any regard to the sense, divides each line into two equal Hemistichs. No attempt is made at punctuation throughout the whole Poem.

O master Lydgate • the most dulcet spring
 Of famous Rhetoric • with ballad royâl
 The chief original • of my learning
 What vailleth it • on you for to call
 Me for to aid • now in especiâl

Sithen your body • is now wrapt in chest
I pray God to give • your soul good rest

O what loss is it • of such a one

It is too great truly • for me to tell

Sithen the time • that his life was gone

In all this realm • his peer did not dwell

Above all other • he did so excell

None sith his time • in art would succeed

After their death • to have for their meed

But many a one • is right well expert

In this cunning • but upon authority

They feign no fables • foreign and convert

But spend their time • in vainful vanity

Making ballads • of fervent amity

As gests and trifles • without fruitfulness

Thus all in vain • they spend their business *fo. G. i.*

In the Steel Glass the virgule is employed instead of the comma.

Princess of youth | and flower of Gentleness

Ensamble of Virtue | ground of Courtesey.

Of Beauty root | Queen and eke mistress

Of all women | how they shall gye

And sothfast mirror | to exemplify

The right way of Port | and of womanhed

What I shall say | of mercy take ye heed *fo. L. iiii.*

Barclay, the translator of Brandt's Ship of Fools and the author of the Court Elegies, besides some other pieces, comes next to be mentioned. He flourished in the reign of Henry the VIIth and Henry the VIIIth. His versification varies in no shape from that of Hawes's. It is true indeed, that in some of his works, in his Eclogues particularly, many verses occur which might be read as pure Iambic Decasyllabic lines; such are the following.

He leap'd he sung and ran to prove his might *E. iii.*
 When back is bare and purse in coin is light *ib.*
 Of antient stock and noble progeny *D. i.*
 But first Amintas thus to speak began *D. ii.*
 Nought is more foolish than such wretches be *D. iii.*

But, as I have observed already, Iambic lines are to be found in all the poets who used the rhythmical measure. This particularity has been accounted for. If Iambic lines occur more frequently in Barclay than in the other writers, this was owing not to his having adopted a new system, but to those changes which had taken place in our language. That Barclay's system of versification was rhythmical, the following passages taken at hazard from his *Ship of Fools*, leave, I think, no room to doubt.

I have advanced " to glorious laud and fame
 Paul that was the Consul " of the Empire Romaine
 Which divers nations wan " increasing his name
 To the said Romans " triumph and laud sovereign
 And tho' they suffered " peril and great pain
 Yet hath the love and meed " of me virtue
 Not suffered them " hard charges to eschew *fol. 346.*

Wisdom shall men " advance unto honòur
 So Barclay wisheth ' and still shall till he die
 Perfectly pray to God " our Creatòur
 That virtuous men and wise " shall have degree
 As they are worthy " of laud and dignity
 But namely to his friend " Bishop by name
 Before all other " desireth he the same

Which was the first " overseer of this wark
 And unto his friend " gave his advisemènt
 It not to suffer to sleep " still in the dark
 But to be published " abroad and put to print *fol. 236.*

Skelton's versification is ruder than that of either Hawes or Barclay, and to the ear is still more plainly rhythmical. Iambic lines occur but seldom in his poems. The following specimen is taken from his Elegy on the death of Edward IV. one of Skelton's most elevated poems.

Where is now my conquest " and victorie
 Where is my richès " and my royal arraie
 Where be my coursers " and my horses high
 Where is my mirth " my solace and play
 As Vanity to nought " all is wandered away
 O Lady Bess " long may ye call
 For I am departed " till domès day
 But love ye the Lord " that is Sovereign of all
 Where be my castles " and my buildings royàl
 But Windsor alone " now I have no mo
 And of Eton " the prayers perpetual
 Et ecce nunc in pulvere et dormiò

I will conclude this series of quotations with two from a scarce little volume of poetry by Parker, Lord Morley. As Barclay and Skelton were both of them patronised by Surrey's family, and Morley was nearly related to him, we cannot have a stronger proof, that until Surrey began to write our versification was rhythmical, and that the changes made by him originated with himself. The first quotation is from a piece of Lord Morley's, entitled "Virgil in his Epigrams of Cupid and Drunkenness."

That wonderous witty Virgil that so well could indite
 The ways to win to Virtue so hard to attain
 In his sententious verses declareth with reason right
 How that both wine and women doth put a man to pain.
 He saith in passing measure with either of these twain
 It is a thing abominable. Now hear what he doth tell
 Although my rhyme be rude to touch so high a vein
 If that ye mark this doctrine, doubtless ye shall do well.

The second quotation is from Morley's translation of Petrarch's Triumphs.

A hard thing it is, thus to love by kind
 The way not right but crooked for to find
 But yet to follow it why should I say nay
 When that not only men doth go that way
 But the Goddès also, that be celestial
 Are not free from this pain at all
 He that is a lover full well knows this
 How that the heart from the body departed is
 How now he is in war and forthwith in peace
 How when his love doth shew ungentleness
 He will not be a-knownen but his malady hide
 Though that it prick him both back and side
 This evil feel I and yet more thereto
 When with my love I have to do

Chap. 3.

Of these two passages, the first is evidently wholly rhythmical, and the lines themselves may be considered to be Alexandrines. In the second the measure is meant to be Decasyllabic; but we meet in it with lines of eight, ten, eleven and twelve syllables, which cannot be reduced to any common measure but by rythmical cadence: by means of that they assume the appearance of regular verse; and though deficient in diction and in the other graces of poetic ornament, might have been thought sufficiently pleasing to justify the praise which Henry VIII. is said to have bestowed upon them.

SECT. VII. *Of the changes made in English versification by Surrey—that he made it metrical, and was the first to use that system.*

It seems certain then that until Surrey began to write, the system of our versification was rhythmical. The defects of that system were evident. It opened a door to great licence; it encouraged carelessness and irregularity in composition; and kept the pronunciation of the language in an unsettled state. That rhythmical cadence, when the ear was accustomed to it, produced a pleasing effect; and that it sometimes perhaps added expression to the thought cannot, I think, be doubted, when we consider that we still retain it, and admire it in some sorts of composition. Nevertheless the effect, when continued to any great length, must have been monotonous; a defect which was tolerated so long as rhythm was necessary to assist the memory of the Minstrel in chanting verses publicly at feasts, and was relieved by the accompaniment of the harp. But when the works of our poets were no longer sung or chanted, but were submitted to the eye and read privately in the study, then the defects of the rhythmical versification were felt sensibly, and the reader found himself often encumbered with an unwieldy number of syllables, which he could not dispose of but by reciting each line aloud; a trouble few would be disposed to encounter. Some change in our versification therefore was unavoidable. This Surrey perceived, and he attempted a change, which was conceived, as the event has proved, in a perfect knowledge of the nature and genius of the English language.

The change he proposed and effected was this. He substituted for the old rhythmical mode of versification one, as nearly metrical as the nature of any language, which regulates the value of syllables by accent, and not by quantity, will allow. He limited the Heroic verse to ten syllables, and these he divided into five equal Iambic feet; for he perceived that the frequent return of the short syllable was necessary to correct that languor and ponderosity which the constant recurrence of monosyllables would otherwise occasion. He was

aware however that the Iambic measure, though sweet in itself, was liable to become monotonous and pall upon the ear. He therefore introduced the further refinement of breaking the lines with pauses. The natural place for the pause was at the end of the fourth syllable where the old cæsura generally fell; but he varied the situation of his pauses as he found the harmony of the verse required, or as he thought the beauty and effect of the passage would be heightened by it.

Such was the system of versification introduced by Surrey. Of the correctness of his taste and the justness of his reasoning upon the subject, no further proof need be required than the event. For the laws of English versification, such as they were established by Surrey, have been adopted by our standard writers, with hardly any variation, ever since. At particular times, indeed, a particular taste has for a short season prevailed. Thus in the reign of James, and of Charles the First, quaintness, and a love of antithesis gave a new turn to our versification, and made it abrupt and irregular. But in the two best epochs of our poetry, during the reign of Elizabeth and after the Restoration, those principles of versification alone were observed which Surrey had introduced. An attentive reader will be surprised to find how little was added afterwards by even Dryden or Pope to the system and perfectness of Surrey's numbers.

The following lines from the Sonnet on Sir Thomas Wyatt's Death may serve as a specimen of the harmony of Surrey's Iambic decasyllabic verse.

But I that knew what harbour'd in that head,
What virtues rare were temper'd in that breast,
Honour the place that such a jewel bred,
And kiss the ground wherein thy corpse doth rest. . . . p. 47.

Or these from his Elegy in Windsor Castle:

The secret groves which oft we made resound
With pleasant plaint, and of our Ladies praise;
Recording soft what grace each one had found,
What hope of speed, what dread of long delays. . . . p. 43.

In the second of the verses following all the words are monosyllables; yet they are so arranged as to constitute correct Iambic feet, according to our mode of accentuation, and to be particularly musical.

The soote season which bud and bloom forth bring
With green hath clad the hill and eke the vale. . . . p. 19.

The passages which follow are adduced to shew what attention Surrey paid to the variation of his pauses.

Alas—so all things now do hold their peace!
Heaven and earth disturbed in no thing.
The beasts, the air, the birds their song do cease,
The night's chair, the stars about do bring.
Calm is the sea—the waves work less and less—
So am not I—— . . . p. 20.

Again—

The Assyrian king in peace, with foul desire
And filthy lusts that stain'd his regal heart
In war that should set princely hearts on fire
Did yield—vanquish'd for want of martial art p. 44.

The pauses in the following lines are still more varied and artificial.

What holy grave—what holy sepulture
To Wyatt's Psalms should Christians then purchase,
Where he doth paint the lively faith, and pure—
The stedfast hope—the sweet return to grace
Of just David—by perfect penitence— p. 45.

Nor was it in the system of his Heroic verses alone that Surrey paid attention to the Iambic structure of the line, and the variation of his pauses. He was studious of both alike in verses of the octosyllabic measure. How very melodious is the following stanza.

Spite drove me into Boreas' reign
 Where hoary frosts the fruits do bite;
 When hills were spread, and every plain
 With stormy winter's mantle white. . . . p. 9.

And these regular octosyllabic couplets:

The hunter then sounds out his horn
 And rangeth straight through wood and corn;
 O'er hills then shew the ewe and lamb,
 And ev'ry young one hath her dam;
 Then lovers walk and tell their tale
 Both of their bliss and of their bale;
 And how they serve, and how they do,
 And how their lady loves them too &c. . . . p. 57.

The pause in the following passage has a very pleasing effect.

The heavens shew lively art and hue
 Of sundry shapes and colours new
 And laughs upon the earth; anon
 The earth as cold as any stone &c. . . . p. 56.

Such were the general principles of the new mode of versification introduced by Surrey. The merit of the change is to be attributed to him exclusively. For though Wyatt is deservedly ranked with Surrey as one who contributed to the improvement of our language and our poetry; and though it seems probable that they both wrote and studied together, yet Wyatt's versification appears to have been in great measure rhythmical. Many of his verses, like those of Hawes and Skelton, cannot be reduced to any certain harmony but by means of the Cæsura. I speak of some of his poems only, and those perhaps his earliest. The versification of his later pieces, such as his Satires, though not remarkable for its harmony, was evidently formed on the metrical system. That Wyatt's versification was at one time designedly rhythmical we learn from his own manuscripts, in which we find that in many places,

he carefully himself marked with his own hand where the Cæsura was to fall. As in the following passage:

Right true it is : and said full yore ago
 Take heed of him : that by thy back thee clawèth
 For none is worse : them is a friendly foe
 Though they seem good : all thing that thee delightèth
 Yet know it well : that in thy bosom creepèth, &c.

Harington MS. No. 1. p. 59.

Sometimes Wyatt not only noted the Cæsura, but added marks to direct the reader how to dispose of the redundant syllables. As in this passage:

And Hannibal eke, when fortune him shet
 Clean from his reign : and from all his intent :
 Laughed to his folk × whom sorrow did torment :
 His cruel despight × for to disgorge and quit :
 So chanceth it oft : that every passiòn
 The mind hideth &c. *Ibid. p. 3.*

I could cite other instances of similar notation from his own manuscript, which would shew that the use of the Cæsura was systematic with Wyatt, and not a casual compliance only with the old usage. But I do not wish to tire the reader unnecessarily. Those adduced are sufficient to shew that Wyatt's versification, at one period at least, was completely rhythmical. We are therefore justified in concluding Surrey to have been the first English writer who introduced the metrical system of versification, and brought our numbers to the just standard of five regular Iambic feet.

It does not stand in the way of this conclusion, that there are some pieces to be found in Surrey's Poems, of which the versification is evidently rhythmical. Of that piece for instance which begins,

Brittle beauty that nature made so frail. *Page 20.*

and of that other beginning,

Of thy life Thomas this compass well mark. *Page 42.*

It is granted that the first of these pieces is not only rhythmical but alliterative; but we learn from Dr. Harington's MSS. that it was written, not by Surrey but by Lord Vaux, the Elder, who preceded Surrey several years: this therefore instead of weakening strengthens the general position. As for the second piece, if we were to argue from internal evidence, I should say, that it was not written by Surrey. Admitting, however, that he did write it it must have been his earliest, as it is his rudest effort. His never having repeated that mode of versification must satisfy us that his having once used it was accidental; probably in compliance with established custom. His having used the metrical system in every other instance shews that to have been the only system which his judgment approved.*

* Before I dismiss this part of my subject it will be proper to inform such of my readers as may not be conversant with our early English writers, that I have advanced nothing new, in asserting Chaucer's Versification to have been Rhythmical, as distinguished from what we now call Metrical Versification. So long as rhythmical verses were the general system nothing would be said concerning them; but as soon as they were generally disused the fact came to be noticed. Gascoigne, who was if I mistake not our early writer on the subject of Taste and Criticism, has the following passage in his "Instructions concerning the making of Verse and Rhyme in English," prefixed to the edition of his poems printed in 1575. "Our father Chaucer hath used the same liberty in feet and measures that the Latinists use; and whosoever do peruse and well consider his works he shall find that although his lines are not always of one self same number of syllables, yet being read by one that hath understanding, the longest verse, and that which hath most syllables in it will fall (to the ear) correspondent unto that which hath fewest syllables in it: and that which hath in it fewest syllables shall be found yet to consist of words that have such natural sound as may seem equal in length to a verse which hath no syllables of lighter accent." Many passages from the treatises of our other early critical writers might be adduced in support of Gascoigne's opinion.

SECT. VIII. *Of the nature and importance of Poetic Ornament, and of the defects of our early English Poets in point of Poetic Diction—Structure of Period—and Rhyme.*

We come now to consider the improvements made by Surrey in our Poetic Diction, and in whatever is connected with Poetic Ornament, such as rhyme, the structure of periods, and the choice and collocation of words. These are points of no trivial importance in good writing. For as it is the peculiar province of Poetry to affect the mind through the imagination by an appeal to the feelings, in the first instance, before the judgment, to obtain that end fully scrupulous attention must be paid to the fitness of the means employed. In Poetry, the words used ought to be selected with the nicest care and judgment; they should be sufficiently removed from common use, so as not to excite mean or trivial ideas; and yet not so remote as to be pedantic or to need explanation. For the same reason attention should be paid to their very sound: that ought to be pleasing and noble, especially when the word closes either a line, or a period. The periods themselves ought to be artificial, and to have some involution of construction, unless where simplicity and the tender passions are concerned: for thus the mind is kept in a pleasing sort of suspense as to the issue of the thing to be unfolded. By these means it is that in Poetry we are insensibly removed from the ordinary notions and occurrences of common life, and are prepared for the reception of heroic sentiments and the contemplation of extraordinary situations, which properly ushered in assume an appearance of reality; as if they were within the usual order of things, when in fact they are often if not always ideal. Poetic diction therefore, and whatever constitutes poetic ornament, forms an essential part of Poetry, and he who first gives us proper examples of the proper diction of Poetry, and ascertains to what extent poetic ornament may be carried without overstepping the bounds of nature, renders an important service to the literature of his country. The

subject requires that we treat of all these points distinctly. And first of Poetic Diction.

Chaucer did much towards refining our poetic diction, but he left it indefinite: and therefore open to subsequent innovation and experiment. Indeed he was not consistent in the use of one uniform style. In his Canterbury Tales what he seems to have particularly aimed at was simplicity of construction and a not over-curious selection of words. By these means he obtained a sort of natural dignity, and simple elegance of style which rose often into sublimity, and enabled him to present his thoughts in a manner singularly clear and distinct. In his Troilus and Cressida, which is evidently his most laboured composition, he aimed at something more like involution, and affected a greater nicety of terms. But his diction was not sustained equally throughout. He suffered mean expressions and prosaic forms of speech to occur, mixed with phrases evidently of great study and refinement.

That Chaucer's style of poetic diction was not considered unexceptionable is evident from the pains that were taken after his death to improve upon it: something was evidently wanting. But the absence of taste and genius in the writers who succeeded him, led them, instead of supplying what Chaucer had left defective, to frame a new poetic diction altogether out of terms borrowed, or compounded from the Latin. By so doing they thought, no doubt, to enrich our language; but the words they used were not of a nature to incorporate themselves with it. Therefore they never obtained any thing like common currency, and whenever they were employed they had the appearance of pedantry and affectation. Such are the following terms. *Aureate, amene, purple, pulchritude, celature, exornate, solatious, delectation, depured, irous, facunde, termine, tenebrous, lacedation*, and a multitude of similar words. By means of which our poetry was degraded to mere sound; all the real graces of diction were neglected, and no attempt was made to obtain that nice structure of period, that delicate arrangement of words which produces a charm like the sweetness of a slow protracted cadence in music;

awakening a pleasing sort of impatience to know when and how the strain will close.

Of this vicious style of poetic diction traces may occasionally be found in Chaucer. But Hoccleve and Lydgate, his immediate successors, were the writers who made it systematic. They therefore are to be considered as the authors of it, though they did not indulge in the use of affected terms to that extent which after writers did. I need not stop to prove that this sort of diction was not conducive to the real advancement of Poetry. It gave a vague and unmeaning sameness to every object described, and hindered the writer from pointing out those minute points, whether of difference or of resemblance, and those shades of character which it is the business of Poetry to delineate with a fine and steady pencil. When Poetic Diction is made to consist in set terms, there can be no variety in description. Thus Hawes tells us that he walked

Into a meadow " both gay and glorious
Which Flora depainted " with many a colour
Like a palace of pleasure " most solacious
Ensensing out " the aromatic odour
Of Zephyrus breath " which that every flower
Thorough his fume " doth always engender.

Soon afterwards he is conducted into a temple replete with joy " as bright as any star," and there also

— dulcet Flora " her aromatic dew
In the fair temple " adown did distill
All abroad " the fair drops did shew
Ensensing out " all the vapours ill.

He then goes to a chamber and this also is " full solacious," after which he hears sounds, and they are " solacious." So that meadows, chambers, palaces, and sounds, have all one common quality, they are all " full solacious." In the same manner the same poet tells us that Flora has her dews, and that they are " aromatic:" but presently after, when

mention is made of "lusty Rhetoric," we are informed that he has his dews likewise, and that they are "aromatic;" and when Lady Eloquence is spoken of, she is equally "aromatic;" so that flowers, eloquence, and the eight parts of speech have all one common quality, and are all "aromatic."

It is needless to cite any more instances of this vicious style. It occurs in every page of the poets who wrote at the period of which we are treating, and whenever it does occur it gives an unmeaning character of sameness to every object described, and by it all distinction of quality is confounded and lost.

Vicious as this mode of diction will now be justly deemed, it had grown to be considered the very soul of serious poetry. Skelton, whenever he attempted elevated composition, adopted it. But this cannot be a matter of surprise. Skelton had no powers of imagination whatever; no fertility, or elegance of thought; he therefore availed himself of a diction which covered the meanness of his conceptions, and seemed to give them the appearance of Poetry. He opens the Crown of Laurel thus.

Arrecting my sight " toward the Zodiâc
The signès twelve " for to behold afar;
When Mars retrogradant " reversed his back
Lord of the year " in his orbicular
Put up the sword " for he could make no war,
And when Lucina " plenary did shine
Scorpion ascending " degrees twice nine, &c.

Nothing can be more contrary to good taste than such a style of diction as this; nothing could tend more to the subversion of poetry. Still it was universal. It was adopted even by the Scottish poets. For it is a remarkable circumstance, that though the Scotch were extremely jealous of the political influence of England, and encouraged whatever might keep national animosity alive, they studiously cultivated our language, and took it as their standard in works of taste and regular composition. Barbour indeed, in his Bruce, had given his countrymen a fine example of the simple energetic style, which resembled Chaucer's

best manner, and wanted little to make it the genuine language of Poetry. Such are the following animated lines.

Ah! Freedom is a noble thing!
 Freedom makes man to have liking
 Freedom all solace to man gives;
 He lives at ease who freely lives.
 A noble heart may have none ease,
 Ne elles nought that may him please,
 If Freedom fail: for free liking
 Is yearned o'er all other thing.
 Nor he that aye has lived free
 May not know well the property,
 The anger nor the wretched doom,
 That is couplèd with foul thralldom.

Bruce, Book 1. l. 225.

There were also other poets subsequent to Barbour, who adhered to this model of simple style, and affected no other ornament than what the proper use of their language supplied. Such were King James the First, and Herrisoun. But ultimately the false taste, which had infected our English poets, was universally adopted by the Scottish poets likewise. Thus Dunbar, a poet of a rich and lively fancy, and possessing great natural command of language, was induced to use the following pedantic language in the opening to his beautiful moral poem, called the Golden Terge.

Right as the sterne of day began to shine,
 When gone to bed was Vesper and Lucine

I rose, and by a rosier did me rest:
 Upsprang the golden candle matutine
 With clear depured beamès christalline,
 Gladding the merry fowlès in their nest.
 Ere Phœbus was in purple cope revest.

And in another stanza, having mentioned "Reverend Chaucer, the Rose of Rhetors all," as the person who bore the prize over all other

Poets, for "fresh enamelled termès celical," he thus goes on to address Gower and Lydgate.

O moral Gower, and Lydgate laureate
Your suger'd lippès and tonguès aureate
 Been to our earès cause of great delight
Your angel mouthès most mellifluate
Our rude language has clear illuminate
 And fair o'ergilt our speech that imperfite
 Stood ere your golden pennès shope to write
This isle before was bare and desolate
Of Rhetoric, or lusty fresh indite

In Gawain Douglas and Sir David Lindsay we meet with the same style of laboured poetic diction. It does not occur so frequently in Lindsay as in his contemporaries, because perhaps his subjects were mostly those of common life. Still, as it is to be found in those passages which aspire to elevation of thought, we must conclude him to have considered it the proper language of the higher walks of Poetry. Thus addressing his royal pupil James the IV. he calls himself his "secret Thesaurare;" and of his chamber "chief Cubiculare," and he constantly uses the following, and many other similar expressions. *Celcitude, transfigure, disfigure, dulce, perturb, dispone, propone, fructful, transcur, fructical, gubernation, cariones, precellent, lupus, complexionate, gloire, preclare, cosmographores*; this last word indeed he finds himself under some necessity of explaining, but he does it thus,

"That is to say, the wordès descriptores."

Another defect in Chaucer, and in all our early poets, was the little attention paid by them to their system of Rhyming. Rhyme being once admitted as a poetic ornament, great care is necessary to regulate the use of it. For the ear being compelled thus to dwell upon certain words, and the attention consequently being fixed strongly upon them, if those words are not such as excite pleasing or noble ideas; or if they be not such as are suited to the subject, a mean and contradic-

tory effect must be produced. This is shewn by burlesque poetry and dogrel verse, which depend for their ludicrous effect chiefly on the selection of mean and trifling words for rhyme, and on double terminations. Obvious as this remark is, Chaucer neglected to attend to it. We find him constantly admitting double rhymes, which in grave and heroic subjects cannot be allowed, as they carry with them an air of lightness inconsistent with the dignity of heroic composition. He rhymed also not only on feeble words, but on such as in themselves were mean and trivial. The following rhymes occur in the Knights' Tales, one of his most elevated pieces: *us, after, shall, ah, thus, her, other, pan, merry, ladle, cradle, shirt*. His rhymes are likewise often unpleasing by being formed of words, either purely French, or of English words distorted, it should seem arbitrarily, to rhyme with them, by being made to bear a strong and heavy accent on the last syllable; whereas our language has a natural tendency to fling the accent on the penult and anti-penult. I know that this evil prevailed before Chaucer's time, and I am willing to believe he did something to correct it. Still we find him rhyming on the following words, *semblaunt, variaunt, pleasaunce, chevisaunce, medisaunce, penaunce, coùpe, gorge; pullaile, vittaile, raison, saison*.

What Chaucer did not effect, Lydgate and his followers, men of little taste and less invention, cannot be expected to have accomplished. They took therefore things as they found them. From Lydgate to Morley, all our writers used the unnatural licence of rhyming on final syllables, according to the French mode of pronunciation; all admitted double rhymes, and rhymed indiscriminately, on weak, inelegant, and vulgar words.

SECT. IX. *Of the Improvements made by Surrey in Poetic Diction, Structure of Period, and Rhyme.*

Such were the leading defects in our poetic style and diction, when Surrey began to write. All those defects he reformed. He first re-

jected the use of those "aureate and mellifluate" terms, which he found disfiguring our language with a sort of prescriptive tyranny, and restricted himself to the use of those words alone which were approved by common use, and were natural to the language.

He next introduced a studied mode of involution in his periods, which gives dignity to what is so expressed, and a certain remoteness from common life, essential to the higher branches of poetic composition.

And lastly, he discountenanced altogether the French mode of laying an unnatural stress upon final syllables; he followed the obvious and common pronunciation of our language; carefully avoiding all double terminations, and using only those words for rhyme which were noble and harmonious, and such as the ear might dwell upon with pleasure.

These were the principles upon which Surrey formed his poetic style; I ought rather to say the poetic style of our country; for the style he introduced has continued to be ever since the style of all our standard writers. If we find any variation it is in minute points only, and those which form that peculiarity of style which ever must distinguish the verses of one poet from another's.

Some proof may be expected on all the points which have been enumerated. They shall be considered separately. And first, of Surrey's rejection of affected and pedantic terms.

Little need be said to establish this point. The fact speaks for itself. I believe that not a single instance of this meagre style of diction is to be found in all Surrey's writings. What the diction was which he deemed the properest to be substituted in its stead, the following passages may serve to prove.

Speaking of the danger he incurred in his attempt to combat the religious errors of his times, he says;

The sudden storms that heave me to and fro,
Had well nigh pierced Faith my guiding sail;
For I that on the noble voyage go

To succour truth and error to assail
 Constrained am to bear my sails full low. P. 80.

Here the words are all proper English words; but they are all selected with care, and so arranged as to raise and dignify the idea expressed, without any appearance of effort or constraint. The proof that this selection was the result of study is, that no change can be made but for the worse.

In the following, and indeed in every passage where Surrey attempted elevation of thought, we find the same attention to the proper selection and arrangement of his words. Describing Wyatt, he says he had

An eye whose judgment no effect could blind,
 Friends to allure, and foes to reconcile;
 Whose piercing look did represent a mind
 With virtue fraught, reposed, void of guile.
 A heart where dread was never so imprest
 To hide the thought, that might the truth advance. P. 49.

Here again any change of words would injure and destroy the effect of the passage; as also in the following elegant lines from his elegy written in Windsor Castle.

Wherewith, alas! revive within my breast
 The sweet accord, such sleeps as yet delight,
 The pleasant dreams, the quiet bed of rest;
 The secret thoughts imported with sweet trust,
 The wanton talk, the divers change of play,
 The friendship sworn, each promise kept so just,
 Wherewith we passed the winter's night away. P. 46.

Now all these passages exhibit pure and perfect specimens of elegant poetic diction; and in each instance the effect is produced by the use of current words, properly selected from the body of our lan-

guage, and not by quaint and conceited terms, or novel expressions borrowed from other languages, or any capricious combinations of fancy. And thus much may suffice on this head.

Let us next consider what Surrey accomplished in the second point of improvement; namely, involution of sentence and artificial structure of period. In this branch of poetic ornament little had been done before Surrey's time, not even by Chaucer himself, the only writer whose works will, I think, be found deserving of critical examination. Chaucer, indeed, sometimes presents instances of artificial involution, but he is not uniform in the use of it, and therefore we cannot suppose him to have written on any definite system. That Surrey did, we argue from the uniform conduct of his style in this respect. The writer, whose turn of period he more particularly imitated, was Petrarch. I think he shewed his good sense in so doing. Living languages bear a nearer affinity to one another, than they can do to any dead language. Had Surrey adopted the involution and construction of sentence peculiar to the Greek or the Latin language in preference to the Italian, his poems would not have had that easy and natural appearance for which they are now remarkable.

Of Surrey's mode of involution the following may suffice as specimens. His Elegy at Windsor Castle opens thus:

So cruel prison how could betide, alas !

As proud Windsor !—P. 48.

This is an artificial period with which our early poetry was unacquainted. Before Surrey's time the same idea would have been expressed simply thus: "Alas! no prison could have betided me so cruel as Windsor."

In the same Elegy, enumerating the several objects which reminded him of his past happiness at Windsor, Surrey thus particularizes the meadows where he had been accustomed to join with his youthful friend the Duke of Richmond, in martial sports and exercises.

With silver drops the meads yet spread for ruth
 In active games of nimbleness and strength,
 Where we did strain—trained with swarms of youth
 Our tender limbs P. 49.

I do not recollect any instance of similar involution in any of our poets antecedent to Surrey. The involution of the following passage is more extended, and still more artificial.

And I forthwith did press out of the throng,
 That sought by flight my painful heart to please
 Some other way, 'till I saw faith more strong,
 And to myself I said "Alas! those days
 "In vain were spent to run the race so long." P. 46.

In the following passage the involution is of a different nature: the effect produced is highly beautiful. Bewailing the untimely death of his faithful friend Clere, who had been taken from him,

'Ere summers three times seven he could fulfil,
 he exclaims,

Ah, Clere! if love had booted care or cost,
 Heaven had not one, nor Earth so timely lost. . . . P. 48.

Nor was it in entire passages alone, that Surrey aimed at involution: we meet with it in single lines, and in particular expressions, as thus:

The wild forest, the cloathed holts with green . . P. 49.

i. e. the holts or high hills clothed with verdure. And again,

And in green waves when the salt flood
 Doth rise, by rage of wind P. 13.

i. e. when the sea doth swell into waves by the violence of the wind.
 So also he says,

“ The wounded Queen with care.” P. 127.

for “ the Queen wounded with care.” Which latter mode of involution I would not take upon me altogether to defend. It stands, however, as an unquestionable proof that Surrey considered involution of sentence and artificial construction of period, to be one of the best modes of obtaining general elevation of style in poetic composition. If in some particular expressions he may be thought to have failed, we are not to forget that he succeeded fully in establishing the principle, and that by a proper exercise of it he often produced all the good effects he desired.

The only remaining point to be considered is, what Surrey did towards establishing a correct system of Rhyming. It has been shewn that much was to be done in this particular. What Surrey did, was as follows: he pointed out the propriety of excluding all double rhymes; he taught us to avoid all rhymes constructed unnaturally on the French mode of accentuation, and laid it down as a principle that those words alone should be selected for rhymes, in heroic and elegant composition, which were elegant and sonorous; for without these the numbers themselves could be neither harmonious nor dignified. Surrey chose, in preference to all other, those words which were dissyllables, and formed in themselves a perfect iambic foot, as the following, *return, restore, refuse, desire, remove, delight, &c.* and when he rhymed on monosyllables, they were full and sonorous, and were always preceded by a short syllable. From this rule it is remarkable that Surrey seldom departed. The effect was that his versification became dignified as well as musical. The charm of his poetry is never interrupted by the sudden occurrence of familiar sounds, which while they offend the ear, excite displeasing ideas in the mind.

It will be readily admitted that this nice attention to the selection of rhyming words, increased the difficulty of composition. But even on this ground we owe Surrey no small obligation. The difficulty imposed was no restraint on real genius. It was one which real genius easily surmounted, and by exacting greater attention

in writing, checked that turbid haste of composition, in which men of vivid imagination, and strong natural powers are sometimes led to indulge. Some little licence in rhyme is always to be expected. But it is a licence which ought to be used sparingly. We cannot but lament therefore to observe what little attention is paid by some writers of considerable genius in the present day to those general rules on which their rhymes ought to be constructed. The first word that presents itself is taken without considering whether it be one that is elegant or otherwise: in consequence of which their thoughts are often injured; and serious passages are made to assume an air of levity or burlesque. For association is one of the most active powers of the mind; so that if any word is used which connects itself with a trivial and mean idea, unfavourable impressions are made before the judgment has time to operate. When it shall be no longer exacted as a principle in good writings that every thought be expressed in a manner suitable to the subject, and appear accompanied with all the proper graces of poetic diction, which includes selection of elegant, harmonious, and majestic sounds for rhyme, from that moment we may date the commencement of a decay in national taste which will lead finally to the corruption of all style, and the downfall of classic composition.

SECT. X. *Of Surrey's Introduction of Blank Verse; and of his Translations from Virgil.*

Such were the improvements made by Surrey in our versification and poetic diction. These alone, had nothing more been effected by him, would have entitled him to the praise of having been the restorer of modern English Poetry. But we owe to him further obligations. He first introduced the use of Blank Heroic Verse. In this respect the praise is exclusively his own. In reforming our versification and poetic diction, he had in some degree Chaucer for his guide; and in some degree he was conducted by the bent and genius of our language. When he attempted blank verse he had no guide whatever, as far as

we have yet been able to discover, but his own judgment and taste. All writers are agreed that Surrey's translation of the Second and Fourth Book of Virgil's *Æneid* is the first specimens of Heroic Blank Verse in our language.

Warton has suggested, and it has been hitherto generally believed, that Surrey borrowed the invention from Trissino's *Italia Liberata*, the first poem in blank verse of any magnitude that had appeared in Italy. But this opinion will be found controverted by dates. Tiraboschi tells us that the *Italia Liberata* was not printed at Rome till 1547, that is, not till after Surrey's death; that then only the first nine books appeared; the remainder not being printed until 1548. If Surrey took the idea from any Italian writer in particular, it is far more probable that he owed it to a translation of the same books of Virgil into blank verse by the Cardinal Hippolito di Medici, or as some say by Molza, who was content to let his patron have the credit of the work. Whoever was the real author of the translation, it was published at Venice in 1541, and therefore might have been seen by Surrey. But as there is no similarity whatever in style or turn of expression between the two translations, I am disposed to think that Surrey's adoption of blank verse originated wholly with himself; and this the more, as there seems to me sufficient grounds for believing that he made his translation first of all in blank Alexandrine verse, a measure which he sometimes used: and that he afterwards changed that measure to the blank Decasyllabic verse, finding the blank Alexandrine to want gravity, and to be often feeble at the end of the line, where strength and dignity were most required.^a

^a Webbe in his *Treatise on English Poetry*, has the following passage. "The most famous verse of all the rest is called Hexametrum Epicum, which consisteth of six feet, whereof the first four are indifferently either Spondee or Dactyl. The fifth is evermore a Dactyl, the sixth a Spondee. As thus,

Tytirus | happily | thou liest | tumbling | under a | beech tree |

This kind of verse, he says, I have only seen to be practised in our English speech, and indeed will stand somewhat more orderly therein than any of the other kind, until we have some

I propose this as a conjecture only. If it be admitted, it will account for those evident marks of imperfection and that uncertainty of

toleration of words made by special rule. The first that attempted to practise this verse in English should seem to be the Earl of Surrey, who translated some part of Virgil into verse indeed, but without regard of true quantity of syllables." 4^o 1586. *sig. H. i.* This passage would be unintelligible if considered as applying to the printed copies of the translation as published by Tottel: in them the lines, though often inharmonious, as Ascham had observed, (*Schoolmaster, Book II. p. 331. Ed. 1761.*) are Hendecasyllables of five feet, and not Alexandrines of six. We must suppose therefore Webbe to have seen a MS. copy of the translation in which the lines were blank Alexandrines: of the same sort with those which Surrey used in his Paraphrase of the fifty-fifth Psalm. See *Poems, p. 83.* That Surrey's poems continued to be circulated in manuscript long after they were published is clear beyond all dispute. See note to the Paraphrase of Ecclesiasticus, *p. 376.* Perhaps the passage quoted from Webbe would not be sufficient to warrant the conclusion I would draw from it, were it not that it is corroborated by several points of internal evidence supplied by the translation itself in its present form, all of which tend to shew that the translation was, in all probability, originally written in the Alexandrine measure.

I. We find scattered throughout the translation a large number of Alexandrine lines, not of the structure with the decasyllabic line, but of the old rythmical structure, divided into equal Hemistichs with the regular Cæsura, such are the following.

As fury guided me " and whereas I had heard.—*B. II. l. 431.*
 The children orderly, " and mothers pale for fright.—*Ibid. l. 1019.*
 Now feelingly I taste " the steps of mine old flame.—*B. IV. l. 30.*
 By sacrifice for grace " and hogrels of two years.—*Ibid. l. 72.*
 And from Ascanius " his life with iron reft.—*Ibid. l. 802.*

Now these Alexandrines and a large number more that might be cited, are pure rythmical lines, and bear no resemblance either in their structure, or the places where they occur to those iambic Alexandrines which Dryden and our best poets occasionally use, either at the close of a stanza or of a period.

II. There are a large number of verses so entirely destitute of harmony, that we cannot suppose Surrey intended them to appear in their present state; all which verses with a very natural and easy addition, sometimes of only one syllable, will become fluent Alexandrines. As the following:

Of Deiphobus the palace large and great.—*B. II. l. 395.*
 By places shadow'd most with the night.—*Ibid. l. 961.*

style which is to be found in the translation. No one can read it and suppose that it has come to us in the state in which Surrey intended it should appear.

And Venus nephew the cottages for fear.—*B. IV. l. 209.*

What new guest is this that to our realm is come.—*Ibid. 14.*

Which in all probability were originally written thus :

And of Deiphobus " the palace large and great.

By places shadow'd most, " with darkness of the night.

And Venus nephew eke " the cottages for fear.

Lo ! what new guest is this " that to our realm is come.

III. There are many lines in which not only the measure is evidently defective, but the sense imperfect : in all which cases it will be found that a word which restores the sense, will at the same time restore the line to the just Alexandrine measure. As in the following instances.

And of the Greeks the cruel wrecks also.—*B. II. l. 750.*

The original line in Virgil is

Et pænas Danaum et deserti conjugis iras

Præmetuens.—V. 572.

Both the sense and metre seem here to require that we should read :

And dreading of the Greeks " the cruel wrecks also.

So again Anchises directing his family to leave him says,

When ye have said this corpse laid out forsake.—Ibid. 846.

Sic, o sic positum ad fati discedete corpus.—V. 644.

On which the Scholiast remarks : *Præstate mihi funebre officium et ubi effati estis ultima illa verba (scilicet Vale ! Vale!) quæ dici solent mortuis, discedite."* It seems therefore reasonable to suppose that Surrey wrote the line originally thus :

When ye have said " Farewell " this corpse laid out forsake.

Douglas' translation supports this conjecture : we there read,

Say the last quething word " Adieu " to me.

Which Ruddiman explains to be, " the solemn valediction given to the dead in burial." The verb " queinth," whence " quething" is derived signifying " to compose."

But from whatever quarter Surrey took the suggestion of Blank Verse; whether he owed it to the Italian or to the Spanish poets; for Boscan and other Spanish writers had used Blank Verse before this period: or whether he owed it, which seems to me most probable, to his own good taste and observation, the translation itself appears to have been suggested by Gawin Douglas's prior translation of the *Æneid*.

In the Italian translation the corresponding word is thus supplied.

Così il mio corpo, così posto hormai
Dettoli "Vale," hor vi partate quinci.—*I sei libri, fol. 40.*

We meet with the same defective lines scattered equally over the Fourth Book.

He that with me first coupled took away
My love with him, enjoy it in the grave.—*l. 35.*

Ille meos, primus qui me sibi junxit amores
Abstulit: ille habeat servetque sepulchro.—*V. 28.*

Surrey may be supposed to have originally written,

He that *himself* with me "first coupled took away
My love with him, *let him,* " enjoy it in the grave.

And again:

But destinies I doubt lest Jove n'll grant.—*l. 136.*

Where the sense evidently requires,

But destinies I *dread,* " and doubt lest Jove n'll grant.

Sed Fatis incerta feror, si Jupiter unam

Esse velit Tyriis urbem.—*V. 110.*

If any one would collect all the instances that might be adduced of imperfect lines, similar to these that have been here cited, there could not, I think, be any doubt as to the conclusion to be formed on the subject. Unless Surrey made originally his translation, as Webbe says he did, in verses of six feet, that is in the blank Alexandrine verse, we have no means of accounting for the imperfect state in which it has been transmitted to us. On the supposition however that it was first made in blank Alexandrine verse, and that it was altered afterwards to the Blank Decasyllabic Verse, the whole difficulty is solved; for we may suppose that Surrey died before he had gone through the revision of the whole, having finished only what is most natural for him to have done, his favourite passages, leaving the rest till future leisure. This conjecture agrees fully with what Chaloner has told us respecting Surrey's poems. He says, expressly, that he left behind him some of them imperfect, having been prevented from putting the finishing hand to them by his untimely death.

This fact has not I believe been noticed before. It is on many accounts deserving of attention.

Gawin Douglas, as he himself informs us, finished his translation of the *Æneid* on the 22d of July, 1513. It was not printed until 1553; but it must have been widely circulated in manuscript, and in that state Surrey saw it. It is in rhythmical verse of twelve syllables taken as the standard: it rhymes in couplets, and is written in the ordinary Scottish dialect. These circumstances would not lead any one at first sight to suppose that Douglas's translation could have been an object of imitation to Surrey, writing as he did in Blank Verse, and in the English Heroic style. This general dissimilarity, no doubt, made Warton and whoever else has treated of Surrey's or Douglas's translation, to overlook the fact. The oversight is the less to be wondered at, as the opening of Douglas's translation of the Second Book of the *Æneid* bears no resemblance whatever to Surrey's. It begins thus:

They ceissit all attainis " incontinent
 With mouthis clois " and vissage taking tent
 Prince Eneas " from the hie bed with that
 Into his sege rial " quhare he sat
 Begouth and sayd " Thy desir Lady is
 Renewing of untellybill sorrow " I wys
 To schaw how Grekis " did spulze and distroy
 The grete riches " and lamentabil realme of Troy.

fol. xxxii. Ed. 1553.

When, however, we advance further in the book the face of things is changed. We then meet with so many expressions which Surrey has evidently borrowed; with so many lines adopted with hardly any other alteration than that which the difference of the dialect, and of the measure made necessary; and so many taken without any alteration at all, that all doubt ceases. It becomes a matter of certainty that Surrey must have read and studied the Scottish translation before he began his own. The following passages may suffice to establish the fact.

The Greeks chieftains all irked with the war,
Wherein they wasted had so many years,
And oft repulsed by fatal destiny,
An huge horse made high raised like a hill.

Book II. l. 18. page 89.

This is Surrey's translation. Douglas's runs as follows.

*The Grekes chiftanis " irkit of the were
Bipast or than " sa mony langsum yere
And oft rebukit " by fatal destany
Ane huge horse " like ane grete hill in hy
Craftely thay wrotcht " in wourschip of Pallas &c.*

Ed. 1553. fo. xxviii.

Surrey thus describes the defence made at Priam's palace.

With instruments of iron gan we pick,
To seek where we might find the joining shrunk
Of that high seat, which we rais'd and threw down.
Which falling gave forthwith a rushing sound
And large in breath on Grekish hosts it light.
But soon another sort stepp'd in their stead.—*Ut sup. l. 600.*

The passage stands thus in Douglas.

*With instruments of irn " we pyke and seik
Round all about " where the joininyngis war worne
Ready to fall " and corbellis all to torne
We holk and mynd " the corners for the nanis
Quhilk down belife " we tumlit all attanis.
Ane felloun rusche it maid " and sound with all
And large on brede " over Grekis routis did fal
But sone ane uther " sort stert in thare stedis.—*Ibid. fo. xl.**

I will adduce but one passage more.

When of his taken town he saw the chance,
And the gates of his palace beaten down,

His foes amid his secret chambers eke,
 Th' old man in vain did on his shoulders then,
 Trembling for age, his cuirass long disused ;
 His bootless sword he girded him about,
 And ran amid his foes, ready to die.—*Ut sup. l. 656.*

Which Douglas renders thus :

*Quhen he the ciete saw takin " and doun bet
 And of his palice " broken every yet
 Amyd the secrete closettis " eik his fais
 His hawbrek quhilk was " lang out of usage
 Set on his schulderis " trembling than for age
 The auld gray " all for nocht to him fais
 Ane swerde bot help " about him beltis hie
 And ran towart his fais " reddy to dee.—Ut sup. fol. xlii.*

In all these passages it is evident that Surrey had Douglas's translation before him, and studied to improve upon it. The proof will be, if possible, still stronger when we come to particular lines.

With blood, o Greeks, and slaughter of a maid
 Ye peased the winds.—*Surrey, B. ii. l. 146.*

With blude and by the slauchter " of ane maid
 Grekis ye mesit the wyndis.—*Douglas ut sup. fol. xxxi.*

By friendly silence of the quiet moon.—*Surrey l. 324.*
 Still under freyndlie " silence of the mone.—*Douglas, fol. xxxv.*

The antient famous city falleth down
 That many years did hold such seignory.—*Surrey, ibid. v. 466.*

The anciant wourthy ciete " doune is fall
 That many yeris " held hie seneory.—*Douglas, ibid. fol. xxxviii.*

Our first labour thus lucked with us.—*Surrey, ibid. v. 494.*
 The first labour thus " luckkit well with us.—*Douglas, ibid. fol. xxxviii.*

Nor habit yet of Phœbus hid from scath.—*Surrey, ibid. v. 553.*
 Nor habbit of Appollo " hid from skaith.—*Douglas ut sup. fol. xl.*

Of old fathers the proud and royal works.—*Surrey, ibid. l. 581.*

The poud and rial werkes " of faderies auld.—*Douglas, ut sup. fol. xl.*

Amid the court under the heaven all bare.—*Surrey, ibid. l. 663.*

Amyd the clois under " the hevin all bare.—*Douglas, ut sup. fol. xlii.*

And with his blood defiled the father's face.—*Surrey, ibid. l. 700.*

And wyth hys blude " filit the faderis face.—*Douglas, Ed. 1710, p. 57.*

Of Priamus this was the fatal fine.—*Surrey, ibid. l. 721.*

Of Priamus this was " the finale fate.—*Douglas, ut sup. xliii.*

In a few instances the lines were retained without any real alteration.

Up sprang the cry of men and trumpet's blast.—*Surrey, ibid. l. 399.*

Up sprang the cry of men " and trumpitis blist.

Douglas, ut sup. fol. xxxvii.

But lo! Polites one of Priam's sons.—*Surrey, ibid. l. 682.*

But lo! Polites ane of " Priamus sonnys.—*Douglas, ut sup. fol. xlii.*

Of Priamus and antient Kings of Troy.—*Surrey, ibid. l. 625.*

Of Priamus " and antient Kingis of Troy.—*Douglas, ut sup. xli.*

These instances of imitation are such as leave no doubt upon the question, especially when it is further remarked that in a variety of passages Surrey has adopted into his translation particular expressions and combinations of words to be found in Douglas, which are too remarkable to have been merely coincidences. Such are the following, "by faith unfild," *Book II. l. 179*, "backs linked manifold," *ibid. l. 263*. "preserved by froward destiny," *ibid. l. 326*. "we thought it a seemly thing to die," *ibid. l. 405*. "Androgeus crested helm," *ibid. l. 501*. "The clamour strake up to the stars," *ibid. l. 630*. "in the flame their irked bodies cast," *ibid. l. 742*. "with her rosy lips did say," *ibid. l. 780*. "shall not do me any dere," *ibid. l. 937*. "betook him to my feres," *ibid. l. 992*. All of which, with many others, will be found to occur literally in Douglas's translation.

That Surrey should thus avail himself of Douglas's Translation takes nothing from his credit as a writer, any more than it takes from Virgil's merit that he borrowed largely from Ennius or Catullus. Neither does it in any shape affect his claim to originality. For if it were as certain that he borrowed from Douglas the first hint of the translation, as it is that he did numerous lines and expressions, this would not make Surrey's translation less original, inasmuch as it has a character entirely its own, to say nothing of its being in Blank Heroic Verse, which forms the leading feature in the work. Those particular lines and expressions excepted which Surrey did adopt, there is not the smallest similarity between his translation and that of Gawin Douglas. The general features of both are different. The Scotch translator is homely, diffuse, and familiar: he brings down Virgil to the common vernacular language of his own country, instead of seeking to give him an elevation of style corresponding to the heroic style of the original; and he loads his work with expletives, beyond what the restraints of rhyme might be supposed to have made necessary; as the following passages will prove. Anchises speaking of himself, says,

Hatit of the Goddis " to all nedes unable
Thir mony zeris " I left unprofitable,
Ay sen the *fader of Goddis " and King of men*
With thunder blast me smote " as that ye ken,
And with his fyry levin " me umberaucht,
That we into our langage " clepe fyre flaught.—*Ed. 1553, fol. xlv.*

Æneas is made thus to describe his attempt to embrace Creusa's ghost:

Quhen this was spoken " away fra me she glaid,
Left me wepyng and feil wourdis " wald have said,
For sche so lichtlye " vanist in the are,
That with my armes " thrys I pressit thare
About the hals " her to have belappit,
And thryis all waist " to gidder my handisclappit;
The figure fled " as licht wynd or the sonne beme,
Or maist likly " ane waverand sweven or dreme.—*Ibid. fol. xlix.*

Let the reader compare with these the corresponding passages in Surrey's translation, and he will see that in all that concerns the real character of the work Surrey is perfectly original; in this point he owes nothing to Douglas. His having borrowed so many lines and expressions may perhaps in some men's opinion weaken Surrey's claim to genius, according to that vague and erroneous notion which many people entertain of genius; as if it consisted in nothing more than the spontaneous energies of innate faculties, and the unassisted efforts of nature. Whereas genius is that power of mind which selects, compares, combines; and in the course of that operation concentrates upon one point whatever it may chance to find dispersed of good or beautiful, where it would otherwise elude observation and perish, in the works of minor writers; who, as far as general merit is concerned, may often be of little or no estimation. I need hardly stop to confirm this position by adducing the instances of Pope and Milton. As applied to Surrey, it tends to raise our opinion of his judgment, his taste, and powers of combination, which are the qualities which go to make a great poet. I trust it will not be thought invidious to say, that he has selected from Gawin Douglas's Translation almost every turn of expression and combination of words that was worth preserving; certainly all that were valuable for the general purposes of Heroic Poetry; for Douglas, it should be remembered, professedly wrote in the plain "vulgar style,"

Kepand na facund retorik castis fare

Bot hamely termes plane and famyleare. Ed. 1710. p. 482.

That Surrey's imitations should occur so frequently in the second book, can be explained only on the supposition that it is the best part of Douglas's translation. The passages borrowed from the fourth book are comparatively few. Had Surrey lived to complete the entire translation of Virgil, of which we may consider the second and fourth books, perhaps his favourite books, to have been only a specimen, we should have found, I doubt not, that he would have availed himself throughout of whatever was useful in the previous translation.

It is now time to turn to the more particular consideration of Surrey's translation.

I have said above that it has come to us in an imperfect state. It contains, however, many passages which are highly wrought; and may be supposed to have received Surrey's last corrections. It is from these passages alone, and not from those which have been left evidently rude and imperfect, that we are to form our opinion of his style and system of Blank Verse. Among the many finished passages to be found largely scattered throughout the translation, the following deserve to be noticed. They exhibit just specimens of his versification, and at the same time that they shew the beauties of it, will enable the reader to judge upon what principles it was constructed.

In the second book, the manner in which the wooden horse is brought within the walls of Troy is thus described :

We cleft the walls and closures of the town ;
Whereto all help, and underset the feet
With sliding rolls, and bound his neck with ropes.
This fatal gin thus over-clamb our walls
Stuff'd with arm'd men ; about the which, there ran
Children and maids that holy carols sang ;
And well were they whose hands might touch the cords.
With threatning chere thus slided through our town
The subtle tree, to Pallas temple ward.
O native land ! Ilion ! and of the Gods
The mansion place ! O warlike walls of Troy !
Four times it stopt in th' entry of our gate ;
Four times the harness clatter'd in the womb.

B. II. l. 295.

The appearance of Hector's shade is thus described :

Aye me what one ? that Hector how unlike
Which erst returned, clad with Achilles' spoils ;
Or when he threw into the Greekish ships
The Trojan flame. So was his beard defiled,

His crisped locks all clustered with his blood,
 With all such wounds, as many he received
 About the walls of that his native town.

Whom frankly thus, methought I spake unto
 With bitter tears, and doleful deadly voice.

"O! Trojan light! O only hope of thine!

"What lets so long thee staid? or from what coasts

"Our most desired Hector dost thou come?

"Whom after slaughter of thy many friends

"And travail of thy people and thy town,

"All wearied, Lord! how gladly we behold!

"What sorry chance hath staid thy lively face?

"Or why see I these wounds? alas! so wide!"

He answered nought, nor in these vain demands
 Abode; but from the bottom of his breast

Sighing he said; "Flee! flee! O Goddess' son,

"And save thee from the fury of this flame!"

Ibid. l. 348.

These two are among the passages quoted by Warton as favourable specimens of Surrey's translation. But many other passages may be found which will do more justice to Surrey's powers of language, and convey a clearer notion of the perfection to which he brought Blank Verse. Thus when Sinon loosed from his bonds answers Priam's inquiry respecting the wooden Horse:

Then he, instruct with wiles and Greekish craft,
 His loosed hands lift upwards to the stars—

"Ye everlasting lamps! I testify,

"Whose power divine may not be violate!

"The altar and sword," quoth he, "that I have 'scap'd!

"Ye sacred bands! I wore as yelden host,

"Lawful be it for me to break my oath

"To Greeks: lawful to hate their nation!

"Lawful be it to sparkle in the air

"Their secrets all, what so they keep in close:

"For free am I from Greece and from their laws.

" So be it, Troy, thou saved by me from scathe,
 " Keep faith with me, and stand to thy behest
 " If I speak truth, and opening things of weight,
 " For grant of life requite thee large amends."

Ibid. l. 191.

How animated is this whole speech! how artificially arranged the pauses! how beautifully the periods disposed! with what an air of truth and innocence is Sinon made to speak! a circumstance of great taste; since it is on the sole ground of Sinon's innocence that the story becomes probable, the catastrophe inevitable, and the Trojans rendered objects of pity and commiseration. Surrey in this passage perhaps may be deemed not inferior to his original. That he is greatly superior to the Italian translator no one will I trust deny.

Tacque; e d'inganni amaestrato e d'arte
 Greca le sciolte mani inalza al cielo:

" Voi! lumi eterni testimonj io chiamo,
 Diss' egli, " e la tremenda forza vostra;
 " Voi sacri altari; e voi crudeli spade
 " Ch' io già fugii; e voi bende ch' allora
 " Io portai condannato a i sacrifici;
 " Siami concesso i giuramenti sacri
 " Hora scioglier dei Greci, e in odio avergli,
 " E tutti i lor pensier segreti aprire,
 " Ch' a leggi lor tenuto ormai non sono.
 " Pur che non manchi a quel che m' hai promesso,
 " E conservata Troia la fe' serva,
 " S'io dirò il ver, s'io scoprirò gran cosa."

I sei Libri, fol. 27.

Of equal beauty and artifice, though in a different style, is the conclusion to the Second Book. It is at the point where the ghost of Creusa is described as vanishing, having addressed her last farewell words to Æneas:

Thus having said, she left me all in tears,
 And minding much to speak; but she was gone

And subtly fled into the weightless air.
 Thrice raught I with mine arms to accol her neck,
 Thrice did my hands vain hold th' image escape;
 Like nimble winds, and like the flying dream.
 So night spent out return I to my feres;
 And there wondring I find together swarm'd
 A new number of mates; mothers, and men,
 A rout exiled, a wretched multitude
 From each where flock together, prest to pass
 With heart and goods to whatsoever land
 By sliding seas, me listed them to lead.

And now rose Lucifer above the ridge
 Of lusty Ide, and brought the dawning light.
 The Greeks held the entries of the gates beset.
 Of help there was no hope. Then gave I place,
 Took up my sire and hasted to the hill.

Book ii. l. 1052.^a

^a The Italian reader will not be displeased to compare Caro's version of this passage with that of Surrey.

Così detto, disparve. Io, che dal pianto
 Era impedito, ed avea molto a dirle,
 Me l'avventai, per ritenerla, al collo,
 E tre volte abbracciandola, altrettante
 Come vento stringessi o fumo o sogno
 Me ne tornai con le man vote al petto.

E così scorsa e consumata indarno
 Tutta la notte al poggio mi ritrassi
 A' miei compagni; ove trovai con molta
 Mia meraviglia d'ogni parte accolta
 Una gran gente, un miserabil volgo
 D'ogni età, d'ogni sesso, e d'ogni grado
 A l'esiglio parati, e 'nsieme additti
 A seguir me dovunque io gli adducessi
 O per mare, o per terra. Uscia già d' Ida
 La mattutina stella, e'l dì s'apria
 Quando in dietro mi volsi: e vidi Troja
 Fumar già tutta, e della rocca in cima

Here we find a few words which have become obsolete, and a few which have changed their meaning; still, the passage is eminently beautiful. There are parts of it which might be studied even now as a model of the simple heroic narrative style. I would specify the four concluding lines in particular. The subject is not encumbered by any redundancy of epithet or pomp of diction, which here would have been misplaced; the pauses are nicely varied, and the versification is fluent and melodious.

From these passages it is evident that Surrey had powers both of mind and language to attain to one of the most important yet difficult parts of a translator's office; that of being faithful to his author, giving at the same time to his translation the air and ease of original composition. In confirmation of this other passages might be adduced, but the reader probably will be better pleased to make his own selection. As for the harmony of versification to which Surrey attained in his blank verse, that is very remarkable, and deserves to be noted, because it was evidently the result of system, and has its own peculiar character. What can exceed the sweetness of the following lines?

So shalt thou reach at last Hesperian land,
Where Lydian Tyber with his gentle stream
Mildly doth flow along the fruitful fields.—*Book II. l. 1038.*

Had these lines been wholly Iambic they would, though sweet, have been monotonous. Surrey prevents this by putting a trochaic foot in

E di sovr'ogni porta inalberate
Le Greche insegne. Onde nè via, nè speme
Rimanendomi più di darle aita,
Cedei; ripresi il carico, e salsi al monte.

I need hardly stop to say that Surrey's version is in this place greatly superior to the Italian. Yet Caro's translation is esteemed one of the best in the Italian language, and he wrote in the golden age of Italian literature.

the first place of the third line, resolving it at the close into the Iambic measure again.

A similar instance occurs in the following passage, where Priam reproaches Pyrrhus for killing his son Polites before his face.

If in the Heaven any justice be
That of such things takes any care, or keep,
According thanks the Gods may yield to thee,
That made me see the slaughter of my child,
And with his blood defile the father's face.—*Book II. l. 696.*

I cannot resist quoting another passage where, though the sweetness of versification is remarkable, it is a sweetness of another cast, and particularly suited to the melancholy picture presented to our view. Dido, distracted by her hopeless passion for Eneas, is thus decribed:

— And when they all were gone,
And the dim moon doth eft withhold her light,
And sliding stars unto sweet sleep provoke,
Alone she mourns within her palace void,
And sits her down on her forsaken bed,
And absent him she hears.—*B. IV. l. 100. **

* Poi che fan dipartenza, e che l' oscura
Luna abbassa a vicenda il lume al giorno
E al sonno invitan le cadenti stelle,
Sola si duol nel voto suo palazzo,
E ne i lasciati letti giace, e Enea
Lontan, lontana sempre ascolta, e vede.

I sei libri di Virgilio. fo. 68.

Tolti da mensa, allor che notte oscura
In disparte gli tragge, e che le stelle
Sonno, dal ciel cagendo, a gli occhi infondono,
Dolente in solitudine ridotta
Ritirata da gli altri, è sol con lui
Che le sta lunge, e lui sol vede e sente.

Caro.

Not that sweetness of versification alone was all that Surrey attended to in his blank verse. His versification, when occasion required, was strong and rapid; as in the following finely wrought simile:

With this the young men's courage did increase:
And through the dark—like to the ravening wolves
Whom raging fury of their hungry maws
Drives from their dens, leaving with hungry throats
Their whelps behind—among our foes we ran.

B. II. l. 455.^a

In the ensuing passage every thing is agitation, and suited to the distraction of the speaker's mind. When Dido saw that Eneas was gone,

Her comely breast thrice and four times she smote
With her own hand, and tore her golden tress.
“O Jove!” quoth she, “shall he then thus depart!”

^a Alto furor in tal guisa s' aggiunse
A l'ardir di costoro, a tal, che poi,
Qual lupi ingordi allor che nebbia oscura,
Fur spinti, ciechi per rabbiosa fame,
E che l' aspettan gli affamati figli
Con le bramose gole, andiam tra ferri
Alla non dubia morte.

I sei libri, &c. fol. 32.

Così l' ardir di quelli animi accesi
Furor divenne. Usciam di lupi in guisa
Che rapaci, famelici, e rabbiosi,
Col ventre voto, e con le canne asciutte
Sentan dei lupicini urlar per fame
Pieno un digiun covile. Andiam per mezzo
De'nemici, e de l' armi a morte esposti
Senza riserva.

Caro.

" A stranger thus! and scorn our kingdom so!
 " Shall not my men do on their armour prest,
 " And straight pursue them throughout all the town?
 " Out of the road soon shall the vessels warp!
 " Haste on! cast flame! set sail! and wield your oars!
 " What said I! or where am I!

B. IV. l. 785.

Afterwards reflecting that she might have attempted to destroy Eneas and all his followers, she adds,

" Of such debate, perchance the fortune might
 " Have doubtful been!—would God it were assayed!
 " Whom should I fear!—since I myself must die.
 " I might have thrown into their navy brands,
 " And filled eke their decks with flaming fire,
 " The father, son, and all the nation
 " Destroy'd, and fallen myself dead over all.
 " Sun! with thy beams that mortal works describes;
 " And thou, Juno, that well these travails know'st;
 " Proserpine! thou, upon whom folks do use
 " To howl, and call in forked ways by night;
 " Infernal Furies! wreakers ye of wrong,
 " And Dido's Gods, who stands at point of death,
 " Receive these words!" *ibid.* 804.

How varied is the versification in this animated passage! how well adapted is the opening of the speech to express the agitation of Dido's mind; and at the close of it how forcibly is the "stern determination" depicted which she had formed of destroying herself!

From these specimens I think we may be justified in saying, that had Surrey lived to have revised his work and brought the whole to that perfection, which from particular passages we plainly perceive he was able to have done; he would have left us not only one of the best translations that has ever yet appeared of any classic author in our own, and perhaps in any other modern language, but he would have been

entitled to the rare praise of having invented a new system of versification, and by one single effort brought it to perfection.^a

^a "There was a French translation of Virgil which had appeared in 1529." A single extract will prove that Surrey was not indebted to it. The following is the opening to the second book.

Lors se teurent et tous pretent l' oreille
 Pour ecouter cette grande merveille
 Alors Enee sur un haut trone assis
 Va commencer dire froit et rassis.
 Tu veux Dame tant pleine de valeur
 Que renouvelle la pass e douleur
 Et que recite comment le gent de Grece
 A demoli la Troyenne richesse
 Et le Royaume lamentable defait ;
 Las ! que ce fut dolent et piteux fait.

As I understand the book is one of great rarity, I will give the title entire.

Des Œuvres de Virgille
 Tra s latees de latin en francoys et nouvelle
 m et imprimees   Paris.

Si vous oyez en premier lieu chantans
 Nouveaulx pasteurs leurs parcz vont frequ tans
 Au lieu second champs prennent les semences
 Des arateurs gardant leurs ordonnances
 Et au tiers renc si trompes vous effroyent
 Ce sont les roys qui aux combatz sessayent.

On les vend   Paris en la grant salle du Palais au
 premier pillier en la boutique de Galliot du pre librai
 re jure de luniuersite.

cum privilegio.

The colophon is,

Fin des oeuvres de Virgille tra s latees
 de latin en fra coys nouvellem ent revues
 corrigees et Imprimees   Paris par Ni
 colas couteau Imprimeur pour Galiot
 du pre libraire demourant audet lieu

L an mil ccccc xxix.

SECT. XI. *Of the progress of Blank Verse in our language—Grimoald—Sackville—Gascoigne—Vallans—adopted by dramatic writers—consequent improvement of the Stage.*

I have particularly mentioned that Surrey did not live to correct his translations from Virgil. What he has done, however, enables us to form an accurate notion, as well of his powers of Versification as of the principles upon which it was formed. I will now shew that the merit of the attempt, though imperfect, was duly appreciated by men of genius and learning. By them Surrey's introduction of Blank Verse was called, to use Ascham's words, "a noble effort to place our national poetry in the fairest and rightest way towards perfection." It found imitators immediately, and formed an important epoch in our literature in the effect it had upon our Stage. For the value and dignity of Blank Verse being once ascertained, it was instantly applied to dramatic composition; and that with such success, as brought the language of the Drama to a very high degree of perfection before our unrivalled poet, Shakespeare began to write.

This point deserves consideration. I will therefore trace briefly the progress that was made in the use of Blank Verse, after it had been introduced by Surrey.

The first writer who attempted it after Surrey was Grimoald. He has left us two poems in Blank Verse; the one on the Death of Zoroas, the other on the Death of Cicero. They were printed in 1557. Warton conjectures that they were written about the year 1547, which was the year subsequent to Surrey's death. Grimoald's pieces are not, as Warton supposes, original compositions. The Death of Cicero is translated from Beza: that of Zoroas from the famous *Alexandreis* of Gualtier. Grimoald had no powers of invention. He contents himself with simply translating his authors; and that in so servile a manner as to borrow from them pedantic expressions, and words of no good authority. The Death of Cicero opens thus.

Therefore when restless rage of wind and wave
He saw; "By Fates alas! call'd for" quoth he,

" Is hapless Cicero: sail on ! shape course
 " To the next shore, and bring me to my death.
 " Perdie ! these thanks rescued from civil sword
 " Wilt thou, my Country, pay ? I see mine end.
 " So powers divine, so bid the Gods above
 " In city sav'd that Consul Marcus shend."

Beza's lines are as follow :

Ergo ut ventorum rabiem pelagique furorem
 Indomitum aspexit ; " Fatis heu ! poscitur " inquit
 " Poscitur infelix Cicero ; convertite vela,
 " Et me vicina moriturum reddite ripæ.
 " Scilicet has grates gladiis erepta tuorum
 " Patria, persolves ? Moriar ! Sic Numina divum,
 " Sic voluêre Dei servatâ ut Consul in urbe
 " Tullius intereat."

The next writer who used Blank verse is one of far greater merit than Grimoald ; namely, Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, who in the tragedy of Gorboduc has exhibited specimens of Blank Verse which for stateliness and dignity of style well deserve Sir Philip Sidney's encomiums. They may yet be quoted with admiration, and studied with advantage. The following beautiful lines, which abound with imitations of Surrey, as well in thought as in expression, form the opening to the play.

The silent night that brings the quiet pause
 From painful travails of the weary day
 Prolongs my careful thoughts, and makes me blame
 The slow Aurore, that so for love or shame
 Doth long delay to shew her blushing face:
 And now, the day renews my grievful plaint.*

The versification of the following apostrophe of Marcella when she hears that Porrex, to whom she was betrothed, had been killed by his mother Videna, is in like manner very beautiful.

* *Dodsley's Old Plays, Vol. I. p. 109.* Compare Surrey's Poems, p 2, l. 12, &c. Thomas Norton assisted Sackville in writing the Play. Of Norton some account will be found in the new edition of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets.

O where is ruth! or where is pity now!
 Whither is gentle heart and mercy fled!
 Are they exil'd out of our stony hearts
 Never to make return? Is all the world
 Drowned in blood and sunk in cruelty?
 If not in women mercy may be found,
 If not, alas! within the mother's breast
 To her own child, to her own flesh and blood;
 If ruth be banished thence; if pity there
 May have no place; if there no gentle heart
 Do live and dwell! where should we seek it then? *Ibid. p. 146.*

But still more beautiful on every account is the wretched Marcella's description of the death of Porrex.

— Hear his ruthful end!

The noble Prince pierced with the sudden wound
 Out of his wretched slumber hastily starts:
 Whose strength now failing, straight he overthrew.
 When in the face his eyes, even now unclos'd,
 Beheld the Queen, he cried to her for help.
 We then, alas! the Ladies which that time
 Did there attend, seeing that heinous deed
 And hearing him oft call the wretched name
 Of mother, and to cry to her for aid
 Whose direful hand gave him his mortal wound,
 Pitying, alas!—for nought else could we do—
 His ruthful end, ran to the woeful bed,
 Despoiled straight his breast, and, all we might,
 Wiped in vain
 The sudden streams of blood that flushed fast
 Out of the gaping wound. O! what a look!
 O! what a ruthful, steadfast eye methought
 He fix'd upon my face, which to my death
 Will never part from me, when with a braid
 A deep fet sigh he gave, and therewith all
 Clasping his hands, to Heaven he cast his sight;

And straight pale death pressing within his face
The flying ghost his mortal corpse forsook. *Ibid. fo. 148.*

There is nothing in the whole range of our literature that surpasses this description, every circumstance of it is so naturally conceived, and so feelingly expressed. How exquisitely is the pathos heightened by Marcella's dwelling upon the circumstance of her lover's ruthless stedfast eye, ere it closed for ever, being fixed, as she thought, upon herself.

Now when we consider these specimens of versification, not as standing alone by themselves, but as connected with the state of our dramatic language previous to their appearance, we shall be better able to appreciate our obligation to Surrey for the introduction of Blank Verse. Till then the language of the Stage had been mean and prosaic, and such as could not but have prevented persons of an enlightened mind from taking any pleasure in dramatic representation. That I may not weary the reader I will present but four specimens of the style of our dramatic writers before the appearance of Gorboduc. These specimens alone will enable him to judge how much the Stage was raised immediately upon the introduction of Heroic Blank Verse.

The first specimen is from a very scarce piece entitled, a Comedy concerning the three Laws; of Nature, Moses and Christ, written by Bayle, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, in 1538. The whole is a vehement invective against the Roman Catholic Church in favour of the Reformation. The person speaking is Avaritia.

I caused the Pope " to take but now of late |
Of the Grey Friars " to have canonizate |
Franciscus de Pola " three thousand ducats and more |
And as much besides " he had not long afore |
For a Cardinal hat " of the same holy order |
Thus draw we to us " great goods from every border |
Pope Clement the seventh " paid once for his Papacie |
Three hundred thousand " good ducats of lawful monie. *Sig. S. iiii.*

The next extract is from a play, the extreme rarity of which will,

I am sure, induce the reader to excuse the length of the quotation. Calisto, the hero of the piece, thus expresses his passion for Melibæa.

Lo! out of all joy I am fallen in woe,
Upon whom adverse fortune hath cast her chance
Of cruel hate, which causeth now away to go
The keeper of my joy and all my pleasure;
Alas! alas! to me what noyance.

S. Dieu garde my lord, and God be in this place.

C. Sempronio? S. Yea, Sir. C. Ah! Sir, i-shrew thy face!

Why hast thou been from me so long absent?

S. For I have been about your business
To order such things as were convenient:

Your house and horse and all things was to dress.

C. O Sempronio! have pity on my distress,

For of all creatures I am the woefullest.

S. How so? what is the cause of your unrest?

C. For I serve in love to the goodliest thing

That is or ever was. S. what is she?

C. It is one which is all other exceeding;

The picture of angel. If you her see

Phœbus or Phœbe no comparison may be

To her. S. What hight she? C. Melibæa is her name.

S. Marry Sir, this would make a wild horse tame.

C. I pray thee, Sempronio, go! fet me my lute,

And bring some chair or stool with thee,

The arguments of love that I may dispute

Which science I find "The art without pitie."

Hie thee, Sempronio, hie thee, I pray thee.

S. Sir, shortly I assure you it shall be done.

C. Then farewell! Christ send thee again soon.*

* The entire title of the Play is as follows:

"A new Comedy in English in manner of an
interlude, right elegant and full of craft of
rhetoric, wherein is shewed and described as well
the beauty and good properties of women as their

Heywood, a famous dramatic poet of his day, whose facetious jokes are said to have relaxed the severe brow of the bigotted Mary, thus begins his interlude of the Four P's; that is, the Palmer, the Pardoner, the Poticary, and the Pedlar.

Now God be here! who keepeth this place?

Now by my faith I cry you mercie.

Of reason I must sue for grace,

My rudeness sheweth me so homelie.

Whereof my pardon ax'd and won,

I sue you as courtesy doth me bind,

To tell this which shall be begun

In order as may come best in mind. *Dodsley, Vol. I. p. 49.*

In the Tragedy of King Cambyses the long Alexandrine verse was used. Cambyses thus addresses his Court.

My Council! grave and sapient, with lords of legal train,

Attentive earè towards bend, " and mark what shall be sain.

So you likewise, my valiant Knights " whose manly acts doth fly,

By brute of fame the sounding trump " doth pierce the azure sky,

My sapient words I say perpend " and so your skill dilate;

You know that Mors vanquished hath " Cyrus that King of state.

Hawkins's English Drama, Vol. I. p. 253.

He afterwards thus addresses the Lady of whom he is enamoured.

Lady dear! intelligence " my grace hath got of late

You issued out of mother's stock " and kin unto my state.

According to rule of birth " you are cousin german mine

Yet do I wish that further off " this kindred I could find.

For Cupid he that eyeless boy " my heart hath so inflamed

With beauty you me to content " the like cannot be named.

Ibid. p. 301.

vices and cruel conditions with a moral

conclusion and exhortation to Virtue."

It was printed for J. Rastel, as Mr. Malone conjectured, about the year 1530. For the use of the two rare Books from which this and the preceding quotation have been made, I am indebted to Mr. Boswell; who informs me that some specimens of Blank Verse, though of no great merit, are to be found in Green's Perimedes, and Gabriel Harvey's Sonnets prefixed to his four Letters.

How in such style as this, in metre so homely, and in expressions so pedantic or vulgar, could love be described with tenderness, or hope or fear with elegance? how could the conflict of contending passions thus pourtrayed assume an air of dignity, or the intercourse of the great be represented with majesty and decorum?

Gorboduc was represented in 1562, that is, about five years after Surrey's translations from Virgil were published. Four years after Gascoigne and Kindlemarsh wrote their *Jocasta*; a loose translation from the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides. Their play was evidently formed upon the model of *Gorboduc*, to which however it is inferior in strength and beauty of versification; for their versification is generally speaking languid, and not sufficiently varied in its pauses. Still it was a praiseworthy effort to confirm the use of Blank Verse, and to establish the improvement which Surrey's superior genius had begun.

Not many years after, Gascoigne again confirmed the use of Blank Verse by employing it in a more popular piece, a satire called the *Steel Glass*, published in 1576. The following passages are selected as affording favourable specimens of Gascoigne's style of Blank Verse. Speaking of the fastidious love of novelty in dress which the English women of those days displayed, he exclaims:

O painted fools! whose hair brained heads must have
More clothes at once than might become a king.
For whom the rocks in foreign realms must spin,
For whom they carde, for whom they weave their webs,
For whom no wool appeareth fine enough,
For whom all seas are tossed to and fro,
For whom these purples come from Persia,
That crimosine and lively red from Ind,
For whom soft silks do sail from Sericane,
And all quaint costs do come from farthest coasts.
Whiles in mean while that worthy Emperor
Which ruled the world and had all wealth at will
Could be content to tire his weary wife,
His daughters, and his nieces everichone
To spin and work the clothes that they did wear.

And never car'd for silks or sumptuous costs
For cloth of gold, or tinsel figury.—*fol. F. iii.*

In another place he thus describes the good Clergyman. The lines are well deserving notice.

—— But I see a wondrous sight!

I see a swarm of saints within my glass.

Behold! behold! I see a swarm indeed

Of holy saints which work in comely wise.

Not deck'd in robes, nor garnished with gold,

But some unshod, yea! some full thinly clad

And yet they seem so heavenly for to see,

As if their eyes were all of diamond,

Their face of rubies, sapphires, and jacinths;

Their comely beards and hair, of silver wire.

What should they be! my Lord, what should they be?

O gracious God! I see now what they be!

These be my priests divorced from the world,

And wedded yet to heaven and holiness;

Which are not proud, nor covet to be great;

Which go not gay, nor covet to be rich;

Which envy not, nor know what malice means;

Which loath all lust, disdaining drunkenness;

Which cannot feign, which hate hypocrisy;

Which never saw Sir Simony's deceits;

Which preach of peace, which carp contentions;

Which loiter not, but labour all the year;

Which thunder threats of God's most grievous wrath,

And yet do teach that mercy is in store.—*Fo. G. 1.*

The next specimen of blank verse used in smaller poems occurs in the Tale of the Two Swans, by W. Vallens, and published in 1592; though written earlier. It opens with the following lines, the best in the whole piece. The nature of the subject indeed, was not favourable to poetic description.

When Nature, nurse of every living thing,
Had clad her charge in brave and new array,

The hills rejoiced to see themselves so fine,
 The fields and woods grew proud thereof also.
 The meadows with their party coloured coates,
 Like to the rainbow in the azure sky,
 Give just occasion to the cheerful birds
 With sweetest notes to sing their nurses praise.
 Among the which the noisy nightingale
 With "sweet and sweet" her breast against a thorn
 Rings out all night the never ceasing lauds
 Of God, the author of her nurse and all.

Leland's Itinerary, Vol. V. fol. viii. Ed. 1744.

Meanwhile the Stage continued to exhibit many fine specimens of Blank Verse. It would be easy to adduce passages of considerable merit from plays which appeared many years before Shakespeare began to write. I will quote only the following from Peele's *David and Bethsabe*, to shew to what a great degree of sweetness Blank Verse had at that early period attained. Bethsabe, oppressed by heat, thus addressed the wind:

Come, gentle Zephyr, tricked in those perfumes
 That erst in Eden sweetened Adam's love,
 And stroke my bosom with thy gentle fan.
 This shade sun proof, is yet no proof for thee.
 Thy body smoother then this waveless spring
 Can creep through that, his lances cannot pierce.
 Thou and thy sister, soft and sacred Air,
 Goddess of Life, and Governess of Health,
 Keep every fountain fresh, and arbour sweet.
 No brazen gate her passage can repulse,
 Nor bushy thicket bar thy subtle breath.
 Then deck thee with thy loose delightsome robes,
 And on thy wings bring delicate perfumes
 To play the wanton with us thro' the leaves.

Hawkins's English Drama. Vol. II. Act I. Sc. 1.

It would take us too wide from the subject to trace further the progress of Blank Verse in our language, or mark the nature of the several

improvements that were successively made in it. Sufficient has been said to prove, which is the principal object we are concerned with, that Surrey's invention was immediately adopted upon its first introduction, and continued by our best writers in succession until it was brought to that perfection which it received from Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson. With an extract from the latter I close this digression. We trace in it all the dignity and majesty of Milton's style, and those peculiarities which distinguish the versification of the immortal author of the *Paradise Lost*, from that of every other poet.

Good morrow to the day!—and next my gold!

Open the shrine that I may see my saint.

Hail the world's soul, and mine! more glad than is

The teeming earth to see the long'd for sun

Look thro' the horns of the celestial Ram,

Am I to view thy splendour dark'ning his,

That lying here, amongst my other hoards,

Shew'st like a flame by night, or like the day

Struck out of Chaos, when all darkness fled

Unto the centre.

Jonson's Works, Vol. II. p. 278.

SECT. XII. *Of Surrey's Poems considered as correct Models of Composition—the Sonnet—the amatory Ode—the Elegy—and Epitaph.*

WE come now to consider what were the improvements of a general nature made by Surrey in our poetry. They may be reduced to the following heads.

I. He exhibited correct models of composition, in all the branches of poetry which he attempted;

II. He reformed that rude and diffusive mode of writing which was common to all our poets who preceded him;

III. He shewed what could be done by proper embellishment, without which thoughts, noble and dignified in themselves, are lowered and debased; and,

IV. He taught succeeding writers how to imitate the Classics and the best authors of other languages without pedantry; so adapting the pas-

sages borrowed to the genius of the English language, as to give them an air of originality; a point of particular nicety in taste and judgment.

We will follow the order in which the several points have been enumerated above.

And First, of Surrey's poems considered as models of correct composition. To begin with his sonnets. Where can we find a more perfect model for that species of composition than Surrey's Sonnet on Spring?

The soote season which bud and bloom forth brings.—p. 19.

Or that which begins,

Alas! so all things now do hold their peace.—p. 20.

These are specimens of the empassioned, and amatory sonnet. Of the sonnet of a graver cast, I would cite as a specimen, that on the Death of Sir Thomas Wyatt, which begins,

Divers thy death, do diversely bemoan.—p. 47.

and that especially on the seven Penitential Psalms.

The great Macedon that out of Persia chaced.—p. 46.

Those who are conversant with Italian literature, and know the nice conduct which is required in a sonnet, and the rules on which it should be formed, will be best able to appreciate Surrey's merit in this particular branch of composition. It adds greatly to his merit to know that Surrey's sonnets are the first that appeared in our language.

Surrey's Elegy at Windsor Castle may be considered even yet as one of the most perfect models we have of that species of composition. Compare it with those rude attempts at elegy by Skelton on the Death of Edward IV. and the Earl of Northumberland; compare it with the elegy by Barclay on the Death of the Lord Edmund Howard, or with that by Sir Thomas More, a far abler writer, on the death of Elizabeth, wife to Henry VII, and it will be evident that Surrey borrowed

so little from any writer preceding him in this branch of composition, that the praise of having excelled in it is exclusively his own: it amounts to little short of absolute invention. Nor should it be forgotten, that at the same time that Surrey gave us the form of an Elegy, he fixed the measure which was the properest, and best suited to it. No subsequent ingenuity has been able to add any improvements on this head. Experience has proved that the solemnity of the Heroic Quatrain adds dignity to complaint; and is mournful, without being querulous.

Surrey's amatory odes may be still regarded as models of composition in that branch of writing. I would instance particularly the elegant little ode so often quoted, and so often imitated:

Give place ye lovers here before.—p. 4.

And that beginning,

When raging love with extreme pain.—p. 5.

which turns upon a very pleasing allusion to the story of Iphigenia. In both of these odes sweetness of versification and elegance of thought and sentiment, are but secondary merits. What particularly recommends them to our notice here is their conduct. A conduct as regular and artificial as any thing in Horace.

The amatory compositions of our early poets previous to Surrey do not deserve the name of odes. They were no more than what we now comprehend under the title of Ballads, or inartificial Love Songs. We sometimes find in them sentiments of genuine feeling, and simple nature. But we never find any entire piece which could be adopted as a model of composition.

The last species of composition of which I shall consider Surrey as giving us a model, is that of the Epitaph. I regard his Epitaph on his friend Clere to be perhaps the most perfect in its kind in our language. To the epitaphs written by Pope, and many of our admired writers, it may be objected that they are short elegies, or laudatory poems, rather than Epitaphs; of which it is the province to record all those minute

circumstances of the person departed which the affection of surviving friends, and the common feelings of humanity, wish to have perpetuated. Now this is done by Surrey in Clere's Epitaph with such a succinctness and simplicity as is truly admirable; especially as the whole is enlivened with so many little touches of tenderness and feeling, that it would have been impossible for the most careless passer by not to have stopped and read it, and have heaved in parting from the tomb, a pitying sigh over the amiable youth whose short, but eventful life gave promise of much future excellence, had his virtues been permitted more fully to expand.

SECT. XIII. *Of the vague and diffusive Style used by our early Poets, and particularly of Lydgate.*

A vague and diffuse mode of writing is a fault almost inseparably connected with the literature of every country in its rude and early state. Chaucer saw the fault, and endeavoured to correct it both by his own example and by ridicule. He was not however wholly free from the fault himself. Perhaps he found it necessary to comply, in a certain degree, with the taste of his times. Had Lydgate and the writers who succeeded him been men of taste, genius, or judgment, they might have completed the reformation which Chaucer began. But instead of correcting they increased the fault. I believe it would be in vain to look for more glaring instances of diffuseness in style and unmeaning tautology, than are to be found in the works of Lydgate. The following passage may serve as a specimen:

When that the soote " stormes of April
Unto the root " full low gan distill
His lusty liquor " with many wholesome shower
To raise the vertu " high upon the flower
And Phœbus was " ascending in his sphere
And on the breast " beat his beames clere
Of the Ram " full cholerick at all
Hallowing in Ver " the equinoctial

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When Mays calends " entring from the south
 And Zephirus " with sweet breath and sooth
 The tender branches " inspireth and doth spring
 When every bush " is fresh and blossoming
 And from the hill " the water is revolved
 Of snowè white " that Phœbus hath resolved
 For then the balm " vapoureth up aloft
 Into the air " from the herbes soft
 The rootes virtu " by cold of winter hid
 Hath full his might " and his force y-kidde
 Out of the earth " in herbes and ev'ry tree
 Shade in the branches " his humidity
 Araised only " with the sunnes heat
 And with the moisture " of the rainès sweete
 When silver wells " shedden out their streams
 In rivers gilt " with the sunnes beames
 And for he had " with new green again
 Her largess shed " upon every plain
 And nightingales " that all the woods rong
 Full amourosly " did welcome in their song
 The lusty seasòn " fresh and desiròus
 Namely to hearts " which been amoroùs
 And when the sea " calm is and blandishing
 Fro-trouble of wind " or wavy boiling
 And is from tempest " sure to escape
 The same seasòn " the Greekès forth them shape, &c.

The prolixity and inelegant tautology remarkable in this passage is the less pardonable as it is a direct imitation of Chaucer's opening to his Canterbury Tales. That prolix diffuseness of style was not an accidental defect in Lydgate, but his general mode of writing, any one who has access to Lydgate's works may easily ascertain. I will cite only two passages more. The first forms the beginning of the Book of Troy.

O mighty Mars! " that with thy stern light
 In armès hast " the power and the might

And named art " from east tree occident
 The mighty Lord " the God Armipotent
 That with the shinging " of thy streamès red
 By influence " dost the bridle lead
 Of chivalry " as sovereign and patron
 Full hot and dry " of complexion
 Irous wode " and melancholic
 And of nature " brent and choleric
 Of colour shining " like the fiery glede
 Whose fierce looks " been as full of dread
 As is the leven " that lighteth low
 Down by the skies " from Jupiter his bow
 So been thy streamès " passing despiteous
 And to behold " so inly furious
 Thou causer art " with thy fiery beamès
 Of war and strife " in many sundry realmès
 Whose lordship chiefly " is in Capricorn
 But in the Crab " is thy power lorn
 And causer art " of conteke and of strife
 Now for the love of her " Vulcanus wife
 And for the love " of thy Bellonà
 That with thee dwelleth " beyond Cirrhà——

but perhaps the reader will be better satisfied if, instead of concluding the quotation, I tell him that Lydgate continues the invocation through above twenty lines more in the same strain, without a single addition to the thought.

The twenty lines which follow are from the same poem. Their diffusiveness renders them nearly unintelligible, they mean to say no more than that Lydgate began his work in October.

The time of year " shortly to conclude
 When twenty 'grees " was Phœbus altitude
 The hour when " he made his steedès draw
 His rosin chariot " low under the wawe
 To bathe his beames " in the wavy sea
 Gresed like gold " as men might plainly see

Passing the border " of our ocean
 And Lucinà " of colour pale and wan
 Her cold rising " in October dight
 To enchase the darkness " of the frosty night
 That there amiddes was " of the Scorpion
 And Hesperus gan fast " to wester down
 Her course to haste " again the morrow gray
 Then Lucifer the night " to void away
 The messenger is called " of the day
 Our hemisphere " to put out of affray
 With bright calends " of Phœbus uprist shene
 And from the bounds " of Proserpine the queen
 Where Pluto dwelleth " the dark region
 And there the furies " have their mansion
 Till after soon Apollo " list not tarry
 To take his sojourn " in the sagitary
 Which time I gan " the prologue to behold &c. *Book of Troy.*

I have taken these examples from Lydgate, because Warton and Gray, two writers of exquisite taste, and to whose opinion the greatest deference is due, seem disposed to rank Lydgate higher as a writer than I think he ought to stand. I grant that he was much esteemed by the writers who succeeded him. But this proves nothing as to his real merit. The History of all Literature supplies instances of misplaced popularity. Had Lydgate's taste been more correct subsequent writers would have avoided many faults into which they were seduced by his authority. Among these faults that of repetition and unmeaning diffuseness ranks the foremost. Compression, and condensation of thought, excluding all idle recurrence to minute particulars without which words are multiplied without addition of ideas, is an excellence we look for in vain in Lydgate, and all our early poets. By them allusions which ought to have been only glanced at, were swelled into prolix similes of many lines; ideas, which a single word was sufficient to excite were tortured through whole periods; and thoughts of no particular value in themselves were pursued through many succeeding stanzas with a minuteness which wearied attention and defeated all the purposes of writing. I will

content myself with adducing a single instance from Chaucer. Any one whose patience shall lead him to go through Lydgate, Hawes, Barclay, and Skelton, shall find that almost every page supplies similar instances of ponderous tautology. Talking of the sufferings of lovers Chaucer says ;

It seemeth Love hath to lovers enmity.

And like a fisher as men may all day see

Bateth his anglehook with some pleasaunce

Till many a fish is wode 'till that he be

Seized therewith, and then at erst hath he

All his desire, and therewithall mischaunce

And though the line break, he hath penaunce

For with that hook he wounded is full sore

That he his wages hath for evermore.

Complaint of Mars. fol. ccclxx. Ed. 1532.

That all early poets should be circumstantial and minute is not wonderful. The love of circumstance is always strongest in rude and uneducated minds. Common people are not accustomed to the nicer operation of selection and arrangement ; they therefore dwell with delight on every enumeration of particulars upon the truth of which they are competent to decide, feeling themselves not equal to the task of appreciating those more refined beauties which result from a combination of the several parts of a well constructed fable.

And in truth there is a charm in circumstance which a masterly writer may avail himself of to produce effects of marvellous beauty. It is owing to a proper use of circumstance that our attention is rivetted to the Iliad and the Odyssey more strongly than it is to the Æneid. In this respect Homer had an advantage over Virgil. Homer lived when manners were more simple, and his hearers would not have been satisfied had he not been circumstantial in his descriptions. When Virgil wrote a more artificial state of things existed. The public taste was more refined ; it had become fastidious, and circumstance was superseded to give place to beauties of a more general cast.

It may be admitted then, that circumstance when properly employed, is a source of legitimate delight. But the abuse of it goes to destroy the charm, and even the very end of poetry.

SECT. XIV. *Of the want of proper selection and embellishment of thoughts—defect of our early writers—Lydgate—Barclay—Hawes—Surrey's good taste in this particular.*

We come now to consider how far our early poets understood the art of embellishing their thoughts, by a proper mode of expressing them. In this respect they were all remarkably deficient. That Chaucer himself must be included in the number, his warmest admirers cannot but allow. It must be acknowledged however to his praise that he did as much to correct the fault, of which he seems to have been sensible, as in those times any one single person could be expected to have done. He left a large number of passages in which his thoughts were expressed with sufficient elegance and precision to have guided after writers, had they studied him to advantage. But they rather chose to relapse into that rude, and undigested mode of detailing their thoughts which reminds us of the mountain torrent sweeping down with it in its irregular course whatever chances to come within its reach.

The manner in which Lydgate opens his third Book of the Fall of the Princes, affords a just notion of his want of taste in this particular.

Like as a Pilgrim " which goeth on foot
And hath none horse " to relieve his travail,
Who is dry and weary " and may find no boot
Of well cold when " thirst doth him assail,
Wine nor liquor " that may him avail.
Right so fare I " which in my business
No succour find " my rudeness to redress.

I mean as thus " I have no fresh liquour
 Out of the conduit " of Calliopè,
 Nor through Clio " in rhetoric no flower
 In my labour " for to refresh me ;
 Nor of the Sisters " in number thrice three,
 Which with Cithereà " on Parnasse dwell,
 They never gave me drink " out of their well.—*fol. M. iii.*

This thought in the hands of Milton might have been wrought into a passage of considerable beauty. As it now stands in Lydgate's crude and inartificial manner the effect which it was capable of producing, is utterly destroyed.

Barclay in a poem entitled the Mirror of Good Manners, which he says was written

With light foot of meter " and style heroical,
 to enhance the value of learning, compares it with worldly treasure in the following manner :

No merchandize better " in marts mayst thou find
 Than this little book " within it doth contain,
 No better thing bringeth " the merchant out of Inde
 From Damas to Turkey " from Damiette to Spain,
 From coasts of Italy " from Naples or Almayne ;
 In all other nations " both foreign far and strange
 Can man find no better " merchandize nor change.
 No shop in rich city " hath better merchandize
 No grocer nor mercer " nor other merchants all,
 Can satisfy the minds " with ware of such price, &c.

The thought here likewise is in itself just and dignified, and capable of poetic ornament; but the want of a proper mode of setting it off, renders it mean, and even ludicrous.

The reader will, I trust, pardon me for stopping to give one example more from the same author. Barclay in his Court Eclogues introduces an apologue of Eve and her children, which, allowance

made for the times, is not devoid of fancy or merit, but the total absence of skill in embellishment, renders it unpleasing in parts, and even offensive to good taste. The story opens with saying, "that Adam was in the fields pitching a fold," and that Eve was sitting on the threshold of her door busied in attending to her children. The picture might have been a pleasing one. Barclay draws it thus :

Eve was at home " and sat on the threshold
 With all her babes " and children her about,
 Either on her lap " within or else without.
 Now had she pleasure " them colling and bassing;
 And oft was she busy " them lousing and keming,
 And busy with butter " for to anoint their neck;
 Sometimes she mused " them pleasantly to deck.

The Almighty is then supposed to visit our primæval mother, who is ashamed to be found surrounded by so many children, and therefore proceeds to hide a large number of them;

Some under hay " some under corn and chaff,
 Some in the chimney " some in a tub of draff,

reserving those only to be shewn to her Heavenly Visitor, whom she judged to be the best favoured. On these the Lord smiled,

——— " and them comforted so
 As we with whelps " and birdès use to do.

The divine blessing is given to the children thus presented, and they are made either kings or emperors, earls, barons, hardy champions, mayors, aldermen, or sheriffs. Eve then produces the children whom she had before hid, hoping to obtain honours for them likewise; but they are described, in some lines not destitute of humour, as appearing all covered with dust and cobwebs; long pieces of chaff and straw sticking in an unsightly manner in their hair. These children, instead

of receiving a blessing like their brethen, are doomed, to Eve's great disappointment, to a life of toil and poverty, which it was said accorded with their dirty and slovenly appearance. This forms the congruity of the allotment; but the reasons assigned for it are not adapted to the purposes of poetic ornament; much less do they accord with the character of the speaker.

None can a pitcher turn " to a silver piece
Nor make a goodly silk " of a goat's fleece;
And hard is also to make " withouten fail
A bright two hand sword " of a cows tail.

So also, in the enumeration of the offices assigned to this ill-fated part of Eve's family, all decorum is neglected.

Some shall we grant " to live in the city
For to make puddings " and butchers for to be,
Cobblers or tinkers " or else costard jagers,
Hostelers and daubers " or droupy water lagers.

fol. D. iii.

In Hawes we meet with similar instances of bad taste. Indeed there is hardly any one idea detailed at length in his most laboured work, "The History of Grande Amour and La Belle Pucelle," that does not lose its grace from want of proper skill and judgment in setting it off. Thus when Grande Amour is persuaded by Counsel not to despair of gaining La Belle Pucelle's affection, the argument used is obvious; but what can be less like poetry than the manner in which it is expressed?

Languish no more " but pluck up thy heart!
Exile despair " and live awhile in hope
And keep your love " all close and covèrt.
It may so fortune " that your lady will grope
Somewhat of love " for to drink a sope
Though outwardly " she dare not let you know,
But at the last " as I believe and trow

She cannot keep it " so close and privy

But that somewhat " it shall to appeare. . . . fol. H. iiii.

The same neglect of proper embellishment appears in the letter which Grande Amour writes to La Belle Pucelle as dictated by Venus; and in the description which he gives himself of his mistress's person, for, having said that she was

From top to toe " endued with plesaunce,

and having in lines of some merit praised her several charms, he concludes all by telling us that she had " proper feet," and that

" ——— she gartered well her hose."

The sight of so many charms and accomplishments overpowers the astonished lover, and he is ready to die in despair; when Venus herself comes to support him, with the consolatory promise that she will " give him an electuary."

These are defects not to be excused on the general plea of change of manners and improvement in language. They were defects which originated in a want of taste and genius to discover or appreciate the laws of good writing; for Hawes preceded Surrey but a few years, and Skelton and Barclay were his contemporaries. The latter even survived him, yet we do not find in all Surrey's poems a single instance of a passage debased by mean circumstances, or trivial and ignoble words; on the contrary, there is a studied attention to whatever may embellish and give dignity to the thought which is to be expressed.

Thus when he describes his going into Scotland in the Winter, he raises a familiar idea with the following studied terms of poetic expression.

Spite drove me into Boreas reign

Where hoary frosts the fruits do bite;

When hills were spread, and every plain

With stormy winter's mantled white. Page 9.

And again, when he compares a soldier's life with that of a luxurious king, he says :

The dint of swords from kisses seemed strange,
And harder than his lady's side his targe;
From glutton's feasts to soldier's fare a change,
His helmet far above a garland's charge. *Page 44.*

Even in his less elevated pieces equal care is taken not to lower the idea expressed by any thing mean or inelegant. How pleasingly is the following gradation of sorrow detailed.

From pensiveness to plaint " from plaint to bitter tears;
From tears to pensive plaint again ; " and thus my life it wears. *Page 10.*

How beautiful is the following pathetic description of the lover's ever-fluctuating state of mind.

Thus I within my woeful breast " her picture paint and grave :
And in my thought I roll " her beauties to and fro,
Her laughing chere, her lively look, " my heart that pierced so;
Her strangeness when I sued " her servant for to be ;
And what she said, and how she smiled, " when that she pitied me.

Page 11.

In all this we trace the operation of system ; a system conceived on just principles of taste, and carried ably into execution. Surrey's mode of expressing his thoughts is always of a piece. If in our early poets we meet here and there with an idea expressed happily, it is like a bright piece of cloth sewed into a faded garment, which attracts attention, but does not benefit the wearer. Such passages may excite a momentary admiration ; but will not justify our calling the piece, where they are to be found, a good composition.^a

^a In Chaucer's complaint of Mars and Venus, we find this very spirited description of Mars arming himself.

He throweth on his helm of hugie weight,
And girt him with his sword ; and in his hand

SECT. XV. *Of the want of skill in all our early Poets in translating and imitating other writers, and Surrey's excellence in this particular.*

Little as our early poets previous to Surrey understood the art of embellishing their own thoughts, still less did they understand the more difficult art of translating and imitating the thoughts of others so as to improve upon them, or even preserve any thing like the spirit of the original. The thought they borrowed was either rendered servilely, or else lost in unnecessary dilation; as if our language had been inadequate to the task, or that the graces of foreign poetry were doomed to droop and languish in our rugged clime; as flowers of a tender nature do, when transplanted to some cold ungenial shade from the warm fostering bank where first they grew.

Chaucer was incomparably the best and noblest of all our early writers. Yet even Chaucer was unacquainted with the art of imitating or translating with spirit and originality. In the following lines he imitates two passages of Horace. He comprehends his author's meaning, and applies it to his subject with considerable skill; but we look in vain for the point and terseness of the original.

Pandarus advises Troilus, who is about to write to his mistress, if he should light upon a happy expression, not to use it too often.

For though the best " harper upon live
 Would on the best " sowned joly harp
 That ever was " with all his fingers five
 Touch aye o string " or aye o warble harp,
 Were his nailès " pointed never so sharp

His mighty spear, as he was wont to fight
 He shaketh so, that it almost to-wonn'd.

Thus far all is general and beautiful: but Chaucer cannot forbear adding a circumstance which proves he had a Man at Arms of the 14th century in his imagination.

Full heavy was he to walken over lond.

Urry's Ed. p. 531.

It should maken " every wight too dull
To hear his glee " and of his strokès full.

Ne jombre eke " no discordant thing y-fere
As thus, to usen " termès of physicke:
In lovès termès " hold of thy matere
The form alway " and do that it be like.

For if a painter would y-paint a pike
With asses feet " and headed as an ape
It cordeth not " so were it but a jape. *Troilus, B. II. v. 1030.*

In these lines we may recognize an imperfect imitation of two passages from Horace. The one,

——— Citharædus

Ridetur chordâ qui semper oberrat eâdem:

the other;

Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
Jungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas
Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
Desinat in piscem mulier formosa supernè,
Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?

In the following lines we have a translation of one of Petrarch's sonnets. But the words are so ill chosen where the version is close; and where it is paraphrastic the circumstances added are selected with so little taste, and expressed with so little elegance, that the spirit of the original is lost.

If no love is, oh God! " what feel I so;
And if love is, " what thing and which is he?
If love be good, " from whence cometh my woe?
If it be wick, " a wonder thinketh me
When every torment " and adversity
That cometh of him " may to be savoury think;
For aye the more thirst I, " that I it drink.

Petrarch's lines are as follows.

Se' Amor non è, che dunque è quel ch' io sento?
Ma s' egli è Amor, per Dio! che cosa! è quale!

Se buona; onde è l' effetto aspro, mortale!
 Se ria; ond' è sì dolce ogni tormento?

Petrarch thus continues;

S' a mia voglia ardo, ond' è 'l pianto e 'l lamento?
 S' a mal mio grado, il lamentar che vale?
 O! viva morte! o! diletto male!
 Come puoi tanto in me, s' io non consento. *Son. 102.*

Which Chaucer thus renders:

And if that at mine own " lust I bren,
 From whence cometh " my wailing and my plaint?
 If harm agree me, " wherefore plain I then?
 I n'ot ne why " unweary that I faint.
 O! quick Death! o! sweet harm so quaint!
 How may of thee " in me be such quantity
 But if that I " consent that so it be.
Troil. and Cress. B. I. Ed. 1532.

The concluding stanza is in the same strain; it would be superfluous to quote it.

A still more striking proof of Chaucer's want of taste in translation occurs in his *Canterbury Tales*, where he attempts a version of Dante's famous story of Ugolino. A few lines may serve as a specimen. With what prosaical tameness and meanness of circumstance does he paraphrase the following lines, in which Ugolino describes how his suspicion was excited as to the fate which awaited his unfortunate family, and himself.

Già eran desti; e l' ora s' appressava
 Che 'l cibo ne soleva essere addotto,
 E per suo sogno ciascun dubitava.
 Ed io senti' chiavar l' uscio di sotto
 All' orribile torre; ond' io guardai
 Nel viso a' miei figliuoi senza far motto.
Inferno, Can. XXXIII. l. 43.

And on a day " befel that in that hour
 When that his meat " wont was to be brought,

The jailer shut the " doorè of the tower:
He heard it well " but he spake right nought.

His young son " that three years was of age
Unto him said; " Father! " Father! why do ye weep?
" When will the jailer " bring our pottage?
" Is there no morsel " bread that ye do keep?
" I am so hungry " that I may not sleep.
" Now, would God! " that I might sleep ever,
" Then should not hunger " in my womb creep:
" There nis nothing but bread " that me were lever."

Those famous lines in which Ugolino is described as gnawing his hands in mental agony, are thus translated:

And when the woeful Father " did it see,
For woe his armès two " he gan to bite:
And said, " Alas Fortune! " and well away!
" Thy false wheel, " my woe all may it wite."

His children ween'd, " that it for hunger was
That he his armès " gnaw, and not for woe:
And said; Father " do not so, alas!
" But rather eat the flesh " upon us two.
" Our flesh you gave us, " take our flesh us fro,
" And eat enough."—*Ed. 1532. fol. T. iiiii.*

The original in Dante's sublime language runs thus:

Come un poco di raggio si fu messo
Nel doloroso carcere, ed io scorsi
Per quattro visi il mio aspetto stesso,
Ambo le mani per dolor mi morsi.
E quei, pensando ch' io'l fessi per voglia
Di manicar, per subito levorsi
E disser; " Padre! assai ci fia men doglia
" Se tu mangi di noi: tu ne vestisti
" Queste misere carni, e tu le spoglia." *Ibid. l. 55.*

The translation bears no more resemblance to the original than did the shade of Hector to Hector's self when he appeared to Æneas in the troubled visions of the night!

Hei mihi! qualis erat; quantum mutatus ab illo!

After having seen how much Chaucer failed in his imitations and translations from other authors, I may safely spare the reader the trouble of going over similar instances of failure in Lydgate, and in the remainder of our early writers. They can hardly be supposed to have succeeded, where Chaucer failed. Should proof be wanted, I would refer the reader to Lord Morley's Translation of Petrarch's Triumphs; and in particular, to the lines which conclude the third chapter of the Triumph of Love, that he may compare them with Surrey's imitation of the same passage, as it occurs in the piece which begins,

"Such wayward ways hath Love " that most part in discord;"

though that piece is by no means one of Surrey's ablest compositions. How well Surrey has succeeded in preserving the graces and the spirit of the authors he imitated, the passages already quoted from his translation of Virgil will suffice to prove. Were further proof wanting, I would refer the reader to the translation from Martial at page 43 of the Poems, and to the many exquisite imitations from Petrarch to be found throughout his works. In all of these he is seldom inferior, and often fully equal to his original. We owe Surrey no small obligation that he first shewed us the way how to transfuse into our language the beauties of the poetry of other nations; thus enabling us to avail ourselves of the rich stores of taste and genius which lay treasured up in the literature of modern Italy, as well as in that of Greece and Rome, and teaching us at the same time to feel and to appreciate their value.

SECT. XVI. *Of the further improvements made by Surrey in our Poetry generally, and of the new character which it assumed in consequence.*

These then were the particular improvements made by Surrey in our poetic diction, our style, and mode of composition. They effected a general revolution in our taste; a revolution sufficiently important to deserve particular notice here.

All our poets previous to Surrey were the poets of their own time solely, and of their own country. They seem never to have contemplated human nature, or any of the objects of poetic imitation in a general point of view. They wrote as if no other manners, ideas, or modes of life ever had existed, or ever could exist than those with which they themselves were conversant. Whatever their subject was, or in whatever age or country their scene was laid, whether in their own rude times, or in those of classical antiquity, every object was described in the same terms, and every character modified according to the customs of one particular age and place. If their heroes sometimes spoke with sentiments founded upon general principles of feeling, particular circumstances were sure to be superadded which would entirely disguise the original passion, or make it an object of minor regard. Even Love, the most spontaneous of all feelings, was encumbered with adventitious notions borrowed from the then prevailing systems of theology, philosophy, and physics; and all the concerns of life were referred to the influence of judicial Astrology, or explained on principles drawn from the strange notions then current of the laws of nature. Heroic poets, to borrow an illustration from a sister art, ought to be what historical painters are in their branch of imitation. But all our early heroic poets were simply portrait painters; and even in their

portraits they were inelegant mannerists. Thus Abraham, and Alexander, Judas Maccabeus, Jupiter, and Virgil were all pourtrayed as hardy, and adventurous knights; and all the goddesses and heroines of antiquity spoke, reasoned, dressed, and loved like the courteous dames and damsels of the days of chivalry, with no other refinement of passion, or elevation of thought, than what the scanty education of those days afforded. Can any one choose but smile when he finds Gower in his most laboured work thus describing Ulysses?

He was a worthy knight and king,
And clerk, renowned in every thing.
He was a great rhetorien,
He was a great magicien:
Of Tullius the rhetorick,
Of king Zoroastes the magic,
Of Ptolemy th' astronomy,
Of Plato the Philosophy,
Of Daniel the sleepy dreams,
Of Neptune the water streams,
Of Solomon and the Proverbs,
Of Macer all the strength of herbs,
And the physic of Hypocras,
And like unto Pythagoras,
Of surgery he knew the cures. *Confessio Amantis.*

The disadvantages of this mode of writing, to say nothing of its bad taste, are evident. Whatever charm it might have at the moment, that charm would vanish on the smallest change of manners, and become obsolete on any new accession of ideas; so that in the course of time passages which were once easy to be understood would require to be studied with glossaries. When this should arrive, the poet could not but be forgotten: for poetry when it ceases to amuse will cease to be read. It is true that many of those passages, from which common readers now turn disheartened, retain still a charm in the eye of some sturdy antiquary; nay, they have even a value, as far as manners are concerned. But to preserve particular manners was not the original object of the poet;

and if it had been, that limited utility was not to be put in competition with those higher ends which poetry was designed to accomplish. Poetry is the language of universal man; the language of the heart in all ages, and in all countries, unmodified by the little peculiarities of fashion. Poetry therefore should borrow no aid from any thing dependant upon casual opinions: it should select and dwell upon those points of feeling which are not the result of a particular state of manners, but exist in human nature generally.

That my meaning may not be mistaken I will adduce a few instances of that limited taste which I consider to have been the leading defect of all our early poets. It pervaded the whole of Chaucer's Knight's Tale. Who must not feel the first principles of good taste violated, when he is told that Dan Arcite was a "lusty bachelor," chamberlain and squire principal to Duke Theseus; that the said Duke found Arcite and Palamon in the woods when he went thither himself "a maying;" and that he learnt Arcite's passion by hearing him sing a Roundel in praise of love, and talk of purgatory? Afterwards when Emily is to be married to Palamon, Theseus having "sermoned" a considerable time on predestination and judicial astrology, to prove that some men must die before others, and that those who remain must love, in as much as "each man's fortune is shaped before his shirt," concludes by uniting the hands of this faithful couple with the advice of his parliament, and the consent of his barons. The conclusion of Theseus's speech may serve as a specimen of the whole. It runs thus:

Then said he thus to Palamon the Knight:

"I trow there needeth " little sermoning

" To maken you assent " unto this thing.

" Come near and take " your Lady by the hond."

Betwixt them two " was made anon the bond

That matrimony hight, " or marriage,

By all the council of his Baronage.

Had the marriage taken place in the present times, the terms and the ideas used would have been the same.

The same confusion arising from an absurd use of particular instead of general ideas and sentiments in points of feeling, reigns throughout the whole of the *Troilus and Cressida*. Indeed were the names of the personages altered, that poem would not only become a tale of chivalry, but would gain beauty as well as propriety by the change. If, instead of Achilles and Hector, Diomed and Calchas, Helen and Cressida, we had heard of King Arthur and Merlin, Sir Tristram and Lancelot du Lake, Guinevar and Ysonde, the Poem, as a just picture of partial manners, would still continue to be read with more than patience, with pleasure and avidity.

I will adduce but one instance more. In the Complaint and Testament of Cressida we meet with the following peculiarities.

By this was said " a child came fro the hall
 To warn Cressida " the supper was readie.
 First knocked at the door, " and oft couth call;
 " Madam ! your Father " biddeth you come on hie,
 " He hath marvel so long " on grafe you lie,
 " And saith ; your beadès " been too long some deal ;
 " The Goddès wote all " your intent full well."

Who would suspect that this passage refers to events which are supposed to have happened in the heroic age of Greece? The story goes on to tell us that Calchas having then learnt that Cressida was stricken with leprosy as a punishment for her fickleness, by the general consent of the gods whom " king Cupid had called together by tinging a silver bell," accouters her as a leper,

— In a mantle, and a beaver hat,
 With cup and clapper.

and then conveys her to a spital house, in a village about half a mile from the church, where Calchas was living as priest to Venus and Cupido. There Cressida remained and made her lamentation thus :

Where is thy chamber " wantonly beseen !
 With burley bed " and blankets broider'd been !

Spices and wine " to thy collation;
 The cuppes all of gold " and silver sheen,
 Thy sweet-meats served " in platès clean
 With savoury sauce " of a good fashiòn :
 Thy gay garments " with many goodly gown,
 Thy pleasant lawn pinned " with golden pin.
 All is arrear " thy great royal renown.

Chaucer's Works, Ed. 1532.

The utmost that can be said in favour of these incongruities is that they amuse for a moment from the whimsical effect they produce; but the effect once familiar, nothing remains but distaste at their absurdity.

This then was the particular and contracted taste in writing from which, with all its bad effects on genius and taste, Surrey rescued English poetry. If I were to say that he first generalized our poetry, I perhaps might be blamed for using the word in an unphilosophical sense; but I do not know any other single word by which I could express myself as well. Should the term be objected to, my meaning I trust will not be misunderstood; especially when I explain myself further by saying, that I consider this generalizing of our poetry which Surrey accomplished, to have been the same with what all other great poets of other nations aimed at when they meant to please in distant ages, and place themselves beyond the reach and the injury of time.

The great authors of Greece and Rome did not descend to those little particularities of thought and sentiment which grew out of the fashion of their day, and which, not being in nature so much as in manners, would long ere this have become obsolete, and could have pleased now, had they pleased at all, only as representations of what once had been. They selected as the points whereon to dwell the universal and spontaneous feelings of the heart. We recognize therefore in all their delineations of passion or of sentiment, a faithful picture of what is passing within the human breast generally, and consequently within our own. We find nothing in their works, as far as feeling is concerned, that reminds us of the interval that has elapsed since

they were written. We study them, we comment upon them, we apply them not as antient sayings, but as portraits of living nature; and we consider them to be, not the production of any one particular time or country, but the general property of all ages, and of all nations.

These observations however must be understood with one limitation. What applies to particularity of sentiment, does not apply equally to particularity of circumstance. When feeling and passion are concerned, those points alone should be selected which every heart owns immediately to be just, and adopts instinctively. But in what regards external objects, particularity of circumstance, if not pursued too minutely, may be admitted; for it may be improved so as to become a source of delight.

When Homer tells us that the infant Astyanax turned in terror from the sight of Hector's nodding plumes, this mention of the helmet is a peculiarity of circumstance consistent with good taste, inasmuch as it places us immediately in the times of Heroic life. But in the smile of the fond parents when they witnessed their child's affright; and in all the sentiments which they express of mutual solicitude for each other's safety, nothing occurs to interrupt the current of general feeling; nothing is said that exacts allowance for change of manners.

Again; when Ulysses suddenly appears in the palace of Alcinous, and sits a suppliant on the hearth, here also we have a particularity of circumstance which hurries us away to ages of primæval simplicity. But afterwards when we hear Ulysses urge his plea for protection "because those whom he addressed were happy, and he himself was miserable," the poet enters immediately within the circle of general feeling; for we ourselves now, were the case our own, should solicit and expect relief on that ground of sympathy alone.

A difference therefore is to be ever made between particularity of circumstance, and particularity of sentiment. We may be particular in manners and in time; but we must be general in human nature. This is a distinction which no good writer ever failed to observe. Nor did Surrey neglect it. In his beautiful elegy at Windsor Castle he dwells

on some particularities of circumstance which produce a beautiful effect. The chambers stripped of all their gorgeous hangings, and the tilts and jousts on horse-back are particular circumstances which affect the mind with a pleasing sense of remoteness; but all the circumstances of feeling adduced, still beat warm in every pulsation of the heart. Who, in the languor of affliction, does not sigh for the light and chearful slumbers of childhood? Who has not been compelled, as he advances in life, to steal a short oblivion from its heavier calamities, by occupying his thoughts with sorrows of minor concern?

Such is what I have ventured to call that generalization of our poetry which originated with Surrey.

All of our poets before him, not even Chaucer himself excepted, must be read in reference to the particular age in which they lived; for we are constantly presented with images and sentiments to which we reconcile ourselves only because they were once current. But of this allowance Surrey never stands in need. Were it not that sometimes words occur which have now grown into disuse, there would be hardly any thing in all his writings to remind us that he lived nearly three hundred years ago. Entire passages might be quoted which have all the appearance of having been written in the purest times of modern literature; nor could they be distinguished from the most finished periods of either Pope or Dryden. This is an improvement which reason and judgment must approve as one of the highest importance to our literature.

And yet though this generalizing of our poetry, to continue the expression, be a principle of good taste which I believe no one will dispute, shall I be pardoned a seeming inconsistency if I express a doubt whether in one respect it may not have produced an unfavourable effect, as far as the imagination is concerned, by destroying that air of antiquity which sometimes sheds a peculiar charm over the poems of our early writers? For I have found that now and then a quaint expression, or a period of an antiquated structure, will bring before my eyes, as it were by magic, the place, the time, and all the forms and modes of life which were present to the antient bard himself whose strains I am perusing. This leads me to fancy that I can perceive the persons with whom I am then conversing, belong to times

different from my own. A new circumstance of illusion is excited. I grow all attention to learn how far the sentiments breathed by the adventurous Knight of former days correspond with those which animate the warrior of the present age; and am eager to ascertain whether the faithful lover sighed of old, to win the mistress of his heart, in strains that would move the pity of modern beauties. While I listen, I almost persuade myself that the artless expressions of passion to be found in the pages of our early poets have a character of greater truth and more genuine feeling than is to be discovered in our own more polished protestations;

Auditis! an me ludit amabilis
Insania!

Perhaps, however, I am here speaking only the language of early prejudice. The first poetry that ever caught my fancy was Chaucer's tale of the Nun's Priest, or his moral vision of the Flower and the Leaf; I hardly now can distinguish which; but I can still remember well, that as a child I used to dwell with delight on the picture of the thrifty widow at her homely meal with her two daughters, in her humble, smoke-discoloured hall; and sometimes fancied myself seated in the arbour, overshadowed with sycamore and eglantine, where the fairy pageant of knights and ladies passing fair, with all their attendant train of heralds, pursuivants, and gentle squires, was seen to come sweeping by. My judgment in this point therefore may perhaps be biassed. And in good truth I am ready to allow that the pleasure to be derived from that charm of antiquity which is so remarkable in some of our early poems, if it can be defended at all, is to be defended only as we justify our admiration of Gothic architecture; not upon any principle of taste, but on the effect produced. For when we enter a temple of Grecian architecture, whatever we contemplate, whether it be the entire edifice itself or its particular details, we trace in all we see such manifest utility, such congruity and justness of proportion, as satisfies our reason and justifies, if I may so express myself, the pleasure we enjoy. But when we first examine a pile of Gothic building, we ask ourselves why every thing around us is as we behold it? Why the

shafts of the columns are so slender, and the arches so pointed? Why those enormous masses of sculptured stone are suspended from the roof, and why those incrustations of ornament are wasted on the walls? It is needless to ask these questions. Before our reason can frame any answer, our eye is caught with the magic richness of the mingled intercolumniations of the pillars, and the countless intersections of the arches: meanwhile the varied tints of broken light, the laboured tracery of the storied windows, the fretted roofs, the splendid profusion of crotchets, finials, and richly sculptured foliage, with shrines and tabernacles, and dim retired oratories so win upon the eye and soothe the imagination, that we are content to sacrifice our judgment to our fancy, and are pleased though we cannot defend the ground of our enjoyment.

In like manner we must be willing sometimes to be pleased with the works of our earlier poets, without pausing to ascertain whether the source of our pleasure can be approved by the sober operation of judgment, or not. Who can stop to object that in the *Flower and the Leaf*, the loveliest effort of the Gothic muse, we are hurried from the general scenes of human existence to converse with beings who draw their fancied existence from delusions peculiar to the age of chivalry? Cold must be his heart that is not moved by the pleasing wildness of Chaucer's *Dream*; or fascinated by the quainter beauties of his *Court of Love*. I speak not now of Chaucer alone. The observations here made will apply to many other of the simple strains of former days. Let me instance Dunbar's beautiful poem of the *Golden Terge*. Can any one read those stanzas and not allow himself willingly to be taken back to ages long since passed by and gone? Can any one read the following lines and not acknowledge that they derive a certain charm of simple elegance from the times themselves in which they were endited?

O death! rock me to sleep!

Bring me to quiet rest.

Let pass my very guiltless ghost

Out of my careful breast.

Toll on the passing bell;
Ring out the doleful knell;
Let the sound my death tell,
For I must die!
There is no remedy,
For I must die!

But though in some fortunate instances the peculiarities of the Gothic muse may produce a pleasing effect, it is of greater importance, as far as the general purposes of poetry are concerned, to cultivate that generalization of thought which Surrey's better taste first taught us to admire. For, not to insist upon this primary advantage, that our poetry is enabled in consequence to diffuse itself among the polished nations of Europe, it is thus alone that we avoid incongruity, and confusion of ideas. How much inferior, on this account, is *Palamon and Arcite*, one of Chaucer's most finished works, to his *Squire's Tale*, which even in its imperfect state remains the most vigorous effort of his fancy. The reason of the inferiority is this. In the *Squire's Tale* every thing is of a piece; the subject, the figures, the ideas, the machinery, are all purely Gothic, with a certain mixture of eastern imagery which gave, at the time of the Crusades, a peculiar colouring to our northern romances. Hence it is that the mind is under no distraction. Having once allowed ourselves to be transported to the court of Cambuscan, we afterwards find nothing to remind us of other times; we are carried along with the poet through a connected series of consistent events. But in the *Knight's Tale* we are sensible at every page that the principal rules of good taste are violated; we feel the absurdity of combining manners of periods so remote from each other as the time of Theseus, and the reign of Edward the Third; and even when we are most pleased we tremble lest some strange incongruity should arise, to destroy the effect of all that has preceded.

SECT. XVII. *Of Surrey's style—of his compression—of his gradations in style adapted to different sorts of composition.*

We turn now to consider what were the leading features of Surrey's style. They were chiefly, dignity, and compression.

Of Surrey's compression, contrasted with the diffusive mode of writing used by all the authors who preceded him, a more striking instance cannot well be found than that which occurs in the opening to his sonnet on Sir Thomas's Wyatt's death.

Divers thy death do diversly bemoan !

Some that in presence of thy livelihood

Lurked, whose breast envy with hate had swoln,

Yield Cæsar's tears upon Pompeius' head.

Page 46.

The compression of thought in the last line is exquisite. It comprehends the whole of the following quatrain of Petrarch.

Cesare, poi ch' il traditor d' Egitto

Li fece il don dell' onorata testa,

Celando l' allegrezza manifesta,

Pianse per gli occhi fuor.

Son. 81.

The reader's observation will enable him easily to collect from Surrey's poems other instances of elegant and nervous compression. I do not recollect a single passage where a thought is needlessly expanded for the sake of filling up a line. Surrey's style bears a stronger resemblance to Dryden's, than to that of any other of our poets. The same manliness, and ease, and vigour characterizes both. In neither do we find any affectation of prettiness; they seem both to have been more intent on their thoughts than their words; they gave their words,

indeed, a full and a due consideration, but, as always ought to be the case, in subserviency to their thoughts.

The circumstance that next deserves to be noticed in Surrey's style, is the gradation of it. This was a refinement of taste which originated entirely with himself. He had three distinct styles, the heroic, the amatory, and the popular, or ballad style. To each of these styles, moreover, he appropriated its peculiar verse, and form of stanza. To the heroic style he appropriated the decasyllabic verse of ten syllables, and with it he used the elegiac stanza, the sonnet system, and the terza rima. To the amatory style he appropriated the octosyllabic verse, using it either in continued couplets, or in stanzas of four, six, or nine lines: and to the popular style, the Alexandrine verse of twelve syllables, with alternate lines of fourteen syllables, rhyming in couplets.

That what I have here advanced may not be thought a fanciful refinement on my part, I will adduce a few specimens of Surrey's variation of style, in these different forms of composition.

In a piece written in the ballad measure, Surrey thus describes the disquietude of the lover's mind when absent from his mistress.

—— all things having life " sometime hath quiet rest ;
The bearing ass, the drawing ox, " and every other beast.
The peasant and the post " that serves at all essays,
The ship boy and the galley slave " have time to take their ease,
Save I alas! whom care " of force doth so constrain
To wail the day and wake the night " continually in pain.

P. 10. l. 5.

The same thought is thus expressed in heroic verse.

All thing alive that seeth the Heavens with eye,
With cloak of night may cover and excuse
Itself from travail of the day's unrest,
Save I alas! against all others use
That then stir up the torment of my breast. P. 2.

Now, there is no other difference in these passages than what arises

from difference of style. Thus again in the poem first cited, Surrey uses the following simile :

Then as the stricken deer " withdraws himself alone,
So do I seek some secret place " where I may make my moan—*Ib.* l. 17.

How natural is the construction of this period ! how free from all adventitious ornament ! how simple are the words employed. But in his heroic style Surrey expresses the same thought differently :

— if I flee, I carry with me still
The venom'd shaft that doth its force restore
By haste of flight ; and I may plain my fill
Unto myself ! . . . *P.* 2.

Here both the selection of words, and the structure of the period, are in a high degree artificial ; an evident allusion is also made to the

hæret lateri lethalis arundo

of Virgil ; which tends to raise and dignify the passage.

I will adduce one instance more. Surrey has left us an elegant little ode in Octosyllabic verse, and a ballad in Alexandrine measure, both on the same subject ; namely, the sorrow of a Lady for the absence of her Lord at sea. In either piece the thoughts are the same : so is their very order, and their arrangement. But in the ballad the style is unadorned, diffuse, circumstantial, and narrative : in the ode it is elevated, general, compressed, and dramatic. Thus in the ballad we read,

The fearful dreams I have " sometimes do grieve me so,
That when I wake I stand in doubt " if they be true or no.
Sometimes the roaring seas " me seems, do grow so high,
That my dear Lord, aye me alas ! " methinks I see him die. *P.* 14.

But in the ode the same idea is thus expressed :

And in green waves when the salt flood
Doth rise by rage of wind ;
A thousand fancies in that mood
Assail my restless mind.

“ Alas! now drencheth my sweet foe
That with the spoil of my heart did go,
And left me—but alas! why did he so?”

Thus too, in the ballad, the lady desiring her friends to join with her in her complaint, uses the following simple expressions.

Good ladies! ye that have “ your pleasure in exile,
Step in your foot, come take a place “ and mourn with me a while.

In the ode she thus addresses them:

Good ladies! help to fill my mourning voice!

The difference of style, then, observable in these and similar passages of Surrey's writings, was evidently the result of reflection; it formed part of the system he had devised for the general improvement of our poetry.

SECT. XVIII. *Of Surrey's use of Catalectic and Hypercatalectic verses, and of his licences in composition generally.*

As Surrey did not live to give his poems their last correction, we may expect to find in them some defects and inequalities. Some such may certainly be discovered, but they are so few that they might almost pass unobserved.

The only licences he used, worth noticing, were, first, what the Greeks called the Catalectic verse; that is, a verse defective in one syllable; as the following;

Some | that watched with the murderer's knife.—P. 47.

and secondly, the Hypercatalectic verse, or that which is redundant a syllable.

To banish | the less I find my chief relief.—P. 50.

Respecting the use of lines with a redundant syllable, two circumstances are to be noted. The one is, that Surrey puts the redundant syllable always at the beginning of the line, which is the proper place for its occurrence. For as the ear cannot then have formed itself to expect any one sort of harmony more than another, it easily accommodates itself to a little irregularity. The other is, that the redundant syllable

is used principally to admit the introduction of proper names, as in the following instances:

Wyätt rēst | eth here that quick could never rest. *P. 45.*

The great | Măcēdōn | that out of Persia chased. *P. 44.*

Dăriūs | of whose huge power all Asia rang. *Ibid.*

Of which two circumstances I would remark, that they form the very rules by which the Greek Tragic Poets, who were the most rigid in their adherence to the laws of metrical harmony, regulated themselves in their use of redundant syllables in the Iambic system.

In defence of Surrey, if his practice in this respect need any defence, I would observe that he is by no means singular in the use of the Hypercatalectic verse. It was used by Milton, by Dryden, and by Pope: and what they have sanctioned cannot, I think, be condemned. Milton, I doubt not, would have justified his use of this licence, by the example of the gravest writers of antiquity. I think it may be justified on other grounds. In the hands of a writer of any taste it may be used so as often to produce a pleasing effect. It is remarkable that in the couplet, of which we are told that Pope said it pleased him more than any couplet he ever wrote, one of the lines is Hypercatalectic, that is, redundant in a syllable.

Or where Mæotis creeps, or hardly flows

The freezing Tănăis, through a waste of snows.

In admitting the Catalectic or defective verse, Surrey seems to have proceeded upon this principle. When the first foot of a verse is made up of two monosyllables, of which the one is a word not essential either to the sense or the expression of the passage, by omitting it, and by resting a double time upon the other, the attention is better excited than it could have been, had both words been retained. In this Surrey, I think, shewed his judgment. Certainly in the Catalectic verse quoted above,

Sōme | that watched with the murderers knife.

every one must be sensible that his attention is more immediately directed to the leading idea in the line as it now stands, than it would have been

had a word been added to make the number of syllables complete ;
as thus :

" *For some that watched with the murd'rer's knife.*"^a

These two then are the only licences which Surrey used. At first sight, perhaps, it might be thought that he frequently altered the orthography of words for the sake of rhyme. But nothing now can be said on this head with precision. It would be necessary to ascertain accurately what was the pronunciation of Surrey's time, before we could take upon us to say what are licentious rhymes, and what are not. That great changes have taken place in our national pronunciation, cannot but be known to every one. For instance; there is good reason to believe that the letter "e" instead of having the lengthened sound which it now bears, was pronounced like the "e" of the Italians, and was equivalent to the "a" in "take." If this were so, then many of those rhymes, such as "*prefer'd*," and "*afterward*" "*man*" and "*then*," and the like, which we now deem licentious, could be no longer called such. After all, Surrey will be found, I believe, to have taken fewer liberties in rhyming than Dryden, and most of our approved poets since have done.

^a The use of the Catalectic verse may be more defended, if I mistake not, and on better grounds than that of the Hypercatalectic verse; for the use of the Catalectic verse, that is, the verse defective in one syllable, is not so much a licence as a peculiarity growing out of our language abounding with strongly accented monosyllables. Some of our verses written in the anapæstic measure, ought to consist of three regular feet, of three syllables each: such as the following.

I hæve found | oût a gift | fôr my fâir,

I hæve found | whêre thê wôod | pîgeôns brêed. |

But our best poets use indifferently feet of two as well as of three syllables, as thus :

Mÿ bānks | thêy āre fūr | nîsh'd wîth bēes |

Whôse mūr | mūr ïnvîtes | ône tō slêep |

Had the first foot consisted of only one syllable the defect would hardly have been noticed.

As for the inelegant licence of using old words, in which some writers of genius have indulged, chiefly to facilitate the task of rhyming, Surrey never allowed himself to have recourse to so dangerous and reprehensible an expedient. On the contrary, he rejected all obsolete words, as studiously as he did those which were vulgar and pedantic. Surrey has fewer archaisms than his contemporaries, fewer perhaps than any poet of the sixteenth century. It is a striking proof of the correctness of his taste and judgment in the selection of his words, that those which he did reject were never afterwards brought back again into general use.^a

^a The following are the principal archaisms to be met with in Surrey's poems. He uses "her," the old pronoun for "their," *Poems*, p. 3. "doth" for "do," p. 20. the personal pronoun "his" for the indefinite "its," p. 74. In his use of the pronouns, in common with all our early writers, he is not always accurate. He employs sometimes "which" for "who," p. 69. "some" for "any," p. 80. the conjunction "if" is put for "whether," p. 14. he uses several times "the tone" and the "tother" for "the one" and "the other," and perhaps once the old termination to the active participle "ant" for "and," instead of "ing," as "accurrant" for "accurring," p. 28. He uses sometimes a double negative, as at p. 31, *line ult.* We meet with the singular termination which was frequently put for the plural termination in verbs, as at p. 42. l. 4. and the old Saxon termination "fallen" for "fall" for the third person plural, p. 43.; "whereas" is frequently used as an adverb of place for "where;" he uses "yold" and "yolden" for "yielded," p. 74. and p. 117. and "chase" for "didst choose," p. 48.; he once pronounces the old termination of the genitive case to make a syllable, as "nightès" for "night's" p. 20.; he uses indiscriminately "be" for "been," and "been" for "be;" "do" occurs once for "done," p. 86, l. 12. These are the chief, if not all the antiquated forms of speech used by Surrey; and of these perhaps we owe some to the carelessness of transcribers. As for the words he used, we do not meet with more than seven or eight that were not used by Milton. *Rashed*, p. 155. l. 827; *plaie*, p. 127, l. 2; *doole*, p. 128, l. 43; *hayes*, p. 133, l. 166; *dere*, p. 121, l. 937; *threapen*, p. 83, l. 3; *allowance*, p. 66, l. 2; *dangerous*, p. 61, l. ult. are perhaps the only words that can be considered as being in any degree uncommon. In his letters he sometimes uses French words for English, though not so frequently as Wyatt. Thus *trêves*, and *empeched* occur for *truces*, and *hindered*. But this must be referred to the habit of using French in common conversation, then far more general than at present. I recollect but one instance of Surrey's admitting French idiom into studied composition. This occurs at p. 64, l. 17.

SECT. XIX. *Of the advantages Surrey had in forming his style—of the several reformers of modern languages—of Garcilaso de la Vega.*

And now having shewn that the several improvements made by Surréy in our versification, our poetic diction and style in composition are such as justly entitle him to the praise of being the great renovator, and indeed the Father of modern English poetry, we are naturally led to inquire what particular advantages he enjoyed towards effecting the objects he accomplished.

To say that it was owing to the vigour of his genius, is to speak in terms too general to convey any precise idea on the subject. Principles of taste are not to be obtained by mere intuition; and judgment cannot be formed but by the slow process of frequent comparison. Surrey therefore must have owed much to a well-regulated education, and to habits of patient and laborious investigation. He must have owed much also to his own good sense in confining himself to the study of but a few authors, Chaucer, Virgil, and Petrarch; for they who indulge in diffusive reading seldom attain to eminence in composition.

The only obvious external advantage I can fix upon is that which Surrey derived from his birth and rank in life. This must have been favourable towards the formation of his style. The language of the Court will always be to a certain degree the standard language of a country. It of necessity adapts itself to living manners; but at the same time excludes whatever is mean or inelegant. He therefore who has been accustomed to hear the language of the Court used in the daily intercourse of life will gain much as an author, in all that concerns ease and dignity of expression. This advantage Surrey enjoyed in its fullest extent. He was familiar with Courts from his infancy, and could not have failed acquiring an early habit of selecting and combining such words alone as would convey his ideas with elegance and

propriety, removed alike from the extremes of speculative refinement on the one hand, and of meanness and vulgarity on the other.

That I do not overrate this advantage seems clear to me from this. The great reformers of all the languages of modern Europe lived in Courts, and were accustomed to move in them on terms of no common favour with their Sovereigns. In France Marot, if the reformation and refinement of the French language is to be dated from him; and in Italy, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccacio, all lived in Courts the most elegant and polished of their times, and were the friends and companions of Princes. In Spain Garcilaso de la Vega, the great improver of Castilian poetry, enjoyed all the advantages which high birth and a distinguished situation in life could bestow. In this respect Surrey and Garcilaso de la Vega were equal. Indeed, they resembled one another in so many respects that it will be pleasing to draw a short parallel between them. They both glowed with a generous love of enterprise, and both were distinguished by their military ardour in the field. They both devoted their short intervals of leisure to the improvement of their native tongue; they both formed themselves on Virgil and the Italian school; both had minds susceptible of love and friendship; both were constant in their attachments; both died immaturely, and left in the bosom of the good and learned unavailing regret at their untimely loss. In some points, Garcilaso de la Vega was more fortunate than the noble minded and accomplished Surrey. Though he fell in the prime of life he fell in the arms of honour, fighting in the cause of a master who knew how to value his merits, and paid his memory a striking tribute of affection and regret. His writings also, instead of being hoarded up in manuscript, or idly preserved as curious specimens of black letter, were early collected and presented to the world in a manner that did justice to their author's name. They were published, and commented upon by one of the greatest of the Castilian poets.* How mournful

* Fernando de Herrera. His Edition of Garcilaso's Poems was published at Seville in 4° 1580. His ode on the Battle of Lepanto, and that particularly on the defeat of Sebastian King of Portugal,

“Voz de dolor, y canto de gemido;”

are two of the finest efforts of the Lyric Muse that modern Europe can boast.

is the contrast in these last respects ! Surrey perished on the scaffold, an hapless victim to the jealousy of a party which knew not how to appreciate his worth, and dreaded his abilities ; his bleeding trunk was thrown hastily into an obscure grave ; and when at last his merits as an author have attracted notice, it is found that the means no longer exist of restoring his poems to the state in which he left them, and designed them to appear.^a

^a I trust I shall be pardoned for transcribing the following passage from the character drawn of Garcilaso de la Vega by Quintana in his short, but satisfactory account of the progress of Spanish Poetry prefixed to his " Poesias selectas Castellanas."—" Cosa verdaderamente extraña, por no decir admirable ! Un Joven que muere á la edad de treinta y tres años, entrado á la carrera de las armas, sin estudios conocidos, con solo su particular talento auxiliado de su aplicacion y buen gusto, saca de repente á nuestra poesía de su infancia, la encamina felizmente por las huellas de los antiguos y de los mas célebres escribanos que entonces se conocian, y rivalizando á veces con ellos, la engalana con arreos y sentimientos propios, y la hace hablar un language puro, armonioso, dulce y elegante. Su genio era mas delicado y tierno que fuerte y elevado. Tenia una fantasia viva y amena, un modo de pensar decoroso y noble, una sensibilidad exquisita, y este feliz natural, ayudado del estudio de los antiguos, y de la comunicacion con los Italianos produjo aquellas composiciones, que aunque tan pocas, se conciliaron al instante una estimacion y un respeto, que los tiempos siguientes no han cesado de confirmar." *Introduccion, p. xxxvi.*—Had Quintana been to have drawn Surrey's character, he would not have altered a single expression in this passage : I wish some parallel lines could be adduced from the works of these two poets, that the reader might be enabled to form an immediate comparison between them, but I know of none. The nearest I can adduce is the Epitaph which Garcilaso wrote upon his brother who died of a fever at Naples. It contains some beautiful lines, but is much inferior, in my opinion, to Surrey's affectionate Epitaph on his friend Clere.

No las Francesas armas odiosas

En contra puestas del ayrado pecho ;

Ni en los guardados muros con pertrecho

Los tiros y saetas ponzoñosas ;

No las escaramuzas peligrosas

Ni aquel fiero ruido contrahecho

De aquel que para Jupiter fue hecho

Por manos de Vulcano artificiosas,

Pudieron, aunque yo mas me ofrecia

A' las peligros de la dura guerra,

Quitar un hora sola de mi hado.

Mas inficion del ayre en solo un dia

Me quito al mondo, y me ha en ti sepultado,

Parténope, tan lejos de mi tierra.

SECT. XX. *Of the authors whom Surrey studied; of Chaucer, Dante, Petrarch, and Ariosto, and of the Italian School generally.*

Such were the only external advantages which Surrey may be supposed to have enjoyed for the formation of his style. The authors whom he particularly studied come next to be considered. These were principally Chaucer, and the Italian poets.

It has been said, indeed, that Surrey studied equally the French and the Spanish poets, and that he translated from them both.^b Among the Spanish poets I have not been able to discover any one piece which he

His sonnet on the death of his wife is a piece of far greater beauty; but it was not designed as an epitaph. His celebrated little ode entitled "a la Flor de Gnido," is more polished, and on the whole more classically elegant than any one of Surrey's amatory odes: but its conduct is not as good. It would have been better had it been shorter. Surrey's taste left nothing to retrench. One of the most elegant and masterly passages in point of composition in all Garcilaso's poems occurs in his stanzas on the death of Donna Isabel Freyre, who died in childbed. Speaking of what she suffered, "En aquel duro trance de Lucina," he thus feelingly exclaims,

Me parece que oygo que á la cruda
Inexorable Diosa demandabas
En aquel paso ayuda!
Y tu, rústica Diosa, donde estabas?
Ibate tanto en perseguir las fieras?
Ibate tanto en un pastor dormido?
Cosa pudo bastar á tal crueza,
Que conmovida á compasion oido
A' los votos y lagrimas no dieras,
Por no ver hecha tierra tal belleza?

The thought is taken from a well known passage in Theocritus: but Garcilaso's mode of applying it to his subject is perfectly original.

^b I believe the fact, as far as relates to the Spanish poets, rests upon the authority of John Clerc, who in the dedication of his work, "De Mortuorum Resurrectione" to Surrey, compliments him, as we learn from Tanner, on his translations from the Spanish. This work of Clerc's is one of those which I have long sought for in vain.

can be supposed to have imitated. From the French poets I can cite only a single rondeau of Marot. I will quote it entire that the reader may see in how masterly a manner Surrey has improved upon his original.

A la Fille d'un Peintre d'Orleans ; belle entre autres.

Au tems passè Apelles, peintre sage,
Fit seulement de Venus le visage
Par fiction ; mais pour plus haut atteindre
Ton pere a fait de Venus, sans rein feindre,
Entierement le face et le corsage.

Car il est peintre et tu es son ouvrage,
Mieux ressemblant Venus de forme et d'age,
Que le tableau qu' Apelles voulut peindre

Au tems passè.

Vrai est, qu'il fit si belle son image
Qu' elle echauffoit en amour maint courage.
Mais celle là que ton Pere a sçu teindre
Y met le feu, et a de quoi l'eteindre.
L'autre n' eut pas un si gros avantage

Au tems passè.

Rondeau lxii.

It is a leading defect in this Rondeau that the thought is not of sufficient magnitude for the length of the piece. Marot therefore uses repetition, which destroys the epigrammatic turn of the compliment. Surrey compresses the thought, and gives it its full effect.

If he that erst the form so lovely drew
Of Venus' face, triumph'd in painter's art ;
Thy father then what glory shall ensue
By whom a living goddess made thou art.
Touched with fire that figure made some rue,
And with her love enflamed many a heart.
There lack'd yet that should quench their hot desire ;
Thou canst inflame, and quench the kindled fire. *Poems, p. 5.*

But though it is doubtful whether Surrey owed any thing to the Spanish poets ; and though he certainly owed little to the French

poets, he was greatly indebted to those of Italy and to Chaucer. On this account their merits ought to be considered somewhat at large: that Surrey may not be supposed to have chosen his models without judgment, or discretion.

As for Chaucer his name is in every one's mouth; and is always mentioned with praise. Nor could it well be otherwise. We could not but speak with respect of the author whom Spencer had declared to have been his poetic father, whom so many subsequent writers had called the "Well-head of English undefiled," and whom Dryden had commended in terms of filial reverence. Still Chaucer is little read, and his merits are imperfectly understood. He was a poet of as large and comprehensive a mind as almost any whom this, or any other country can boast. He was a great and an universal scholar. This praise cannot be denied to him who was master of all the learning of his times. His memory was stored with images collected from all the sources of information then open to enquiry. Of these he availed himself at pleasure to embellish every subject he handled. He had a lively fancy, but it was ever under the control of judgment. Having read much, it was natural that he should borrow much; but what he did borrow he improved by addition of circumstance; and what he drew from the sources of his own invention was brilliant and attractive. Had the Squire's Tale been finished, and all the golden promises completed of Cambuscan's lofty enterprize to gain the royal Theodora; had we been told how the Tartar king escaped from the pursuit of Algarfife; and how Camballo fought with the two strange brothers to win the tender hearted Canacè, I am persuaded that Chaucer would have left us the noblest specimen of romantic imagination to be found within the compass of modern literature. But Chaucer's chief merit consists in his knowledge of human nature and in his power of delineating character. In his humorous and satiric portraits, we meet with the nicest touches of discrimination between vice and foible that can well be imagined: and in his heroic characters we find him constantly preserving gradations of excellence even in those points where there is a general resemblance. The Knight and the Squire, Palamon and Arcite,

Demetrius of Inde, and Lycurgus of Thrace, are all brave and enterprising; but each of them is an individual of himself. Courage is the one common attribute of all. But there are the same shades of difference in the courage of each that Homer has been so often admired for preserving in the characters of Ulysses and Antilochus; Diomed and Patroclus; Ajax and Achilles. I know of no writer in modern times, Shakespeare excepted, who can be compared with Chaucer for masterly discrimination of character.

Such were Chaucer's merits; and being so varied and so great we shall have no difficulty in justifying the choice which Surrey made of him as one of his models. I apprehend we shall have some prejudices to conquer before we can obtain equal approbation for the use he made of the Italian writers. It is true indeed that all the great renovations which have been made from time to time in our poetry have either emanated from the Italian school, or have been greatly advanced by it. The first reformer of our poetry was Chaucer. He was personally acquainted, perhaps, with Petrarch and Boccacio, certainly was their admirer, their imitator, and scholar. The next reformer of our Poetry was Surrey. The use he made of the Italian school is so strongly marked in every page of his writings, even to a minute imitation of the structure of their periods, that to adduce particular proof would be superfluous. After Surrey rose Spencer; after Spencer Milton, and after Milton, in modern times, rose Gray, three of the greatest names our literature can boast for extent and variety of learning, strength of intellect, fervour of imagination, correctness of judgment, and powers of language; yet all these mighty masters of the English lyre not only borrowed largely from the Italian poets, but chose them in some points as their model in preference to the classic writers of Greece and Rome.

And yet, notwithstanding this powerful testimony in favour of the Italian school, Italian literature is not much cultivated, or generally esteemed amongst us. To the defects of the Italian poets I am as sensible as any one. But, every allowance made, when I consider the harmony, strength, and flexibility of their language, and the extent and singular richness of their literature; moreover when I call

to mind that there is no branch of poetry which they have not attempted, and none in which they have not excelled; and that in every species of poetic imitation they boast not one author alone, but many who have written with rival merit; and above all that they are almost inexhaustible in works of imagination, it is to me a matter of surprise that a nation so learned and enlightened as our own, should be averse to give the Italian poets that full measure of praise which is their due; and that we should refuse to avail ourselves, more generally than we do, of the resources which their works supply, either for pleasure or improvement.

For, not to enter into the question at large, if we consider only the four great poets, upon whom principally the credit of the Italian school depends, we shall find them to have possessed as large a share of intellectual excellence as was ever allotted to the most favoured children of mortality.

In Dante we contemplate a stern sublimity of mind which makes him stand alone almost a species of himself. The excellence he most admired and studied most was simplicity. To this he must be allowed the praise of having attained in an eminent degree. But it was a simplicity peculiar to himself, resulting not so much from his mode of expressing his subject, as from his manner of conceiving it. His style too is his own. It carries an imposing character of majesty with it, and a sort of authority of command, to which no writer but himself did ever as fully attain. Every picture he draws presents itself to the mind with the distinctness of living objects. The passions he portrays are all those simple passions which exist as first principles in the human mind; such as fear, hope, love, hatred, and the like, and not those accidental feelings which result from casual modifications of manners. Dante, strictly speaking, was a satiric poet: but his satire never applied to foibles; therefore it is not limited to any particular time or place. He instances the guilt of individuals; but his scope is universal. He operates not so much by shame, as by conscience, and makes us see that vice is deformity; sin, degradation. His language is of the same cast with his ideas. It is manly, daring, and original. He fre-

quently succeeds in expressing happily thoughts which few writers would have attempted; and by a bold combination of words says in one short sentence, what many would have diffused over several periods.

Of Petrarch's merit an inadequate opinion will be formed if he is to be considered only as an amatory poet. On this ground, indeed, society owes Petrarch much; for he improved the human mind when he gave an elevated tone to those sentiments, which if connected with sense alone, tend unavoidably to degradation. Still Petrarch is to be studied for other excellencies. He was as great a master of language as ever wrote. He taught how to raise common notions by the charm of words, without needless amplification: and how to sustain elevated sentiments by suitable elevation of expression. He is perhaps the most sententious of all modern writers. Almost every ode and sonnet contains some general reflection upon human life and human conduct, which from its justness immediately adapts itself to our feelings; and from the terse and lively manner in which it is expressed, engraves itself deeply on our memory.

In Ariosto we contemplate powers of another kind, and more diversified. His invention was copious and original. It was free from all those extravagancies, and capricious combinations of incident which sometimes amuse, but more often offend us in Boyardo and Pulci; nevertheless, like theirs, his invention was wild, and discursive. Ariosto excites interest, creates suspense, but never tires. He was an elegant scholar, and improved himself greatly by studying the Greek and Latin Classics. He borrowed largely from them; but he so adapted what he borrowed to his subject, that it is difficult to believe he is not always original. He has one excellence which he seems to have derived from the happy temper of his mind. Though he preserves the character of the age in which his scene is laid, he is always elegant. We feel that we are conversing with Charlemagne and his Paladins, and see ourselves surrounded on all sides by necromancers and magicians, dæmons and witches, but every thing when touched by the magic of Ariosto's pen, assumes a polished appearance, without losing any part of its identity; in the same manner as the Alps when they descend towards the sunny

plains of Italy, divest themselves of that harsh character of savage grandeur which marks their northern aspect, and are not less sublime for being more beautiful. The Italians are fond of comparing Ariosto with Homer. In many points the comparison is just. Both poets have the art of making strong and frequent appeal to the common feelings of humanity: they both give identity to all their various heroes, so that each speaks and acts in the manner suited to himself; they both excel in describing battles; and both write with that facility which never allows the mind to tire. Homer, and Ariosto, who has been elegantly called "l' Omero Ferrarese," are perhaps the only poets whom it is no effort to read throughout from the beginning to the end: whom having once taken up, we never wish to relinquish until finished.

Tasso, the fourth great poet of Italy, for the question being now general we are not prevented from considering his merits likewise, has beauties and perfections of a different cast. His genius and style of writing bear the same sort of resemblance to Virgil's that Ariosto's does to Homer's. Tasso is fortunate beyond measure in the choice of his subject, which is, all things considered, the most perfect that could have been devised, in modern times. The conduct of his whole poem is wrought with singular art and contrivance. The machinery is so happily conceived that it seems inseparable from the story; and acts as it were of itself to retard and hasten the catastrophe, without any apparent art of the poet. Tasso is eminent among modern writers for the gravity and splendour of his diction: it corresponds with the highest notions of Heroic poetry; it is formed with extraordinary skill and labour. Every word is elegant and sonorous; selected with judgment and arranged with care. His sentiments and his descriptions are all tinged with enthusiasm; the enthusiasm of an highly sensitive mind, and one seeking for brighter forms of perfection than are to be found below. Every thing in Tasso is cast in a mould larger than common life: but all the proportions are so justly observed, that nothing at the time appears exaggerated; it is only upon reflection after we have quitted his heroic page, that we feel we have been conversing with beings of an higher order than common men. When, however, he de-

scends to objects nearer the standard of real life, he shews himself intimately acquainted with the tenderer affections, and sympathies of the human heart. He contrasts in a masterly manner the confusion of camps and the din of arms, with peaceful scenes of rural life; and whenever an occasion offers relieves the mind, agitated by the sterner passions of ambition and revenge, with the gentler emotions of pity and innocent love.*

* I have not mentioned Boccaccio, because though it is true that he wrote largely in verse, and that Chaucer particularly studied him, still his merits are those chiefly of a prose writer. As a poet he appears to little advantage in those pieces which he has introduced into his Decamerone. He shews far greater powers in his longer poems and especially in his Teseide; which calls loudly for republication, for notwithstanding all its faults it would prove a valuable addition to Italian literature. The first, which is the only good edition of that work, is so rare, that few persons can ever hope for an opportunity of reading it. The only copy I have seen is that in His Majesty's collection. From it I cite the following stanza, as affording a pleasing specimen of Boccaccio's poetic style. Emilia being addressed by Arcite who claims her as his bride, is thus described:

Quale i fioretti rinchiusi nei prati
Per lo notturno freddo tutti quanti
S' apron come dal sol son ricaldati,
E'l prato fanno con più bei sembianti
Rider, fra le verdi herbe mescolati
Dimostrandosi lieto ai riguardanti;
Cotal si fece, vedendola Arcita
Poscia che l' ebbe sì parlar udita. *Lib. ix.*

It is true that the simile seems to have been suggested by one in Dante (*Inferno*, Can. II. v. 127.) but it is not on that account less elegant. Mr. Tyrwhitt has with his usual taste and judgment remarked that Chaucer improved considerably upon Boccaccio by omitting in his *Knight's Tale* all the first part of Teseide; and by compressing considerably the remainder. But Chaucer has omitted some circumstances which ought to have been retained. For instance, it is a leading defect in Chaucer's poem, that the heroine Emily inspires little or no interest; her equal indifference to Palamon and Arcite diminishes the pleasure, which the reader would otherwise receive from catastrophe. Had she ever shewn any preference to Palamon, there would have been some ground of propriety in the final disposition of her hand. Boccaccio manages this part of the story with greater art.

Arcite having heard Emily singing in the garden goes to the window of his prison to ascertain who the person was that sang so sweetly.

I mention only these four great poets of the Italian school, and speak

Egli era ancora alquanto il dì scuretto
 Che l' orizzonte in parte il Sol tenea ;
 Ma non sì che lui con l' occhio ristretto
 Non iscorresse ciò che li facea
 La giovinetta, e con summo diletto,
 Al quale ancora esso non conosceva.
 E rimirando lei fissa nel viso
 Disse fra se, " Questa è di Paradiso."

Arcite then calls Palamon to look at Emily ; her charms make a greater impression upon Palamon than they had done even upon Arcite ; for on beholding her

— Palamon tutto stordito
 Gridò " Oimè ! che l' altro m' ha ferito."

A quell' " Oimè," la Giovinetta bella
 Si volse destra in su la poppa manca,
 Nè prima altrove ch' alla fenestrella
 Li corse gli occhi, onde la faccia bianca
 Per vergogna arrossò, non sapendo ella
 Chi si fosser coloro : poi fatta franca
 Con colti fiori in piè si fu levata,
 E per andarsi, si fu in viata.

Nè fu nel girs' in via senza pensiero
 Di quell', " Oimè:" benchè giovinetta
 Fosse più che non chiede amore intero,
 Pur seco intese ciò ch'è quello affetto ;
 E parendogli ciò saper per vero,
 De esser piaciuta seco si diletta,
 E più se ne tien bella, e più s' adorna,
 Qual ora poi a quel giardin ritorna.

In this passage, to say nothing of its beauty, we trace the groundwork of the propriety in ultimately bestowing the fair Emily on Palamon. He was the first person who had made her conscious of the power of her charms : the first who had awakened in her bosom the love of admiration ; the first who had excited her pity, and proved to her the existence of still tenderer feelings. Emily therefore could not have been ever indifferent to Palamon. He had too many titles to her affections, not to have been the object of some preference. This makes us acquiesce with pleasure in the catastrophe which ultimately gives her to him,

of their merits thus succinctly, that I may not detain the reader too long, in what I am aware is a degression from my subject.

Τα μακρὰ δ' ἔξενέπειν
Ἐρύκει με τεθμός
Ὡραὶ τ' ἐπειγόμεναι
Ἰὺ γγί δ' ἔλκομαι.

What has been said however was not wholly uncalled for. It was necessary to prove that Surrey is not to be condemned lightly for having chosen the Italian poets as his model. A predilection for the Italian poets is not, as some of eminent scholarship and high attainments seem hastily to conclude, an argument either of an effeminate or of a contracted taste. The example of our best writers proves that it is perfectly compatible with the deference due to the greater authors of antiquity; and a just apprehension both of the dignity of poetry, and the ends of moral utility attainable by it.^a

and inspires a secret interest throughout in his favour, because we connect his happiness with that of "la Giovinetta bella." The Italian scholar will have great pleasure in hearing that Mr. Zotti, to whose taste and accuracy we are already indebted for many valuable editions of the Italian Classics, has undertaken to publish Boccaccio's Teseide.

^a I should be unjust equally to myself and to the public were I here to pass by in silence the obligations which Italian literature owes to a distinguished writer of our own country; whom I wish it were permitted me to praise in those terms which are his due, from the services he has rendered, not to taste only, but to the sacred cause of Truth and Morals. As long as Italian literature shall be cultivated amongst us, so long shall the name of Mr. Mathias be remembered with gratitude and admiration. With admiration for the purity and elegance with which he has written in the language of "the mighty Tuscan," a praise to which no one since Milton has aspired: and with gratitude, for having opened to us the genuine treasures of Italian Poetry. Before Mr. Mathias brought us acquainted with the greater masters of the Italian lyre, we had been content with the prettinesses of Metastasio's elegant but feeble strains, and with those of some of the minor Italian writers. He has awakened us to a just notion of the value of the Italian Poets, and from him we have learnt that Italian poetry is not a little purling rill which bathes a few fragrant flowers in the verdant meads through which it strays; but a mighty flood, copious, deep, majestic, flowing on in a full tide of grandeur, and opposing itself in proud rivalry to the loftiest efforts of the Greek and Roman masters themselves, from

SECT. XXI.—*Of the influence which Surrey's poems had on English poetry generally—of their popularity, and of the Authors who formed themselves upon them.*

It now remains to shew, that I have not laboured to give an higher importance to Surrey's writings, than they in reality possess. But how shall we appreciate his writings too highly, who by a single effort of genius corrected a nation's taste, and shewed them first the way to that perfection in poetry, to which they have since attained?

That the great change which in the sixteenth century took place in our national poetry, was owing chiefly to the influence of Surrey's writings, seems to me incontestable from the general popularity which they obtained immediately upon their appearance: and the studied imitation of them to be traced in all our poets in succession, from Sackville down to Spencer.

Of the popularity of Surrey's poems, we have a convincing proof in the rapidity with which editions were multiplied. They were first printed in June 1557. In the course of that and the following month, they went through no less than four distinct impressions. They were

whom, as from the Great Deep, all other streams derive their source. Inferior though it be to that of antient Greece and Rome, still, like its own great river, big with the tribute of a thousand urns, the Poetry of Modern Italy presents an august object which the mind cannot contemplate but with wonder and delight.

Così, scendendo dal natìo suo monte,
Non empie umile il Po l' angusta sponda;
Ma sempre più quanto è più lunge al fonte
Di nuove forze insuperbito abbonda.
Sovra i rotti confini alza la fronte
Di tauro, e vincitor d' intorno inonda;
E con più corna Adria respinge, e pare
Che guerra porti, e non tributo al mare.

afterwards reprinted in 1665, in 1567 and in 1569, twice afterwards in 1574, again in 1585, and again in 1587. Besides this, selections from Surrey's poems were printed almost daily, with other popular pieces in single sheets, and in small collections called garlands; by means of which they were made familiar to readers of the lower orders: whilst some of them, as we learn from the books of the Stationers' Company, were moralized; a circumstance which of itself is sufficient to prove their popularity, and extensive circulation.* In addition to these facts we are to consider yet further, that Surrey's verses continued to be multiplied in manuscript by many who had not the means of purchasing printed copies; and that they uniformly made part of all the printed miscellanies of those days, up to the beginning of the 17th century. It would be difficult to find an instance of any poet in any country whose works were in so short a time more widely circulated. And if so, we might ask, whether it would be possible that writings thus largely diffused, and thus universally admired, should not produce a general and a lasting effect on public taste.

But the proof supplied by the number and merit of the writers who imitated Surrey, and studiously formed their style on his, will be deemed more satisfactory; in as much as it does not rest on inference, but approaches to demonstration.

The first I shall adduce, is John Harington, the father of the cele-

* "In the reign of Elizabeth a popular ballad had no sooner been circulated than it was converted into practical instruction, and followed by its moralization. The old registers of the stationers afford numerous instances of this custom, which was encouraged by the increase of puritanism. Hence, in Randolph's *Muses Looking Glass*, where two Puritans are made spectators of a play, a player, to reconcile them in some sort to a theatre, promises to moralize the plot: and one of them answers:

——— that moralizing
I do approve; it may be for instruction."

Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poet. Vol. III. p. 418.

Surrey's pleasing little ode, "When raging love with extreme pain," which seems to have been a very popular piece, was printed in 1568 by J. Alde, moralized into "When raging ust," &c. "Give place ye ladies," &c. was often reprinted as a Ballad.

brated translator of Ariosto. I place him in front of the list, not only because he merits some preference from the sweetness of his versification; but because we owe him much, if he were, as I think he was, the person who first gave both Surrey's and Wyatt's poems to the public. Of Harington's merits as a poet, more will be said in another publication. For a specimen of his style the following highly finished stanzas will suffice. The attentive reader will trace in them not only the flow of Surrey's numbers, but some of his expressions.

Whence comes my love, O! heart disclose!

" 'Twas from cheeks that shame the rose;

" From eyes that mock the diamond's blaze,

" From lips that spoil the ruby's praise."

Whence comes my woe, as freely own!

" Aye! me! 'twas from an heart of stone."

The blushing cheek speaks modest mind;

The lips, befitting words most kind;

The eye does tempt to love's desire,

And seems to say; "'Tis Cupid's fire."

Yet all so fair but speak my moan,

Sith nought doth say the heart of stone.

Why thus, my love, so kind bespeak

Sweet eye, sweet lip, sweet blushing cheek,

Yet not an heart to ease my pain!

O Venus! take thy gifts again!

Make nought so fair to cause our moan,

Or make a heart that's like your own.

Harington's Nugæ Antiquæ.

Of Churchyard's merits as a poet I shall not insist much: but whatever skill he had in writing, he owed it, as he himself tells us, to Surrey; in whose family he was in great measure educated, and from whom personally he received his first instructions in poetic composition.

Sackville, the celebrated author of the Induction, is a greater name than Churchyard's. He was really a poet: and he formed his style on Surrey's, studiously imitating his cast of sentiment, adopting his expressions, and often borrowing his thoughts, and his very words. Repeated instances of Sackville's imitations from Surrey have been adduced in the notes upon the poems. More may be collected by an attentive reader.

Gascoigne and Turberville come next to be mentioned: they were the favourite poets of their day! They wrote much; and what they wrote was read and admired by persons of all descriptions. Both of these poets, Turberville especially, carried their imitations of Surrey to a still greater length even than Sackville, as has been shewn at large in the notes on Surrey's poems. It does not affect the conclusion that the authors now mentioned, and many more of minor fame who might be adduced as all forming themselves on Surrey's writings, do not rank high at present in our list of Poets. Their merit has not always been duly appreciated; but were it even less than it is, the argument would not be invalidated. They were the writers who for nearly half a century, in the interval between Surrey and Spencer, cherished the sacred flame of poetry which Surrey first had kindled. Though they should be judged not to have added much to the general stock of improvement, it was no small benefit that they prevented public taste from relapsing into that state of rudeness from which it had been rescued; and that they continued to fix attention on Surrey's poems as a model. That his compositions were always the popular poems of the day, we collect from Shakespeare, who in quoting shews that he himself had read, and remembered them.

With Spencer's name I will close the list of Surrey's admirers and imitators. That Spencer studied Surrey we learn from those instances of imitation which are discoverable in his writings, and from what is, I think, more conclusive, the general resemblance of their styles. The nature of their respective works does not allow us to expect that the imitation of particular passages should be very frequent; neither, indeed, would Spencer's genius and natural command of language allow him

to borrow as much, or to copy as minutely as Gascoigne or Turberville did.*

* Compare Surrey, p. 23, l. 15, with Spencer's *Fai. Queen*, B. I. C. ix. St. 16; and p. 47, l. 8, with F. *Queen*, B. IV. C. viii. St. 13. See also Spencer's *Daphnaida*, and compare with it Surrey, p. 26, l. 3, and p. 34 and 35. It would extend this Dissertation beyond the limits I am obliged to prescribe myself were I to attempt any detail in pointing out the early imitators of Surrey. I cannot forbear, however, mentioning Petowe, the author of a strange Poem in a series of Sonnets, called *Philochasander* and *Elanira*. He is not content with imitating Surrey, or even borrowing particular expressions from him; he plunders him, like a ruthless conqueror, of whole periods. The eleventh Sonnet may serve as an instance.

The time when this sweet fair her progress took
 Was when fresh *spring that bud and bloom forth bring*
With green had clad the hills, and every brook
 With christal gliding streams did sweetly spring :
The nightingale with feathers new did sing,
Summer was come for every spray did spring.

The buck in brake his winter coat did cast,
The turtle to her mate hath told her tale,
The adder all her slough away did waste,
The hart had hung his old head on the pale;
And thus I saw among these pleasant things,
Each care decays, and yet my sorrow springs.

Still side by side her chariot did I run,
 And like a page attended with the rest;
 But when I saw the honour she had done
 To other knights, and mine to be the least,
 O! how my heart within freighted with ire!
 A spark scarce kindled, turn'd to flaming fire.

In other Sonnets, particularly in numbers I, II, and III, the plagiarism is, if possible, still more barefaced. What the meaning and object of Petowe's singular performance could have been, it is difficult to say; nor is it worth while to inquire. If it had any meaning at all we may suppose it to refer to some political intrigue at Queen Elizabeth's court, hid studiously beneath the dim veil of allegory. For the use of the book I am indebted to Mr. Heber, who possesses, I believe, the only copy known to exist. It was printed by Purfoote in 1599. To Mr. Heber, I was indebted also for the use of Nash's *Jack Wilton*. I said by mistake that the book belonged to Mr. Malone. See *Memoirs*, p. xli. note ^a.

SECT. XXII. *Of the importance of this enquiry generally—of the pernicious effects of the love of novelty upon Language and Taste—Conclusion.*

Here our enquiry closes. If I have failed in establishing any of the points which have come under consideration, I shall be disposed to refer the failure not to any deficiency of proof, but to my want of judgment in selection. Where certain limits of discussion must be observed, and the field of enquiry is extensive, arguments will be often omitted which ought to have been adduced; and topics lightly insisted on, which, if treated at large, might have produced conviction. I hope however that I shall not be judged to have failed wholly of my object. The question involves more than the merits of a single poet. It affects our literature generally.

The human mind, by some fatal principle of weakness in its present constitution, is perpetually propelled to change by a ceaseless love of novelty: as if things good and beautiful in themselves lost their value in enjoyment. In nothing does this infirmity shew itself more frequently than in what concerns poetry and language. On these it has operated in all ages, and in all countries alike. But never did it evince a stronger tendency to corrupt both the poetry and the language of our own country, than at present; when, as if it were from satiety of good composition, we seem greedily disposed to snatch at every anomaly of writing that can be offered, and to tolerate any liberty that either ignorance or indolence can take with language.

It is true that the laws of composition being founded on certain fixed principles existing in the very nature of things, must be in every period of time the same. It is true also, that all fluctuation of language is an evil, inasmuch as it threatens no less than the diminution of knowledge, and of rational pleasure; nevertheless, whoever shall attempt innovation in either composition or language will never want admirers, or imitators: as if some higher degree of perfection were still to be attained than the wisdom of passed ages has been able to discover. It was thus

that in Italy an attempt was made to supersede all the established laws of versification by what was called "La Nuova Poesia:" and in Spain Gongora endeavoured to erect a new system of poetic diction on the ruins of that pure style, which the best Castilian writers before him, had employed. It was in the same spirit of fastidious improvement that in England also, in Elizabeth's time, our versification was to be remodelled upon that of Greece and Rome; and we were amused with the learned foppery of Sapphics and Hexameters. In the subsequent reign, all the natural graces of our language were sacrificed to quaintness and antithesis, and rugged metaphysical refinements, which accorded neither with the genius, nor the purposes of poetry. But in every instance, after a certain time, good sense resumed her empire; for whatever is unnatural cannot long be maintained. In Spain, Los Cultos, as they were called, and in Italy the favourers of the Nuova Poesia gradually disappeared, and the old approved principles of composition were resorted to.^a The same revolutions took place with us. The pedantic attempt at Roman and Greek metres, and the idle affectation of metaphysical conceits, which prevailed long enough to vitiate our versification altogether, fell alike into disrepute. A renovation of good taste, as well in our numbers as in our style, was begun by Waller, and Denham, and carried on to perfection by many able writers in succession.

^a I cannot forbear quoting here a sonnet written by the famous Lope de Vega, to ridicule the false taste of Gongora's style. The Spaniards regard it as a singularly happy piece of satire on that affected mode of writing, and consider it as having contributed greatly to bring into discredit a style, which our Laura Matildas would have admired; for it can be compared only to theirs in sounding inanity.

Soneto en Culto.

Cediendo á mi descredito anhelante

La mesticia que tengo a me defrauda,

Y aunque el favor laconico me aplauda

Preces indico al celestial turbante.

Obstento al movil un mentido Atlante:

Hurto al Lete en la corriente rauda,

Y al candor de mi Sol esclipse en cauda

Ajando voy mi vida naufragante.

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Y al candor de mi Sol eclipse en cauda

Ajando voy mi vida naufragante.

And how was this change effected? Not by any discovery of new principles; for no new principles remained to be discovered, but by referring to those principles which Surrey had established. That all the great writers I have alluded to, took Surrey so rigidly for their model as to proceed in their labours with his poems in their hand, is a position no one would think of advancing. They all thought and reasoned for themselves; but as they all followed his steps, and after many years devoted to the study of our literature, and the improvement of our language, were able to add nothing to those principles which Surrey had succeeded in establishing before them, what is it but a conclusive proof, that if Surrey were not their master, he is entitled to an equal portion at least of that praise which is considered their due.

If any difference be to be made in the award of fame to those writers and to Surrey, the distinction ought to be in Surrey's favour. When Denham and Waller wrote, and when afterwards Milton and Dryden pursued the important task, they found almost all the materials of good writing ready to their hands. Those materials lay scattered indeed over a large field, and they had many authors to examine, some of whom were obsolete, and some infected with the bad taste of their times. They had moreover to contend against some prejudices in public opinion, and perhaps against some preconceived notions of taste in their own mind. Still in all they attempted, whether in style of diction, in versification, or in language, they could quote the authority of writers of genius and learning who had gone before them; their improvements rested on the basis of the labour and experience of others.

Afecto aplausos de mi intonso agravio

En mi valor brillante, aunque tremendo

Liviando intercalar gemino labio.

Entiendes, Fabio, lo que voy diciendo?

“Y como si; lo entiendo!”—Mientes, Fabio,

Que yo soy quien lo digo, y no lo entiendo.

Obras de Lope de Vega, Vol. I. p. 275.

The case was different with Surrey. He had every thing to reform. The versification he attempted was new, and in opposition to the practice of all the poets which had preceded him. The style he abolished had been the style of ages, and must have been endeared to many by the powerful charm of habitude. And as for his improvements in language, though these were sometimes sanctioned by Chaucer they were drawn chiefly from the resources of his own taste, and the result of his own experience.

Under all these circumstances of difficulty Surrey conceived, attempted, and executed the arduous design of reforming our language, and of giving a new turn to our poetry. At any period such an attempt is to be considered the effort of a singularly active and enlightened mind. How greatly then must Surrey rise in our estimation when we reflect that he made it at a period of comparative darkness; when polite learning and correct taste, formed on the classic models of antiquity, were beginning only to be cultivated; and when amongst our nobility there were still many who looked on literary labours with contempt. If in addition to these circumstances of discouragement we consider that Surrey lived and shone in the busy splendour of a Court; that he was actively engaged in all the military enterprises of his times; that his mind was distracted by political intrigues and domestic dissensions; and above all that his generous spirit was harassed by the opposition of those who persecuted him from party prejudice, or personal opposition; if, I say, we consider all these impediments to the arduous task he had undertaken, a task which required retirement, and undistracted thoughts, and the gentle blandishments of domestic peace, and then contemplate how much he accomplished and how young he died, we cannot but look upon him with sentiments of more than common admiration.

He seems to have been one of those characters whom the ancients, in their imperfect view of things, regarded as shewn only to the world, and taken away immaturely, by the dark decrees of fate, lest they should be found to have added too much to the sum of human happiness. We

admit and lament the fact, but draw different conclusions from it. It is necessary that the pride of human intellect should be restrained and humbled; and humbled it must be when it reflects how uncertain the progress of all improvement is, and how frail the means, on which that improvement depends.

These, however, are speculations which extend beyond our subject. Suffice it to have proved that Surrey's acquirements in learning, his taste and genius in composition, I am not now talking of his virtues or misfortunes, were such as justify the attempt here made to reclaim his merits from oblivion, and entitle him to the praise and approbation of all reasonable and reflecting men.

FINIS.

P O E M S.

1848

1848

It was a very fine day, and the weather was
just what we needed. The children were
very happy, and the old man was
very well. The old man was very
well, and the children were very
happy. The old man was very well,
and the children were very happy.

POEMS.

SONGS AND SONNETS
OF THE
EARL OF SURREY.

Surrey, having long endeavoured vainly to subdue his passion, here makes the first avowal of it, beseeching his Lady to grant him some return of affection.

THE sun hath twice brought forth the tender green;
Twice clad the earth in lively lustiness:
Once have the winds the trees despoiled clean,
And once again begins their cruelty;
Since I have hid under my breast the harm
That never shall recover healthfulness.¹
The winter's hurt recovers with the warm;²
The parched green restored is with shade;
What warmth, alas! may serve for to disarm
The frozen heart, that mine inflame³ hath made?
What cold again is able to restore
My fresh green years,⁴ that wither thus and fade?
Alas! I see nothing hath hurt so sore
But time, sometime reduceth a return:⁵
Yet time my hurt⁶ increaseth more and more,

And seems to have my cure⁷ always in scorn.
 Strange kinds of death, in life that I do try!⁸
 At hand, to melt; far off, in flame to burn.⁹
 And like as time list to my cure apply,
 So doth each place my comfort clean refuse.¹⁰
 All thing alive, that seeth the heav'ns with eye,
 With cloak of night may cover and excuse
 Itself from travail of the day's unrest,
 Save I, alas! against all others use,
 That then stir up the torments of my breast;
 And curse each star as causer of my fate.
 And when the sun hath eke the dark¹¹ opprest,
 And brought the day, it doth nothing abate
 The travail of mine endless smart and pain.
 For then, as one that hath the light in hate,¹²
 I wish for night more covertly to plain;
 And me withdraw from every haunted place,
 Lest by my chere my chance appear too plain.¹³
 And in my mind I measure pace by pace,¹⁴
 To seek the place where I myself had lost,
 That day that I was tangled in the lace,¹⁵
 In seeming slack that knitteth ever most.
 But never yet the travail of my thought
 Of better state, could catch a cause to boast.
 For if I find sometime that I have sought,
 Those stars by whom I trusted of the port,
 My sails do fall, and I advance right nought,
 As anchor'd fast:¹⁶ my spirits do all resort
 To stand at gaze, and suck in more and more
 The deadly harm which she doth take in sport.¹⁷

Lo! if I seek, how I do find my sore!
 And if I flee, I carry with me still
 The venom'd shaft which doth his force restore
 By haste of flight; and I may plain my fill
 Unto myself, unless this careful song
 Print in your heart some parcel of my will.¹⁸
 For I, alas! in silence all too long,
 Of mine old hurt yet feel the wound but green.¹⁹
 Rue on my life; or else your cruel wrong
 Shall well appear, and by my death be seen.

*Surrey declares the Fair Geraldine to be the Mistress of his heart:
 and describes the place where he first saw,
 and first began to love her.*

FROM Tuscany came my Lady's worthy race;¹
 Fair Florence was sometime her^a ancient seat.²
 The western isle whose pleasant shore doth face
 Wild Camber's cliffs, first gave her lively heat.³
 Foster'd she was with milk of Irish breast:
 Her sire an Earl; her dame of Princes blood.
 From tender years in Britain did she rest,
 With a King's child; who tasteth ghostly food.⁴
 Honsdon did first present her to mine eyen:⁵
 Bright is her hue, and Geraldine she hight.
 Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine;
 And Windsor, alas! doth chase me from her sight.⁶
 Her beauty of Kind; her virtues from above.⁷
 Happy is he that can obtain her love!

^a Their.

*He reproves the folly of those who would compare their Ladies to his;
telling them that Nature herself had declared the Fair
Geraldine to be the most perfect of her works.*

GIVE place, ye lovers, here before
That spent your boasts and brags in vain;
My lady's beauty passeth more
The best of yours, I dare well say'n,
Than doth the sun the candle light,
Or brightest day the darkest night.¹

And thereto hath a troth as just
As had Penelope the fair;
For what she saith ye may it trust,
As it by writing sealed were:²
And virtues hath she many mo'
Than I with pen have skill to show.

I could rehearse, if that I would,
The whole effect of Nature's plaint,
When she had lost the perfit mould,
The like to whom she could not paint:³
With wringing hands, how she did cry,
And what she said, I know it, I.

I know she swore with raging mind,
Her kingdom only set apart,
There was no loss by law of kind
That could have gone so near her heart;

And this was chiefly all her pain ;

“ She could not make the like again.”⁴

Sith Nature thus gave her the praise,

To be the chiefest work she wrought ;

In faith, methink ! some better ways

On your behalf might well be sought,

Than to compare, as ye have done,

To match the candle with the sun.

He praises the exceeding beauty of the Fair Geraldine.

If he that erst the form so lively drew

Of Venus' face, triumph'd in painters art ;

Thy Father then what glory shall ensue,

By whom a living Goddess made thou art.¹

Touched with flame that figure made some rue,

And with her love surprised many a heart.

There lack'd yet that should cure their hot desire :

Thou canst inflame and quench the kindled fire.

*He declares the worthiness of his Lady to be such, that no suffering
would be too great to win her affection.*

When raging love with extreme pain

Most cruelly distrains my heart ;

When that my tears, as floods of rain,

Bear witness of my woful smart ;

When sighs have wasted so my breath

That I lie at the point of death :

I call to mind the navy great
 That the Greeks brought to Troia town :¹
 And how the boisterous winds did beat
 Their ships, and rent their sails adown ;
 Till Agamemnon's daughter's blood
 Appeas'd the Gods that them withstood.

And how that in those ten years war
 Full many a bloody deed was done ;
 And many a lord that came full far,
 There caught his bane, alas ! too soon ;
 And many a good knight overrun,²
 Before the Greeks had Helen won.

Then think I thus ; " Sith such repair,
 " So long time war of valiant men,
 " Was all to win a lady fair,
 " Shall I not learn to suffer then ?
 " And think my life well spent to be,
 " Serving a worthier wight than she ?"

Therefore I never will repent,
 But pains contented still endure ;
 For like as when, rough winter spent,
 The pleasant spring straight draweth in³ ure ;
 So after raging storms of care,
 Joyful at length may be my fare.

¹ Returns again. See note.

*Though the sight of his Mistress by increasing his passion, served
but to increase his pain, he tells her that he cannot
forego the pleasure of beholding her.*

As oft as I behold, and see
The sovereign beauty that me bound;
The nigher my comfort is to me,
Alas! the fresher is my wound.

As flame doth quench by rage of fire,
And running streams consume by rain;
So doth the sight that I desire
Appease my grief, and deadly pain.¹

Like as the fly that see'th the flame,
And thinks to play her in the fire;
That found her woe, and sought her game
Where grief did grow by her desire.

When first I saw those crystal streams,²
Whose beauty made my mortal wound;
I little thought within their beams,
So sweet a venom to have found.³

But wilful will did prick me forth,
Blind Cupid did me whip and guide;
Force made me take my grief in worth:⁴
My fruitless hope my harm did hide:

Wherein is hid the cruel bit,
Whose sharp repulse none can resist;
And eke the spur^s that strains each wit
To run the race against his list.

As cruel waves full oft be found
Against the rocks to roar and cry;
So doth my heart full oft rebound
Against my breast, full bitterly.

And as the spider draws her line,
With labour lost I frame my suit;
The fault is hers, the loss is mine:
Of ill sown-seed, such is the fruit.

I fall, and see mine own decay;
As he that bears flame in his breast,
Forgets for pain to cast away
The thing that breedeth his unrest.

*Surrey complains of the malice of fortune in separating him from
the Fair Geraldine; but assures her that absence
shall not diminish his love.*

SINCE fortune's wrath envieth the wealth[']
Wherein I reigned, by the sight
Of that, that fed mine eyes by stealth
With sour, sweet, dread, and delight;
Let not my grief move you to moan,
For I will weep and wail alone.

Spite drave me into Boreas' reign,
 Where hoary frosts the fruits do bite,
 When hills were spread, and every plain
 With stormy winter's mantle white;
 And yet, my dear, such was my heat,
 When others froze, then did I sweat.²
 And now, though on the sun I drive,
 Whose fervent flame all things decays;
 His beams in brightness may not strive
 With light of your sweet golden rays;³
 Nor from my breast his heat remove⁴
 The frozen thoughts, graven by love.
 Ne may the waves of the salt flood
 Quench that, your beauty set on fire;
 For though mine eyes forbear the food,
 That did relieve their hot desire;⁵
 Such as I was, such will I be;
 Your own; what would ye more of me?

*Separated from the Fair Geraldine, Surrey fears lest absence should
 cause her to forget him; but calling to mind her gentleness
 and truth, hope somewhat recomforteth
 his woful heart.*

If care do cause men cry," why do not I complain?
 If each man do bewail his woe," why shew not I my pain?
 Since that amongst them all," I dare well say is none
 So far from weal, so full of woe," or hath more cause to moan.

For all things having life," sometime hath quiet rest;¹
 The bearing ass, the drawing ox," and every other beast;
 The peasant, and the post," that serves at all assays;
 The ship boy, and the galley slave," have time to take their ease;
 Save I, alas! whom care," of force doth so constrain,²
 To wail the day, and wake the night," continually in pain.
 From pensiveness to plaint," from plaint to bitter tears,
 From tears to painful plaint again;" and thus my life it wears.
 Nothing under the sun," that I can hear or see,
 But moveth me for to bewail" my cruel destiny.
 For where men do rejoice," since that I cannot so,
 I take no pleasure in that place," it doubleth but my woe.
 And when I hear the sound" of song or instrument,
 Methink each tune there doleful is," and helps me to lament.
 And if I see some have" their most desired sight,
 "Alas!" think I, "each man hath weal" save I, most woful wight."
 Then as the stricken deer" withdraws himself alone,³
 So do I seek some secret place," where I may make my moan.
 There do my flowing eyes" shew forth my melting heart;
 So that the streams of those two wells," right well declare my smart.⁴
 And in those cares so cold," I force myself a heat
 (As sick men in their shaking fits" procure themselves to sweat)
 With thoughts, that for the time" do much appease my pain:
 But yet they cause a further fear," and breed my woe again.
 Methink within my thought" I see right plain appear,
 My heart's delight, my sorrow's leech," mine earthly goddess here,⁵
 With every sundry grace," that I have seen her have:
 Thus I within my woful breast" her picture paint and grave.
 And in my thought I roll" her beauties to and fro;⁶
 Her laughing chere, her lively look," my heart that pierced so.

² Cure, Physician.

Her strangeness when I sued⁷ her servant for to be;⁷
And what she said, and how she smiled,⁸ when that she pitied me.
Then comes a sudden fear⁹ that reaveth all my rest,
Lest absence cause forgetfulness⁸ to sink within her breast.⁸
For when I think how far⁹ this earth doth us divide,
Alas! me-seems love throws me down;⁹ I feel how that I slide.
But then I think again;⁹ "Why should I thus mistrust
"So sweet a wight, so sad⁹ and wise," that is so true and just?
"For loath she was to love," and wavering is she not;
"The farther off the more desir'd."⁹ Thus lovers tie their knot.
So in despair and hope¹⁰ "plung'd am I both up and down,
As is the ship with wind and wave," when Neptune list to frown:
But as the watery showers¹⁰ delay the raging wind,"
So doth Good-hope¹² clean put away¹⁰ despair out of my mind;
And bids me for to serve," and suffer patiently:
For what wot I the after weal¹¹ that fortune wills to me.
For those that care do know," and tasted have of trouble,
When passed is their woful pain," each joy shall seem them double."¹¹
And bitter sends she now," to make me taste the better
The pleasant sweet, when that it comes," to make it seem the sweeter."¹⁴
And so determine I¹² to serve until my breath;¹⁵
Yea, rather die a thousand times," than once to false my faith.
And if my feeble corpse," through weight of woful smart
Do fail, or faint, my will it is¹³ that still she keep my heart.
And when this carcase here¹⁴ to earth shall be refar'd,
I do bequeath my wearied ghost¹⁵ to serve her afterward.¹⁶

*In the person of a lady anxiously looking for the return of her
absent lord, Surrey describes the state of his own mind,
when separated from the Fair Geraldine.*

O HAPPY dames! that may embrace
The fruit of your delight;
Help to bewail the woful case,
And eke the heavy plight,
Of me, that wonted to rejoice
The fortune of my pleasant choice:
Good ladies! help to fill my mourning voice.

In ship freight with remembrance
Of thoughts, and pleasures past,
He sails that hath in governance
My life while it will last;
With scalding sighs, for lack of gale,
Furthering his hope, that is his sail,
Toward me, the sweet port of his avail.

Alas! how oft in dreams I see
Those eyes that were my food;
Which sometime so delighted me,
That yet they do me good:
Wherewith I wake with his return,
Whose absent flame doth make me burn:
But when I find the lack, Lord! how I mourn.

When other lovers in arms across,
 Rejoice their chief delight;³
 Drowned in tears, to mourn my loss,
 I stand the bitter night
 In my window, where I may see
 Before the winds how the clouds flee:
 Lo! what a mariner love hath made me.
 And in green waves when the salt flood
 Doth rise by rage of wind;
 A thousand fancies in that mood,
 Assail my restless mind.
 Alas! now drencheth^a my sweet foe,⁴
 That with the spoil of my heart did go,
 And left me; but, alas! why did he so?
 And when the seas wax calm again,
 To chase from me annoy,
 My doubtful hope doth cause me plain;
 So dread cuts off my joy.
 Thus is my wealth mingled with woe:⁵
 And of each thought a doubt doth grow;
 Now he comes! will he come? alas! no, no!
 That when I wake, I stand in doubt, if they be true, or no.
 Sometimes the roaring seas, me seems, do grow so high,
 That my dear lord, my me! alas! methinks I see him die.
 Another time the same, both tell me he is come,
 And playing, where I shall him find, with T, his little son.
 So forth I go apace, to see that handsome sight,
 And with a kiss, methinks I say; "Now welcome home, my knight;

^a Is drowned.

*He repeats the description of his own anxious state of mind,
when absent from her who was the sovereign
Mistress of his faithful heart.*

Good ladies! you that have["] your pleasure in exile,
Step in your foot,¹ come, take a place,["] and mourn with me awhile:
And such as by their lords["] do set but little price,
Let them sit still, it skills them not^{" 2} what chance come on the dice.
But you whom love hath bound,["] by order of desire,
To love your Lords, whose good deserts["] none other would require;³
Come you yet once again,["] and set your foot by mine,
Whose woful plight, and sorrows great,["] no tongue may well define.
My love and lord, alas!["] in whom consists my wealth,
Hath fortune sent to pass the seas,["] in hazard of his health.
Whom I was wont t' embrace["] with well contented mind,
Is now amid the foaming floods["] at pleasure of the wind.
There God well him preserve,["] and safely me him send;
Without which hope my life, alas!["] were shortly at an end.
Whose absence yet, although["] my hope doth tell me plain,
With short return he comes anon,["] yet ceaseth not my pain.⁴
The fearful dreams I have,["] oft-times they grieve me so,
That when I wake, I stand in doubt,["] if they be true, or no.⁵
Sometime the roaring seas,["] me-seems, do grow so high,
That my dear lord, ay me! alas!["] methinks I see him die.
Another time the same,^{" 6} doth tell me he is come,
And playing, where I shall him find,["] with T. his little son.
So forth I go apace["] to see that liefesome sight,
And with a kiss, methinks I say;["] " Now welcome home, my knight;

" Welcome, my sweet; alas!" the stay of my welfare;
 " Thy presence bringeth forth a truce" betwixt me, and my care."
 Then lively doth he look," and salueth me again,⁷
 And saith; " My dear, how is it now" that you have all this pain?"
 Wherewith the heavy cares," that heap'd are in my breast,
 Break forth and me dischargen clean," of all my great unrest.⁸
 But when I me awake," and find it but a dream,
 The anguish of my former woe" beginneth more extreme;⁹
 And me tormenteth so" that uneath^a may I find
 Some hidden place,¹⁰ wherein to slake" the gnawing of my mind.
 Thus every way you see," with absence how I burn;
 And for my wound no cure there is," but hope of good return:
 Save" when I think by sour" how sweet is felt the more,
 It doth abate some of my pains," that I abode before.
 And then unto myself" I say; " When we shall meet,
 " But little while shall seem this pain;" that joy shall be so sweet."¹²
 Ye winds, I you conjure," in chiefest of your rage,
 That you my lord me safely send," my sorrows to assuage.
 And that I may not long" abide in such excess,
 Do your good will to cure a wight," that liveth in distress.

*He sends the Fair Geraldine a tender assurance of his constancy,
 and tells her, that however rewarded, he will love
 her and serve her faithfully.*

SET me whereas the sun doth parch the green,
 Or where his beams do not dissolve the ice;
 In temperate heat, where he is felt and seen;¹
 In presence prest² of people, mad, or wise;

^a With difficulty.

Set me in high, or yet in low degree;
 In longest night, or in the longest day;¹
 In clearest sky, or where clouds thickest be;
 In lusty youth,⁴ or when my hairs are gray:
 Set me in heav'n, in earth, or else in hell,
 In hill, or dale, or in the foaming flood;
 Thrall, or at large, alive where-so I dwell,
 Sick, or in health, in evil fame or good,
 Hers will I be; and only with this thought
 Content myself, although my chance be nought.

*Surrey laments the Fair Geraldine's cruelty in not permitting him to
 speak to her of his passion; but, though compelled to
 silence, he resolves to love her still.*

Love, that liveth and reigneth in my thought,
 That built his seat within my captive breast;
 Clad in the arms wherein with me he fought,¹
 Oft in my face he doth his banner rest.
 She, that me taught to love and suffer pain,
 My doubtful hope, and eke my hot desire
 With shamefac'd cloak to shadow and restrain,
 Her smiling grace converteth straight to ire.
 And coward Love then to the heart apace²
 Taketh his flight; whereas³ he lurks, and plains
 His purpose lost, and dare not shew his face.
 For my Lord's guilt thus faultless bide I pains.
 Yet from my Lord shall not my foot remove:
 Sweet is his death that takes his end by love.

*He tells the Fair Geraldine that external beauty is but a reflection
of the beauty of the mind; and therefore calls upon
her to be gentle, kind, and constant.*

THE golden gift that Nature did thee give,
To fasten friends, and feed¹ them at thy will;
With form and favour taught me to believe,
How thou art made to shew her greatest skill.²
Whose hidden virtues are not so unknown,
But lively domes³ might gather at the first;
Where beauty so her perfect seed hath sown,⁴
Of other graces follow needs there must.⁵
Now certes, Garret,⁶ since all this is true,
That from above thy gifts are thus elect,⁷
Do not deface them then with fancies new;
Nor change of minds, let not thy mind infect:
But mercy⁸ him thy friend that doth thee serve;
Who seeks alway thine honour to preserve.

*Surrey complains of the Fair Geraldine's cruelty in always wearing
a veil when he was present, to deprive him of the pleasure
of contemplating her beauty.*

I NEVER saw my Lady lay apart
Her cornet black,¹ in cold nor yet in heat,
Sith first she knew my grief² was grown so great;
Which other fancies driveth from my heart,

That to myself I do the thought³ reserve,
 The which unwares did wound my woful breast;
 For on her face mine eyes might never rest.
 Since that she knew I did her love and serve,
 Her golden tress is clad alway with black,
 Her smiling looks to hide thus evermore,⁴
 And that restrain which I desire so sore.⁵
 So doth this cornet govern me,⁶ alack!
 In summer sun, in winter's breath of frost;
 Whereby the light of her fair looks I lost.

*To account for Geraldine's growing indifference and the increase of
 his own passion, Surrey supposes her to have drunk
 of the fountain of aversion, and himself
 of the fountain of love.*

IN Cyprus springs, whereas dame Venus dwelt,
 A well so hot, that whoso tastes the same,
 Were he of stone, as thawed ice should melt,
 And kindled find his breast with fired flame;
 Whose moist poison dissolved hath my heart.
 With creeping fire my cold limbs are opprest,
 Feeleth the heart that harbour'd freedom, smart:
 Endless' despair long thraldom hath imprest.
 Another well of frozen ice is found,
 Whose chilling venom of repugnant kind,
 The fervent heat doth quench of Cupid's wound,

And with the spot of change infects the mind ;^a

Whereof my dear hath tasted to my pain :

Whereby my service grows into disdain.

*Seeing all Nature animated with joy at the return of spring,
Surrey laments that he alone was doomed to remain
in a state of sorrow and despondency.*

THE soote^a season, that bud and bloom forth brings,¹

With green hath clad the hill, and eke the vale.

The nightingale with feathers new she sings ;

The turtle to her make^b hath told her tale.²

Summer is come,³ for every spray now springs.

The hart hath hung his old head on the pale ;⁴

The buck in brake his winter coat he flings ;

The fishes flete with new repaired scale ;⁵

The adder all her slough away she flings ;

The swift swallow pursueth the flies smale ;⁶

The busy bee her honey now she mings ;^c

Winter is worn that was the flowers' bale.^d

And thus I see among these pleasant things

Each care decays, and yet my sorrow springs !

^a Soft.

^b Mate, companion.

^c Mingles.

^d Destruction.

*Surrey compares the perturbed state of his mind with the tranquillity
which all nature seems to enjoy at the close of day,
and laments his own unhappiness.*

ALAS! so all things now do hold their peace!¹
Heaven and earth disturbed in nothing;²
The beasts, the air, the birds their song do cease,³
The night's chair the stars about doth bring.⁴

Calm is the sea; the waves work less and less:
So am not I, whom love, alas! doth wring,
Bringing before my face the great increase
Of my desires, whereat I weep and sing,
In joy and wo, as in a doubtful ease.
For my sweet thoughts sometime do pleasure bring;
But by and by, the cause of my disease
Gives me a pang, that inwardly doth sting,
When that I think what grief it is again,
To live and lack the thing should rid my pain.⁵

*Repulsed by the Fair Geraldine with scorn and cruelty, Surrey
inveighs against beauty itself, as a dangerous gift,
and one which reason ought not to covet.*

BRITTLE beauty, that Nature made so frail,
Whereof the gift is small, and shorter is the season;
Flow'ring to-day, to-morrow apt to fail;
Tickle¹ treasure, abhorred of reason:

Dangerous to deal with, vain, of none avail;
 Costly in keeping, past not worth two peason;²
 Slipperer in sliding, than is an eel's tail;³
 Hard to obtain, once gotten never^a geason:⁴
 Jewel of jeopardy, that peril doth assail;⁵
 False and untrue, enticed oft to treason;⁶
 En'my to youth, that most men bewail;
 Ah! bitter sweet, infecting as the poison,
 Thou farest as the fruit that with the frost is taken;
 To day ready ripe, tomorrow all to shaken.

*Having defied the power of love, and attempted vainly to shake
 off his yoke, Surrey acknowledges his fault, and
 humbly sues for pardon.*

WHEN Summer took in hand^a the winter to assail,¹
 With force of might, and virtue great,^b his stormy blasts to quail:
 And when he clothed fair^c the earth about with green,
 And every tree new garmented,^d that pleasure was to seen:
 Mine heart gan new revive,^e and changed blood did stir,
 Me to withdraw my winter woes,^f that kept within the^g durre.²
 "Abroad," quoth my desire,^h "assay to set thy foot;
 "Where thou shalt find the savour sweet;ⁱ for sprung is every root.
 "And to thy health if thou^j were sick, in any case,
 "Nothing more good than in the spring^k the air to feel a space.
 "There shalt thou hear and see^l all kinds of birds y-wrought,
 "Well tune their voice with warble small,^m as nature hath them taught."
 Thus pricked me my lustⁿ the sluggish house to leave,
 And for my health I thought it best^o such counsel to receive.

^a Profitable.^b Door.

So on a morrow forth," unwist of any wight,
 I went to prove how well it would" my heavy burden light.
 And when I felt the air" so pleasant round about,
 Lord! to myself how glad I was" that I had gotten out.
 There might I see how ^aVer" had every blossom hent,³
 And eke the new betrothed birds," y-coupled how they went;
 And in their songs, methought," they thanked Nature much,
 That by her licence all that year" to love, their hap was such,
 Right as they could devise" to choose them ^bferes throughout:⁴
 With much rejoicing to their Lord," thus flew they all about.
 Which when I gan resolve,"⁵ and in my head conceive,
 What pleasant life, what heaps of joy," these little birds receive;
 And saw in what estate I," weary man, was brought,
 By want of that, they had at will," and I reject at nought;
 Lord! how I gan in wrath" unwisely me demean!
 I cursed Love, and him defied;" I thought to turn the stream.
 But when I well beheld," he had me under awe,
 I asked mercy for my fault," that so transgrest his law:
 "Thou blinded God," quoth I," "forgive me this offence,
 "Unwittingly I went about," to malice thy pretence."⁶
 Wherewith he gave a beck,"⁷ and thus methought he swore;
 "Thy sorrow ought suffice to purge" thy fault, if it were more."
 The virtue of which sound" mine heart did so revive,
 That I, methought, was made as whole" as any man alive.
 But here I may perceive" mine errour, all and some,
 For that I thought that so it was;" yet was it still undone;⁸
 And all that, was no more" but mine expressed mind,⁹
 That fain would have some good relief," of Cupid well assign'd.
 I turned home forthwith," and might perceive it well,
 That he aggrieved was right sore" with me for my rebel.

^a Spring.^b Companions.

My harms¹⁰ have ever since¹¹ increased more and more,
 And I remain without his help,¹² undone for ever more.
 A mirror let me be¹³ unto ye lovers all;
 Strive not with Love; for if ye do,¹⁴ it will ye thus befall.

*Revolving in his mind the ill success of his passion, Surrey imputes
 the failure to his want of caution, and resolves in
 future to conceal his feelings.*

WHEN youth had led me half the race
 That Cupid's scourge had made me run;
 I looked back to mete the place
 From whence my weary course begun.¹

And then I saw how my desire
 By guiding ill had lett my way:²
 Mine eyen, too greedy of their hire,
 Had made me lose a better prey.

For when in sighs I spent the day,
 And could not cloak my grief with game;³
 The boiling smoke did still bewray⁴
 The persant heat of secret flame.⁵

And when salt tears did bayne⁶ my breast,
 Where Love his pleasant trains had sown;
 The bruit thereof the fruit opprest,⁷
 Or that the huds were sprung and blown.

And when mine eyen did still pursue
 The flying chase of their request;
 Their greedy looks did oft renew
 The hidden wound within my breast.

When every look these cheeks might stain,
 From deadly pale to glowing red;
 By outward signs appeared plain,
 The woe wherewith my heart was fed.⁸

But all too late Love learneth me
 To paint all kind of colours new;⁹
 To blind their eyes that else should see
 My sparkled cheeks with Cupid's hue.¹⁰

And now the covert breast I claim,
 That worships Cupid secretly;
 And nourisheth his sacred flame,
 From whence no blasing sparks do fly.

*He complains of the deceitfulness of Love, and describes the
 various arts by which the simple and too
 credulous lover is abused.*

SUCH wayward ways hath Love," that most part in discord
 Our wills do stand, whereby our hearts" but seldom do accord.
 Deceit is his delight," and to beguile and mock
 The simple hearts, which he doth strike" with froward, diverse stroke.
 He causeth th' one to rage" with golden burning dart;
 And doth allay with leaden cold" again the t'others heart.

Hot gleams of burning fire," and easy sparks of flame,
 In balance of unequal weight" he pondereth by aim.²
 From easy ford, where I" might wade and pass full well,
 He me withdraws, and doth me drive" into a dark deep hell;³
 And me withholds where I" am call'd, and offer'd place,
 And wills that still my mortal foe" I do beseech of grace;
 And lets me to pursue" a conquest well near won,
 To follow where my pains were spilt," ere that my suit begun.
 Lo! by these rules I know" how soon a heart can turn
 From war to peace, from truce to strife," and so again return.
 I know how to convert" my will in others lust;⁴
 Of little stuff unto myself" to weave a web of trust;⁵
 And how to hide my harm" with soft dissembled chere,
 When in my face the painted thoughts" would outwardly appear.⁶
 I know how that the blood" forsakes the face for dread;
 And how by shame it stains again," the cheeks with flaming red.⁷
 I know under the green," the serpent how he lurks;
 The hammer of the restless forge" I know eke how it works.⁸
 I know, and can by rote" the tale that I would tell;
 But oft the words come forth awry" of him that loveth well.
 I know in heat and cold" the lover how he shakes;
 In singing how he can complain;" in sleeping how he wakes.
 To languish without ach," sickless for to consume,
 A thousand things for to devise," resolving all in fume.⁹
 And though he list to see" his lady's grace full sore;
 Such pleasure as delights his eye," doth not his health restore.
 I know to seek the track" of my desired foe,
 And fear to find that I do seek:" but chiefly this I know,
 That lovers must transform" into the thing belov'd,
 And live, alas! who could believe?" with sprite from life remov'd.¹⁰

I know in hearty sighs," and laughters of the spleen,"
 At once to change my state, my will," and eke my colour clean.
 I know how to deceive" myself withouten help;
 And how the lion chastised is," by beating of the whelp."¹²
 In standing near the fire," I know how that I freeze;
 Far off I burn;"¹³ in both I waste," and so my life I leese.
 I know how love doth rage" upon a yelden mind;"¹⁴
 How small a net may take, and meash" a heart"¹⁵ of gentle kind:
 With seldom tasted sweet" to season heaps of gall;"¹⁶
 Revived with a glynt"¹⁷ of grace," old sorrows to let fall.
 The hidden trains I know," and secret snares of love;
 How soon a look may print a thought," that never will remove.
 The slipper state I know," the sudden turns from wealth;"¹⁸
 The doubtful hope, the certain woe," and sure despair of health.

Surrey renounces all affection for the Fair Geraldine.

EACH beast can choose his fere" according to his mind,
 And eke can shew a friendly chere," like to their beastly kind."¹
 A Lion saw I late," as white as any snow,"²
 Which seemed well to lead the race," his port the same did show.
 Upon the gentle beast" to gaze it liked me,
 For still methought he seemed well," of noble blood to be.
 And as he pranced³ before," still seeking for a make,
 As who would say; "There is none here," I trow will me forsake;"⁴
 I might perceive a Wolf" as white as whalès-bone;"⁵
 A fairer beast, a fresher hue," beheld I never none;
 Save that her looks were fierce," and froward eke her grace:
 Toward the which, this gentle beast" gan him advance apace.

And with a beck full low["] he bowed at her feet,
In humble wise, as who would say;["] "I am too far unmeet."

But such a scornful chere,["] wherewith she him rewarded!
Was never seen, I trow, the like,["] to such as well deserved.

With that she start aside["] well near a foot or twain,
And unto him thus gan she say,["] with spite and great disdain:

"Lion," she said, "if thou["] hadst known my mind befor'n,
"Thou hadst not spent thy travail thus,["] nor all thy pain for-lor'n.

"Do way! I let thee weet,["] ⁵ thou shalt not play with me;
"But range about, thou mayst seek out["] some meeter fere for thee."

Forthwith he beat his tail,["] his eyes began to flame;
I might perceive his noble heart["] much moved by the same.

Yet saw I him refrain,["] and eke his wrath assuage,
And unto her thus gan he say,["] when he was past his rage:

"Cruel! you do me wrong,["] to set me thus so light;
"Without desert for my good will["] to shew me such despite.⁶

"How can ye thus intreat["] a Lion of the race,⁷
"That with his paws a crowned King["] devoured in the place.

"Whose nature is to prey["] upon no simple food,⁸
"As long as he may suck the flesh,["] and drink of noble blood.

"If you be fair and fresh,["] am I not of your hue?
"And for my vaunt I dare well say,["] my blood is not untrue.

"For you yourself doth know,["] it is not long ago,
"Sith that for love one of the race["] ⁹ did end his life in woe,

"In tow'r both strong and high,["] for his assured truth,
"Whereas in tears he spent his breath,["] alas! the more the ruth.

"This gentle beast so died,["] whom nothing could remove,¹⁰
"But willingly to seek his death["] for loss of his true love.

"Other there be whose life,["] to linger still in pain,
"Against their will preserved is,["] that would have died right fain."

“ But well I may perceive” that nought it moveth you,
“ My good intent, my gentle heart,” nor yet my kind so true.
“ But that your will is such” to lure me to the trade,
“ As other some full many years” to trace by craft you made.¹²
“ And thus behold my kind,” how that we differ far;
“ I seek my foes; and you your friends” do threaten still with war.
“ I fawn where I am fled;”¹³ you slay, that seeks to you;
“ I can devour no yielding prey;” you kill where you subdue.
“ My kind is to desire” the honour of the field;
“ And you with blood to slake your thirst” on such as to you yield.
“ Wherefore I would you wist,” that for your coyed looks,
“ I am no man that will be train’d,” nor tangled by such hooks.
“ And though some list to love,” where blame full well they might;
“ And to such beasts a currant fawn,” that should have travail bright;¹⁴
“ I will observe the law” that Nature gave to me,
“ To conquer such as will resist,” and let the rest go free.
“ And as a falcon free,” that soareth in the air,
“ Which never fed on hand or lure;” that for no stale doth care;¹⁵
“ While that I live and breathe,” such shall my custom be
“ In wildness of the woods to seek” my prey, where pleaseth me;
“ Where many one shall rue,” that never made offence:
“ Thus your refuse against my power” shall bode¹⁶ them no defence.
“ In the revenge whereof” I vow and swear thereto,
“ A thousand spoils I shall commit” I never thought to do.
“ And if to light on you” my hap so good shall be,
“ I shall be glad to feed on that,” that would have fed on me.
“ And thus farewell, unkind,” to whom I bent too low;
“ I would you wist, the ship is safe” that bare his sail so low.
“ Since that a Lion’s heart” is for a Wolf no prey,
“ With bloody mouth of simple sheep,” go slake your thirst, I say,

" With more despite and ire" than I can now express ;
" Which to my pain, though I refrain," the cause you may well guess.
" As for because myself" was author of the game,"
" It boots me not that by my wrath" I should disturb the same."

He reproaches the Fair Geraldine for her fickleness and insincerity.

Too dearly had I bought¹ " my green and youthful years,
If in mine age I could not find" when craft, for love appears.
And seldom though I come" in court among the rest,
Yet can I judge in colours dim,² " as deep as can the best,
Where grief torments the man" that suff'reth secret smart,
To break it forth unto some friend," it easeth well the heart.
So stands it now with me," for, my well beloved friend,
This case is thine, for whom I feel" such torment of my mind.
And for thy sake I burn" so in my secret breast,
That till thou know my whole disease," my heart can have no rest.³
I see how thine abuse," hath wrested so thy wits,
That all it yields⁴ to thy desire," and follows thee by fits.
Where thou hast loved so long," with heart, and all thy power,
I see thee fed with feigned words," thy freedom to devour :
I know (though she say nay" and would it well withstand)
When in her grace thou held thee most," she bare thee but in hand.⁵
I see her pleasant chere" in chiefest of thy suit ;⁶
When thou art gone, I see him come" that gathers up the fruit.
And eke in thy respect," I see the base degree
Of him to whom she gave the heart," that promised was to thee.
I see, what would you more," stood never man so sure
On woman's word, but wisdom would" mistrust it to endure.

*He describes the duplicity and disingenuous conduct of his Mistress,
and laments that at her tender years she should have
given such mournful proof of insincerity.*

WRAPT in my careless cloak," as I walk to and fro,
I see how Love can shew what force" there reigneth in his bow:
And how he shooteth eke" a hardy heart to wound;
And where he glanceth by again," that little hurt is found.
For seldom is it seen" he woundeth hearts alike;
The t'one may rage, when t'other's love" is often far to seek.²
All this I see, with more;" and wonder thinketh me³
How he can strike the one so sore," and leave the other free.
I see that wounded wight" that suff'reth all this wrong,
How he is fed with yeas and nays," and liveth all too long.⁴
In silence though I keep" such secrets to myself,
Yet do I see how she sometime" doth yield a look by stealth,
As though it seem'd; "I wis," I will not lose thee so:"
When in her heart so sweet a thought" did never truly grow.
Then say I thus; "Alas!" that man is far from bliss,
"That doth receive for his relief," none other gain but this."
And she that feeds him so," I feel and find it plain,⁵
Is but to glory in her power," that over such can reign.
Nor are such graces spent," but when she thinks that he,
A wearied man, is fully bent" such fancies to let flee.
Then to retain him still," she wrasteth new her grace,⁶
And smileth, lo! as though she would" forthwith the man embrace.
But when the proof is made," to try such looks withal,
He findeth then the place all void," and freighted full of gall.

Lord! what abuse is this;" who can such women praise?
 That for their glory do devise" to use such crafty ways.
 I that among the rest" do sit and mark the row,⁷
 Find that in her is greater craft," than is in twenty mo':
 Whose tender years, alas!" with wiles so well are sped,⁸
 What will she do when hoary hairs" are powder'd in her head?⁹

*The Fair Geraldine retorts on Surrey the charge of artifice, and
 commends the person whom he considered to be his rival,
 as superior to him in courage and ability.*

GIRT in my guiltless gown,¹" as I sit here and sow,
 I see that things are not in deed," as to the outward show.
 And who so list to look" and note things somewhat near,
 Shall find where plainness seems to haunt," nothing but craft appear.
 For with indifferent eyes," myself can well discern,
 How some to guide a ship in storms" stick not to take the stern;
 Whose skill and courage tried" in calm to steer a barge,
 They would soon shew, you should foresee," it were too great a charge.
 And some I see again" sit still and say but small,
 That can do ten times more than they," that say they can do all.
 Whose goodly gifts are such," the more they understand,
 The more they seek to learn and know," and take less charge in hand.
 And to declare more plain," the time flitts not so fast,
 But I can bear right well in mind" the song now sung, and past;
 The author whereof came," wrapt in a crafty cloak,
 In will to force a flaming fire" where he could raise no smoke.
 If power and will had met," as it appeareth plain,
 The truth nor right had ta'en no place;²" their virtues had been vain.

So that you may perceive," and I may safely see,
 The innocent that guiltless is," condemned should have be.¹
 Much like untruth to this" the story doth declare,
 Where the Elders laid to Susan's charge" meet matter to compare.⁴
 They did her both accuse," and eke condemn her too,
 And yet no reason, right, nor truth," did lead them so to do!
 And she thus judg'd to die," toward her death went forth,
 Fraughted with Faith, a patient pace," taking her wrong in worth.⁵
 But he that doth defend" all those that in him trust,
 Did raise a child for her defence" to shield her from th' unjust.
 And Daniel chosen was" then of this wrong to weet,^a
 How, in what place, and eke with whom" she did this crime commit.
 He caused the Elders part" the one from th' other's sight,
 And did examine one by one," and charg'd them both say right.
 "Under a mulberry tree" it was;" first said the one.
 The next named a pomegranate tree," whereby the truth was known.
 Then Susan was discharg'd," and they condemn'd to die,
 As right requir'd, and they deserv'd," that fram'd so foul a lye.
 And He that her preserv'd," and lett them of their lust,
 Hath me defended hitherto," and will do still I trust.

*Confident of his power to recover his liberty, Surrey again exults
 at having broke his chains, and again warns the Fair
 Geraldine to beware of his resentment.*

ALTHOUGH I had a check,¹
 To give the mate is hard;
 For I have found a ^b neck,²
 To keep my men in guard.

^a Take cognizance.

^b A nook.

And you that hardy are,
 To give so great assay
 Unto a man of war,
 To drive his men away ;

I rede^a you take good heed,
 And mark this foolish verse ;
 For I will so provide,
 That I will have your^b ferse.²
 And when your ferse is had,
 And all your war is done ;
 Then shall yourself be glad
 To end that you begun.

For if by chance I win
 Your person in the field ;
 Too late then come you in,
 Yourself to me to yield.
 For I will use my power,
 As captain full of might ;
 And such I will devour
 As use to shew me spite.

And for because you gave
 Me check in such degree ;
 This vantage, lo ! I have,
 Now check, and guard to thee.
 Defend it if thou may ;
 Stand stiff in thine estate :
 For sure I will assay,
 If I can give thee mate.⁴

^a Advise you.^b The Queen in Chess.

*Surrey repents his rashness in resenting the Fair Geraldine's
behaviour; and feelingly describes his sorrow for
having ventured to reproach her.*

IN winter's just return," when Boreas gan his reign,
And every tree unclothed 'fast," as nature taught them plain :
In misty morning dark," as sheep are then in hold, ²
I hied me fast, it sat me ³ on," my sheep for to unfold.
And as it is a thing," that lovers have by fits,
Under a palm ⁴ I heard one cry" as he had lost his wits.
Whose voice did ring so shrill" in uttering of his plaint,
That I amazed was to hear" how love could him attain, ⁵
" Ah! wretched man," quoth he;" " come, death, and rid this woe;
" A just reward, a happy end," if it may chance thee so.
" Thy pleasures past have wrought" thy woe without redress;
" If thou hadst never felt no joy," thy smart had been the less."
And reckless ^a of his life," he gan both sigh and groan :
A rueful thing methought it was," to hear him make such moan.
" Thou cursed pen," said he," " woe-worth the bird thee bare;
" The man, the knife, and all that made" thee, woe be to their share :
" Woe-worth the time and place" where I so could indite;
" And woe be it yet once again," the pen that so can write.
" Unhappy hand! it had" been happy time for me,
" If when to write thou learned first, unjointed hadst thou be." ⁶
Thus cursed he himself," and every other wight, ^b
Save her alone whom love him bound" to serve both day and night.
Which when I heard, and saw" how he himself for-did ;⁷
Against the ground with bloody strokes," himself even there to rid ;

^a Careless.^b Person.

Had been my heart of flint," it must have melted tho';
For in my life I never saw" a man so full of woe.

With tears for his redress," I rashly^c to him ran,^s
And in my arms I caught him fast," and thus I spake him than.

"What woeful wight^d art thou," that in such heavy case
"Torments thyself with such despite," here in this desart place?"

Wherewith as all aghast," fulfilled with ire and dread,
He cast on me a staring look," with colour pale and dead:

"Nay, what art thou," quoth he," "that in this heavy plight
"Dost find me here, most woeful wretch," that life hath in despite?"²

"I am," quoth I, "but poor," and simple in degree;
"A shepherd's charge I have in hand," unworthy though I be."

With that he gave a sigh," as though the sky should fall,"
And loud, alas! he shrieked oft," and, "Shepherd," gan he call,

"Come, hie thee fast at once," and print it in thy heart,
"So thou shalt know, and I shall tell" thee, guiltless how I smart."

His back against the tree" sore feeble all with faint,
With weary sprite he stretcht him up," and thus he told his plaint.

"Once in my heart," quoth he," "it chanced me to love
"Such one, in whom hath Nature wrought," her cunning for to prove."¹²

"And sure I cannot say," but many years were spent,
"With such good will so recompens'd," as both we were content.

"Whereto then I me bound," and she likewise also,
"The sun should run his course awry," ere we this faith forego."¹³

"Who joyed then but I?" who had this worldès bliss?
"Who might compare a life to mine," that never thought on this?

"But dwelling in this truth," amid my greatest joy,
"Is me befallen a greater loss" than Priam had of Troy."¹⁴

"She is reversed clean," and beareth me in hand"¹⁵
"That my deserts have given her cause" to break this faithful band:

^c Quickly.^d Person.

“And for my just excuse” availeth no defence.
“Now knowest thou all; I can no more;” but, Shepherd, hie thee hence,
“And give him leave to die,” that may no longer live:
“Whose record, lo! I claim to “have,” my death I do forgive.
“And eke when I am gone,” be bold to speak it plain,
“Thou hast seen die the truest man,” that ever love did pain.”
Wherewith he turned him round,” and gasping oft for breath,
Into his arms a tree he raught,” and said; “Welcome my death!
“Welcome a thousand fold,” now dearer unto me
“Than should, without her love to live,” an emperor to be.”
Thus in this woeful state” he yielded up the ghost;
And little knoweth his lady,” what a lover she hath lost.
Whose death when I beheld,” no marvel was it, right
For pity though my heart did “bleed,” to see so piteous sight.
My blood from heat to cold” oft changed wonders sore;
A thousand troubles there I found” I never knew before.
“Tween dread and dolour so” my sprites were brought in fear,
That long it was ere I could call” to mind, what I did there.
But as each thing hath end,” so had these pains of mine:
The furies past, and I my wits” restor’d by length of time.¹⁸
Then as I could devise,” to seek I thought it best
Where I might find some worthy place” for such a corpse to rest.
And in my mind it came,” from thence not far away,
Where Cressid’s love, king Priam’s son,” the worthy Troilus lay.¹⁹
By him I made his tomb,” in token he was true;
And as to him belonged well,” I covered it with blue.²⁰
Whose soul by angels’ power” departed not so soon,
But to the heavens, lo! it fled,” for to receive his doom.²¹

*He excuses himself of any intention to change ; telling the Fair
Geraldine that had he even a wish, he had not
the power to forsake her.*

THOUGH I regarded not
The promise made by me ;
Or passed not to spot
My faith and honesty :
Yet were my fancy strange,
And wilful will to wite,^a
If I sought now to change
A falcon for a kite.^a

All men might well dispraise
My wit and enterprise,
If I esteemed a pese²
Above a pearl in price :
Or judged the owl in sight
The sparrowhawk to excel ;
Which flieth but in the night,
As all men know right well.

Or if I sought to sail
Into the brittle port,
Where anchor hold doth fail
To such as do resort ;³
And leave the haven sure,
Where blows no blustering wind ;
Nor fickleness in ure,^{b 4}
So far-forth as I find.

^a To understand.

^b Practise.

No! think me not so light,
 Nor of so churlish^c kind,
 (Though it lay in my might
 My bondage to unbind)
 That I would leave the hind
 To hunt the gander's foe.^s
 No! no! I have no mind
 To make exchanges so.
 Nor yet to change at all——
 For think, it may not be
 That I should seek to fall
 From my felicity.
 Desirous for to win,
 And loth for to forego;
 Yet, new change to begin——⁶
 How may all this be so?
 The fire it cannot freeze,
 For it is not his kind;
 Nor true love cannot lese^d
 The constance of the mind.⁷
 Yet as soon shall the fire
 Want heat to blaze and burn;
 As I, in such desire,
 Have once a thought to turn.

^c Low-born.^d Lose.

*Rejected by his obdurate Mistress, Surrey, on revisiting the place
where once he had enjoyed her favour, bewails his
present state, comparing it with the past, and
complains of the deceitfulness of Love.*

O LOATHSOME place! where I
Have seen, and heard my dear;
When in my heart her eye
Hath made her thought appear,^a

By glynsing^a with such grace,²—

But^b fortune it ne would

That lasten any space,

Between us longer should.

As fortune did advance

To further my desire;

Even so hath fortune's chance

Thrown all amidst the mire.

And that I have deserved,

With true and faithful heart;

Is to his hands reserved,

That never felt the smart.

But happy is that man

That scaped hath the grief,

That love well teach him can,

By wanting his relief.³

A scourge to quiet minds

It is, who taketh heed;

A common plague that binds;⁴

A travail without meed.

^a Casting a glimpse,

^b Printed ed. *As*.

This gift it hath also :

Whoso enjoys it most,
A thousand troubles grow,
To vex his wearied ghost.
And last it may not long ;

The truest thing of all :
And sure the greatest wrong,
That is within this thrall.

But since thou, desert place,
Canst give me no account
Of my desired grace,
That I to have was wont ;
Farewell ! thou hast me taught,
To think me not the first
That love hath set aloft,
And casten in the dust.

To obliterate all traces of his former tenderness for the Fair Geraldine, Surrey retires to Boulogne : yet even there, in spite of reason, he still dwells with fondness on the recollection of the past.

THE fancy,¹ which that I have served long ;
That hath alway been en'my to mine ease ;
Seemed of late to rue upon my wrong,
And bade me fly the cause of my misease.

And I forthwith did press out of the throng,
 That thought by flight my painful heart to please
 Some other way, till I saw faith more strong;²
 And to myself I said; "Alas! those days
 "In vain were spent, to run the race so long."
 And with that thought I met my guide,³ that plain,
 Out of the way wherein I wander'd wrong,
 Brought me amidst the hills in base Bullayne:⁴
 Where I am now, as restless to remain;
 Against my will full pleased with my pain.

*Comparing the three Ages of Life, Surrey finds that each is alike
 subject to Sorrow, but concludes that Childhood
 is the happiest.*

Laid in my quiet bed," in study as I were,
 I saw within my troubled head" a heap of thoughts appear.
 And every thought did shew" so lively in mine eyes,
 That now I sigh'd,¹ and then I smil'd," as cause of thought did rise.
 I saw the little boy" in thought how oft that he
 Did wish of God to scape the rod," a tall young man to be.
 The young man eke that feels" his bones with pains opprest,
 How he would be a rich old man," to live and lie at rest.
 The rich old man that sees" his end draw on so sore,
 How he would be a boy again," to live so much the more.
 Whereat full oft I smil'd," to see how all these three,
 From boy to man, from man to boy," would chop and change degree.
 And musing thus I think,² the case is very strange,
 That man from wealth, to live in woe," doth ever seek to change.

Thus thoughtful as I lay," I saw my wither'd skin,
How it doth shew my dented chews,³ " the flesh was worn so thin.

And eke my toothless chaps," the gates of my right way
That opes and shuts as I do speak,⁴ " do thus unto me say.

"Thy white and hoarish hairs," the messengers of age,⁵
"That shew, like lines of true belief," that this life doth assuage;
"Bid thee lay hand, and feel" them hanging on thy chin;
"The which do write two ages past," the third now coming in.⁶

"Hang up therefore the bit" of thy young wanton time:
"And thou that therein beaten art," the happiest life define."

Whereat I sigh'd, and said;" "Farewell! my wonted joy;
"Truss up thy pack,⁷ and trudge from me" to every little boy;
"And tell them thus from me;" their time most happy is,
"If, to their time, they reason had," to know the truth of this."

*Of the golden mean, and the danger and the inconvenience of a
too abject, or a too elevated station.*

OF thy life, Thomas, this compass well mark:

Not aye with full sails the high seas to beat;

Ne by coward dread, in shunning storms dark,

On shallow shores thy keel in peril freat.^a

Whoso gladly^b enhalseth² the golden mean,

Void of dangers advisedly hath his home;

Not with loathsome muck as a den unclean,

Nor palace like, whereat disdain may^c glome.³

^a Consume, impair.

^b Embraceth.

^c Look at scornfully.

The lofty pine the great wind often rives;
 With violenter sway fall turrets steep;^a
 Lightnings assault the high mountains and clives.^a
 A heart well stay'd, in overthwartè^b deep^b

Hopeth amends; in sweet, doth fear the sour.

God that sendeth, withdraweth winter sharp.⁶
 Now ill, not aye thus: once Phœbus to low'r,
 Bow unbent, shall cease; and voice frame to harp.⁷

In strait estate appear thou hardy and stout.
 And so wisely, when lucky gale of wind
 All thy puft sails shall fill, look well about;
 Take in a reef: haste is waste, proof doth find.

Of the happy life and of the means to attain it.

MARTIAL, the things that do attain
 The happy life, be these, I find:
 The riches left, not got with pain;¹
 The fruitful ground, the quiet mind:

The equal friend, no grudge, no strife;
 No charge of rule, nor governance;
 Without disease, the healthful life;
 The household of continuance:²

The mean diet, no delicate fare;
 True wisdom join'd with simpleness;
 The night discharged of all care,
 Where wine the wit may not oppress:

^a Steep cliffs.

^b Adverse fortunes.

The faithful wife, without debate;
 Such sleeps as may beguile the night.
 Content thee with thine own estate;
 Ne wish for Death, ne fear his might.³

A reproof of effeminate indulgence and luxurious living in the dishonourable life and miserable death of Sardanapalus.

TH' Assyrian king, in peace, with foul desire
 And filthy lusts that stain'd his regal heart;
 In war, that should set princely hearts on fire,
 Did yield, vanquisht for want of martial art.
 The dint of swords from kisses seemed strange;
 And harder than his lady's side, his ^a targe:¹
 From glutton feasts to soldier's fare, a change;
 His helmet, far above a garland's charge:²
 Who scarce the name of manhood did retain,
 Drenched ^b in sloth and womanish delight:
 Feeble of spirit, impatient of pain,
 When he had lost his honour, and his right,
 (Proud time of wealth, in storms appalled with dread,)³
 Murder'd himself, to shew some manful deed.

*Of the Seven Penitential Psalms by Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder,
 with a lofty commendation of their excellence.*

THE great Macedon,¹ that out of Persia chased
 Darius,² of whose huge power all Asia rung;
 In the rich ark Dan³ Homer's rhymes he placed,
 Who feigned ^cgests of heathen princes sung.

^a Shield.

^b Drowned.

^c Heroic actions.

What holy grave, what worthy sepulture,⁴
 To Wyatt's Psalms should Christians then purchase?
 Where he doth paint the lively faith, and pure,⁵
 The stedfast hope, the sweet return to grace,
 Of just David, by perfect penitence;
 Where Rulers may see in a mirror clear,⁶
 The bitter fruit of false concupiscence;
 How Jewry bought Urias' death full dear.
 In Princes' hearts God's scourge y-printed deep,
 Ought them awake out of their sinful sleep.⁷

An Epitaph on Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder.

WYATT resteth here, that quick could never rest:
 Whose heavenly gifts increased by disdain;
 And virtue sank the deeper in his breast:
 Such profit he of envy could obtain.¹
 A head, where wisdom mysteries did frame;
 Whose hammers beat still in that lively brain,
 As on a ^a stithy,² where some work of fame
 Was daily wrought, to turn to Britain's gain.
 A visage stern, and mild; where both did grow
 Vice to contemn; in virtue to rejoice:³
 Amid great storms, whom grace assured so,
 To live upright, and smile at fortune's choice.
 A hand, that taught what might be said in rhyme;
 That reft Chaucer the glory of his wit.
 A mark, the which (unperfected for time)
 Some may approach, but never none shall hit.⁴

^a Forge, or anvil.

A tongue, that serv'd in foreign realms his king;
 Whose courteous talk to virtue did inflame
 Each noble heart; a worthy guide to bring
 Our English youth, by travail unto fame.

An eye, whose judgment no^a effect could blind;⁵
 Friends to allure, and foes to reconcile;
 Whose piercing look did represent a mind
 With virtue fraught, reposed,⁶ void of guile.

A heart, where dread was never so imprest
 To hide the thought that might the truth advance;
 In neither fortune loft, nor yet repress,⁷
 To swell in wealth, or yield unto mischance.

A valiant corpse, where force and beauty met:
 Happy, alas! too happy, but for foes,
 Lived, and ran the race, that nature set;⁸
 Of manhood's shape, where she the mould did lose.⁹

But to the heavens that simple soul is fled,
 Which left, with such as covet Christ to know,¹⁰
 Witness of faith, that never shall be dead;¹¹
 Sent for our health, but not received so.¹²

Thus for our guilt, this jewel have we lost;
 The earth his bones, the heavens possess his ghost.

*Of the feigned grief which some expressed at the death of
 Sir T. Wyatt compared with Surrey's deep
 and reverential sorrow.*

DIVERS thy death do diversely bemoan:¹
 Some, that in presence of thy livelihood²
 Lurked, whose breasts envy with hate had swoln,
 Yield Cæsar's tears upon Pompeius' head.³

^a Passion.

Some, that watched with the murd'rer's knife,^a
 With eager thirst to drink thy guiltless blood,
 Whose practice brake by happy end of life,
 Weep envious tears to hear thy fame so good.
 But I, that knew what harbour'd in that head;
 What virtues rare were tempered in that breast;
 Honour the place that such a jewel bred,
 And kiss the ground whereas thy corpse doth rest;^b
 With vapour'd eyes: from whence such streams^a availe,^c
 As Pyramus did on Thisbe's breast bewail.

*That Wyatt's memory ought to be revered, as that of one who
 had benefitted and improved mankind.*

In the rude age, when knowledge was not rife,^b
 If Jove in Crete, and other were that taught
 Arts, to convert to profit of our life,
 Wend^c after death to have their temples sought:^d
 If, Virtue yet no void unthankful time
 Failed of some to blast her endless fame;²
 (A goodly mean both to deter from crime,
 And to her steps our sequel to inflame)³
 In days of truth let Wyatt's friends then wail⁴
 (The only debt that dead of quick may claim)
 That rare wit spent, employ'd to our avail,
 Where Christ is taught, we led to Virtue's train.⁵
 His lively face their breasts how did it freat,^d
 Whose cinders yet with envy they do eat.⁶

^a Fall down.^b Common.^c Thought.^d Corrode.

An Epitaph on Clere, Surrey's faithful friend and follower.

NORFOLK sprung thee, Lambeth holds thee dead;
 Clere, of the County of De Cleremont, ^a hight ¹
 Within the womb of Ormond's race thou'rt bred, ²
 And saw'st thy cousin crowned in thy sight.
 Shelton for love, Surrey for lord thou ^b chase; ³
 (Aye, me! while life did last that league was tender)
 Tracing whose steps thou sawest Kelsal blaze,
 Landrecy burnt, and batter'd Boulogne render. ⁴
 At Montreuil gates, ⁵ hopeless of all recure,
 Thine Earl, half dead, gave in thy hand his will;
 Which cause did thee this pining death procure, ⁶
 Ere summers four times seven thou couldst fulfil.
 Ah! Clere! if love had booted, care, or cost,
 Heaven had not won, nor earth so timely lost.

*A prisoner in Windsor Castle, Surrey feels his grief for the death
 of Richmond renewed, and calls to mind the pleasure
 which he there once enjoyed with the
 friend of his youth.*

So cruel prison how could betide, alas!
 As proud Windsor? where I in lust and joy,
 With a King's son, my childish ^a years did pass,
 In greater feast than Priam's sons of Troy.

^a Called.

^b Didst choose.

Where each sweet place returns a taste full sour.
 The large green courts, where we were wont to hove,²
 With eyes cast up unto the Maiden's tower,³
 And easy sighs, such as folk draw in love.⁴
 The stately seats, the ladies bright of hue,
 The dances short, long tales of great delight;
 With words, and looks, that tigers could but rue,⁵
 Where each of us did plead the other's right.
 The palme-play,⁶ where,⁷ despoiled for the game,⁸
 With dazed eyes oft we by gleams of love,
 Have miss'd the ball, and got sight of our dame,
 To bait her eyes,⁹ which kept the leads above.¹⁰
 The gravel'd ground, with sleeves tied on the helm,¹¹
 On foaming horse with swords and friendly hearts;¹²
 With chere, as though one should another whelm,¹³
 Where we have fought, and chased oft with darts.¹⁴
 With silver drops the meads yet spread for ruth;
 In active games of nimbleness and strength,
 Where we did strain, trained with swarms of youth,
 Our tender limbs, that yet shot up in length,¹⁵
 The secret groves,¹⁶ which oft we made resound
 Of pleasant plaint, and of our ladies' praise;
 Recording soft what grace each one had found,
 What hope of speed, what dread of long delays.
 The wild forest, the clothed holts with green;¹⁷
 With reins availed,¹⁸ and swift y-breathed horse,
 With cry of hounds, and merry blasts between,
 Where we did chase the fearful hart of force.¹⁹
 The void walls eke that harbour'd us each night:²⁰
 Wherewith, alas! revive within my breast

The sweet accord, such sleeps as yet delight ;¹⁹
 The pleasant dreams, the quiet bed of rest ;
 The secret thoughts, imparted with such trust ;
 The wanton talk,²⁰ the divers change of play ;²¹
 The friendship sworn, each promise kept so just,
 Wherewith we past the winter nights away.
 And with this thought the blood forsakes the face ;
 The tears berain^a my cheeks of deadly hue ;
 The which, as soon as sobbing sighs, alas !
 Up-supped have,²² thus I my plaint renew :
 " O place of bliss !²³ renewer of my woes !
 " Give me account, where is my noble fere ?^b
 " Whom in thy walls thou did'st each night enclose ;
 " To other^c lief ;²⁴ but unto me most dear."
 Echo, alas !²⁵ that doth my sorrow rue,
 Returns thereto a hollow sound of plaint.
 Thus I alone, where all my freedom grew,
 In prison pine, with bondage and restraint :
 And with remembrance of the greater grief,
 To banish the less, I find my chief relief.²⁶

*That every object he contemplated at Windsor reminding him of
 his past happiness, increased his present sorrow.*

WHEN Windsor walls sustain'd my wearied arm ;
 My hand my chin, to ease my restless head ;
 The pleasant plot revested^d green with warm ;
 The blossom'd boughs, with lusty Ver^e y-spread ;²⁷

^a Bedew, as with rain,^b Companion.^c Endear'd.^d Cloathed again.^e Spring.

The flower'd meads, the wedded birds so late
 Mine eyes discover; and to my mind resort³
 The jolly woes,⁴ the hateless, short debate,⁵
 The rakehell^a life that 'longs to love's disport.⁶
 Wherewith, alas! the heavy charge of care
 Heap'd in my breast, breaks forth against my will⁷
 In smoky sighs that overcast the air.⁸
 My vapour'd eyes such dreary tears distil,⁹
 The tender green they quicken, where they fall;¹⁰
 And I half bend to throw me down withal.¹¹

He exhorts his friend to profit by the affliction of others.

My Ratclif, when thy rechless^b youth offends,
 Receive thy scourge by others' chastisement;¹
 For such calling, when it works none amends,
 Then plagues are sent without advertisement.
 Yet Solomon said, the wronged shall recure:²
 But Wyatt said true; "The scar doth aye endure."³

*Surrey consoles himself for past misfortunes, as they afforded
 an exercise for virtue.*

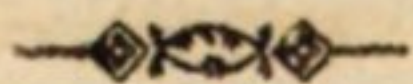
BONUM EST MIHI QUOD HUMILIASTI ME.

THE storms are past; the clouds are overblown;
 And humble chere great rigour hath repress.
 For the default is set a pain foreknown;
 And patience graft in a determed breast.¹

^a Careless.

^b Careless.

And in the heart, where heaps of griefs were grown,
 The sweet revenge hath planted mirth and rest.
 No company so pleasant as mine own.²
 [Who lives in privacy, is only blest]
 Thralldom at large, hath made this prison free.
 Danger well past, remembered, works delight.
 Of ling'ring doubts such hope is sprung, pardie!
 That nought I find displeasing in my sight,
 But when my glass presenteth unto me³
 The cureless wound, that bleedeth day and night.⁴
 To think, alas! such hap should granted be
 Unto a wretch, that hath no heart to fight
 To spill that blood, that hath so oft been shed,⁵
 For Britain's sake, alas! and now is dead!



Surely consoles himself for past misfortunes, as they afforded

an exercise for virtue.

BONUM EST MHI QUOD HUMILIASTI ME.

The storms are past; the clouds are overblown;

And humble chere great rigour hath represt:

For the default is set a pain foreknown;

And patience graft in a determined breast.

A SATIRE AGAINST THE CITIZENS OF LONDON.

LONDON! hast thou accused me
 Of breach of laws? the root of strife!^a
 Within whose breast did burn to see,
 So fervent hot, thy dissolute life;
 That even² the hate of sins, that grow
 Within thy wicked walls so rife,³
 For to break forth did covet^b so,
 That terror could it not repress.
 Therefore,³ (by words since preachers know
 What hope is left for to redress)
 By unknown means it liked me
 My hidden burthen to express.
 Whereby it might appear to thee
 That secret sin hath secret spite;
 (From justice' rod no fault is free)
 And^c that all such as work unright
 In most quiet, are next ill rest.
 In secret silence of the night
 This made me, with a reckless^d breast,
 To wake thy sluggards with my bow:
 A figure of the Lord's^e behest;⁴
 Whose scourge for sin, the Scriptures shew.
 That as the fearful thunder clap
 By sudden flame at hand we know;
 Of pebble stones the soundless rap,⁵

^a Abundant.^b M.S. *Did convert.*^c M.S. *But.*^d Careless.^e Promise.

The dreadful plague might make thee see
 Of God's wrath, that doth thee enwrap.
 That Pride might know, from conscience free,^a
 How lofty works may her defend;
 [And learn, though now depress'd they be,⁶
 The just shape higher in the end:
 And Envy find, as he hath sought,
 How other seek him to offend:
 And idle Sloth, that never wrought,
 To heaven his spirit lift may begin:
 And Wrath taste of each cruel thought:⁷
 And greedy Lucre live in dread
 To see what hate ill got goods win:
 The Lechers, they^b that lusts do feed,
 Perceive what secrecy is in sin:
 [Ah! fools! to deem God's justice blind!]
 And Gluttons' hearts for sorrow bleed,
 Awaked, when their faults they find.

^a That pride might know, from conscience free,
 How lofty works may her defend;
 And envy find, as he hath sought,
 How other seek him to offend:
 And wrath taste of each cruel thought,
 The just shape higher in the end:
 And idle sloth, that never wrought,
 To heaven his spirit left may begin:
 And greedy lucre live in dread,
 To see what hate ill got goods win.
 The lechers, ye that lusts do feed,
 Perceive what secrecy is in sin:
 And gluttons' hearts for sorrow bleed,
 Awaked, when their fault they find,
 In loathsome vice each drunken wight,
 To stir to God this was my mind.

^b MS. Ye.

In loathsome vice each drunken wight
 To stir to God, this was my mind.
 Thy windows had done me no spight;
 But proud people that dread no fall,
 Clothed with falsehood, and unright^a
 Bred in the closures of thy wall.
 Wrested to wrath, my fervent zeal
 Thou hast; to strife, my secret call.
 Indured^a hearts now arning feel.⁹
 O! shameless whore! is dread then gone?
 Be such thy foes, as meant thy weal?
 O! member of false Babylon!¹⁰
 The shop of craft! the den of ire!
 Thy dreadful doom draws fast thee on.¹¹
 Thy martyr's blood by sword and fire,
 In heaven and earth for justice call.
 The Lord shall hear their just desire!
 The flame of wrath shall on thee fall!¹²
 With famine and pest^b lamentably
 Stricken shall be thy lechers all.
 Thy proud towers, and turrets high
 En'mies to God, beat stone from stone:
 Thine idols burnt that wrought iniquity:¹³
 When, none thy ruin shall bemoan;¹⁴
 But render unto the Righteous Lord,
 That so hath judged Babylon,
 Immortal praise with one accord.

^a Hardned.^b Plague.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE RESTLESS STATE OF THE LOVER
WHEN ABSENT FROM THE MISTRESS OF HIS HEART.

THE SUN, when he hath spread his rays,
And shew'd his face ten thousand ways;
Ten thousand things do then begin,
To shew the life that they are in.¹
The heaven shews lively art and hue,
Of sundry shapes and colours new,
And laughs upon the earth; anon,²
The earth as cold as any stone,
Wet in the tears of her own kind,³
'Gins then to take a joyful mind.
For well she feels that out and out,
The sun doth warm her round about,
And dries her children tenderly;⁴
And shews them forth full orderly.
The mountains high, and how they stand!⁵
The vallies, and the great main land!
The trees, the herbs, the towers strong;
The castles, and the rivers long!
And even for joy thus of this heat
She sheweth forth her pleasures great,
And sleeps no more; but sendeth forth
Her ^aclergions,⁶ her own dear worth,⁷
To mount and fly up to the air;
Where then they sing in order fair,

^a Young brood.

And tell in song full merrily,
 How they have slept full quietly^a
 That night, about their mother's sides.
 And when they have sung more besides,
 Then fall they to their mother's breast,
 Where-as^a they feed,^o or take their rest.
 The hunter then sounds out his horn,
 And rangeth straight through wood and corn.
 On hills then shew the ewe and lamb,
 And every young one with his dam.
 Then lovers walk and tell their tale,
 Both of their bliss, and of their bale;^b
 And how they serve, and how they do,
 And how their lady loves them too.
 Then tune the birds their harmony;
 Then flock the fowl in company;
 Then every thing doth pleasure find
 In that, that comforts all their kind.
 No dreams do drench^c them¹⁰ of the night
 Of foes, that would them slay, or bite,
 As hounds, to hunt them at the tail;
 Or men force¹¹ them through hill and dale.
 The sheep then dreams not of the wolf:
 The shipman forces^d not¹² the gulph;
 The lamb thinks not the butcher's knife
 Should then bereave him of his life:
 For when the sun doth once run in,¹³
 Then all their gladness doth begin;
 And then their skips, and then their play:¹⁴
 So falls their sadness then away.

^a Where, printed ed. *whereelse*.^b Sorrow.^c Drown, overwhelm.^d Regards not.

And thus all things have comforting
 In that, that doth them comfort bring;
 Save I, alas! whom neither sun,¹⁵
 Nor aught that God hath wrought and done
 May comfort aught; as though I were
 A thing not made for comfort here.
 For being absent from your sight,
 Which are my joy and whole delight,
 My comfort, and my pleasure too,
 How can I joy! how should I do?
 May sick men laugh, that roar for pain?
 Joy they in song, that do complain?
 Are martyrs in their torments glad?
 Do pleasures please them that are sad?¹⁶
 Then how may I in comfort be,
 That lack the thing should comfort me?¹⁷
 The blind man, he^a that lacks his sight,
 Complains not most the lack of light;
 But those that knew their perfectness,¹⁸
 And then do miss their blissfulness,
 In martyr's tunes they sing, and wail
 The want of that, which doth them fail.

And hereof comes that in my brains
 So many fancies work my pains.
 For when I weigh your worthiness,¹⁹
 Your wisdom, and your gentleness,
 Your virtues and your sundry grace,
 And mind the countenance of your face;
 And how that you are she alone,
 To whom I must both plain and moan;

Whom I do love, and must do still;
 Whom I profess,^a and aye so will
 To serve and please eke as I can,
 As may a woeful faithful man;
 And find myself so far you fro,
 God knows, what torment and what woe,
 My rueful heart doth then embrace;
 The blood then changeth in my face;
 My sinews dull, in dumps^b I stand,²¹
 No life I feel in foot nor hand,
 As pale as any clout,²² and dead.
 Lo! suddenly the blood o'erspread,
 And gone again, it nill so bide;²³
 And thus from life, to death I slide,
 As cold sometimes as any stone;
 And then again as hot anon.

Thus come and go my sundry fits,²⁴
 To give me sundry sorts of wits;
 Till that a sigh becomes my friend,
 And then too all this woe doth end.
 And sure, I think, that sigh doth run
 From me to you, whereas you^c won.
 For well I find it easeth me;
 And certès much it pleaseth me,
 To think that it doth come to you,
 As, would to God, it could so do.
 For then I know you would soon find,
 By scent and savour of the wind,
 That even a martyr's sigh it is,²⁵
 Whose joy you are, and all his bliss;

^a Printed ed. *embrace*.^b Overpowered with sorrow.^c Dwell; reside.

His comfort and his pleasure eke,
 And even the same that he doth seek;
 The same that he doth wish and crave;
 The same that he doth trust to have;
 To tender you in all he may,
 And all your likings to obey,
 As far as in his power shall lie;
 Till death shall dart him, for to die.

But, well-away! mine own most best,
 My joy, my comfort, and my rest;
 The causer of my woe and smart,
 And yet the pleaser of my heart;
 And she that on the earth above,
 Is even the worthiest for to love,
 Hear now my plaint! hear now my woe!
 Hear now his pain that loves you so!
 And if your heart do pity bear,
 Pity the case^a that you shall hear.

A doleful foe in all this doubt,
 Who leaves me not, but seeks me out,
 Of wretched form and loathsome face,
 While I stand in this woful case,
 Comes forth, and takes me by the hand,
 And says; "Friend, hark! and understand;
 "I see well by thy port and chere,
 "And by thy looks and thy manere;²⁶
 "And by thy sadness as thou goest;
 "And by the sighs that thou out throwest,
 "That thou art stuffed full of woe.²⁷
 "The cause, I think, I do well know.

^a Printed ed. *cause*.

" A fantaser²⁸ thou art of some,
 " By whom thy wits are overcome.
 " But hast thou read old pamphlets aught?
 " Or hast thou known how books have taught
 " That love doth use to such as thou?
 " When they do think them safe enow,
 " And certain of their ladies grace,
 " Hast thou not seen oft-times the case,
 " That suddenly their hap hath turn'd?
 " As things in flame consum'd and burn'd.
 " Some by deceit forsaken right;
 " Some likewise changed of fancy light;
 " And some by absence soon forgot.
 " The lots in love, why knowest thou not?
 " And though that she be now thine own,
 " And knows thee well, as may be known;
 " And thinks thee to be such a one
 " As she likes best to be her own;
 " Think'st thou that others have not grace,
 " To shew and plain their woful case?
 " And choose her for their lady now;
 " And swear her truth as well as thou?
 " And what if she do alter mind,
 " Where is the love that thou would'st find?
 " Absence, my friend, works wonders oft;
 " Now brings full low that lay full loft;
 " Now turns the mind, now to, now fro':²⁹
 " And where art thou, if it were so?"
 " If absence," quoth I, " be marvellous,
 " I find her not so^a dangerous;³⁰

^a So powerful.

" For she may not remove me fro'.
 " The poor good will that I do owe
 " To her, whom erst^a I love, and shall;³¹
 " And chosen have above them all,
 " To serve and be her own as far,
 " As any man may offer her;
 " And will her serve, and will her love,
 " As^b lowly³² as it shall behove;
 " And die her own, if fate be so:
 " Thus shall my heart nay³³ part her fro'.
 " And witness shall my good will be,
 " That absence takes her not from me;
 " That my own love doth still increase³⁴
 " To mind her still, and never cease:
 " And what I feel to be in me,
 " The same good will, I think, hath she
 " As firm and fast to bidden aye,
 " Till death depart us both away."

And as I have my tale thus told,
 Steps unto me, with countenance bold
 A stedfast friend, a counsellor,
 That^c nam'd is Hope, my comforter;
 And stoutly then he speaks and says;
 " Thou hast said truth withouten nays;^d
 " For I assure thee, even by oath,
 " And thereon take my hand and troth,
 " That she is one the worthiest,
 " The truest, and the faithfullest;
 " The gentlest and the meekest of mind,
 " That here on earth a man may find:

^a Long since : printed ed. *uneath*.

^c Printed ed. *And*.

^b Printed ed. *And*.

^d Of a certainty.

“ And if that love and truth were gone,
“ In her it might be found alone.³⁵
“ For in her mind no thought there is,³⁶
“ But how she may be true, I^a wis;
“ And tenders thee, and all thy heal,^b
“ And wisheth both thy health and weal;
“ And loves thee even as far-forth than
“ As any woman may a man;
“ And is thine own, and so she says;
“ And cares for thee ten thousand ways.
“ On thee she speaks, on thee she thinks;
“ With thee she eats, with thee she drinks;
“ With thee she talks, with thee she moans;
“ With thee she sighs, with thee she groans;
“ With thee she says; ‘ Farewell mine own!’
“ When thou, God knows, full far art gone.
“ And even, to tell thee all aright,
“ To thee she says full oft; ‘ Good night!’
“ And names thee oft her own most dear,
“ Her comfort, weal, and all her cheer;
“ And tells her pillow all the tale
“ How thou hast done her woe and ‘bale;
“ And how she longs, and plains for thee,
“ And says: ‘ Why art thou so from me?’
“ Am I not she that loves thee best?
“ Do I not wish thine ease and rest?
“ Seek I not how I may thee please?
“ Why art thou then, so from thine ease?
“ If I be she for whom thou carest,
“ For whom in torments so thou farest,

^a I know : am fully satisfied.^b Prosperity.^c Suffering.

' Alas! thou knowest to find me here,
 ' Where I remain thine own most dear;
 ' Thine own most true, thine own most just;³⁶
 ' Thine own that loves thee still, and must;
 ' Thine own that cares alone for thee,
 ' As thou, I think, dost care me;
 ' And even the woman, she alone
 ' That is full bent to be thine own.'

" What wilt thou more? what canst thou crave?

" Since she is as thou wouldst her have.
 " Then set this drivell out of door,
 " That in thy brains such tales doth pour,
 " Of absence, and of changes strange;
 " Send him to those that use to change:
 " For she is none I thee avow,

" And well thou mayst believe me now."

When Hope hath thus his reason said,³⁷
 Lord! how I feel me well ^k a-paid!³⁸
 A new blood then o'erspreads my bones,
 That all in joy I stand at ones.
 My hands I throw to heav'n above,
 And humbly thank the God of Love;
 That of his grace I should bestow
 My love so well, as I it owe.
 And all the planets as they stand,³⁹
 I thank them too with heart and hand;
 That their aspects so friendly were,⁴⁰
 That I should so my good will bear;
 To you, that are the worthiest,
 The fairest, and the gentleëst;

^k Well requited.

That^a best can say, and best can do
 That 'longs, methinks, a woman to;
 And therefore are most worthy far,
 To be beloved as you are.
 And so says Hope in all his tale,
 Whereby he easeth all my bale.^b
 For I believe, and think it true
 That he doth speak or say of you.
 And thus contented, lo! I stand
 With that, that hope bears me in hand,^c
 That you are mine, and shall so be.
 Which hope I keep full sure in me,
 As 'that,^d that all my comfort is.
 On you alone, which are my bliss,
 My pleasure chief, which here^d I find,⁴¹
 And e'en the whole joy of my mind
 [My wealth doth ever whole depend.
 You are my guide, my stay, my friend,]
 And shall so be, until the death⁴⁴
 Shall make me yield up life and breath.
 Thus, good mine own, lo! here my trust;
 Lo! here my truth, and service just;
 Lo! in what case for you I stand!
 Lo! how you have me in your hand;
 And if you can requite a man,
 Requite me, as you find me than.

^a Printed ed. *And*.^b Suffering.^c Printed ed. *he*.^d Printed ed. *most*.

A PARAPHRASE OF PART OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

CHAPTER I.

I, SOLOMON, David's son,"¹ King of Jerusalem,
Chosen by God to teach the Jews," and in his laws lead them,²
Confess, under the Sun" that every thing is vain;
The world is false; man he is frail," and all his pleasures pain.
Alas! what stable fruit" may Adam's children find
In that, they seek by sweat of brows" and travail of their mind.³
We that live on the earth," draw toward our decay;
Our children fill our place awhile," and then they vade away.
Such changes make the earth," and doth remove for none;⁴
But serves us for a place to play" our tragedies upon.
When that the restless sun" westward his course hath run,
Towards the east he hastes as fast" to rise where he begun.⁵
When hoary Boreas" hath blown his frozen blast,
Then Zephyrus with his gentle breath," dissolves the ice as fast.
Floods that drink up small brooks," and swell by rage of rain,⁶
Discharge in seas; which them repulse," and swallow straight again.
These worldly pleasures, Lord!" so swift they run their race,
That scarce our eyes may them discern;" they bide so little space.
What hath been but is now;" the like hereafter shall.
What new device grounded so sure," that dreadeth not the fall!
What may be called new," but such things in times past
As Time buried, and doth revive;" and Time again shall waste.

Things past right worthy fame," have now no bruit at all;
 Even so shall die such things as now" the simple wonders call.
 I, that in David's seat" sit crowned and rejoice;
 That with my sceptre rule the Jews," and teach them with my voice,
 Have searched long to know" all things under the sun;
 To see how in this mortal life," a surety might be won.
 This kindled will to know;" strange things for to desire.
 God hath graft in our greedy breasts" a torment for our hire.
 The end of each travail" forthwith I sought to know;
 I found them vain, mixed with gall," and burthen'd with much woe.
 Defaults of nature's work" no man's hand may restore,
 Which be in number like the sands" upon the salt floods shore.
 Then vaunting in my wit," I gan call to my mind
 What rules of wisdom I had taught," that elders could not find.
 And, as by contraries" to try most things we use,
 Men's follies, and their errors eke" I gan them all peruse;
 Thereby with more delight" to knowledge for to climb:
 But this I found an endless work" of pain, and loss of time.
 For he to wisdom's school" that doth apply his mind,
 The further that he wades therein," the greater doubts shall find.
 And such as enterprise" to put new things in ure,
 Of some that shall scorn their device," may well themselves assure.

CHAPTER II.

From pensive fancies then," I gan my heart revoke;
 And gave me to such sporting plays" as laughter might provoke.
 But even such vain delights," when they most blinded me,
 Always, methought, with smiling grace" a king did ill agree.

Then sought I how to please¹ my belly with much wine,
 To feed me fat with costly feasts² of rare delights, and fine;
 And other pleasures eke³ to purchase me, with rest:
 In so great choice to find the thing⁴ that might content me best.⁵
 But, Lord! what care of mind,⁶ what sudden storms of ire,
 What broken sleeps endured I,⁷ to compass my desire.
 To build me houses fair⁸ then set I all my cure:⁹
 By princely acts thus strove I still¹⁰ to make my fame endure.
 Delicious gardens eke¹¹ I made to please my sight;
 And graft therein all kinds of fruits¹² that might my mouth delight.
 By conduits, lively springs¹³ from their old course I drew,¹⁴
 For to refresh the fruitful trees¹⁵ that in my gardens grew.
 Of cattle great increase¹⁶ I bred in little space;
 Bondmen I bought; I gave them wives,¹⁷ and serv'd me with their race.
 Great heaps of shining gold¹⁸ by sparing gan I save;
 With things of price so furnished¹⁹ as fits a prince to have.
 To hear fair women sing²⁰ sometime I did rejoice;
 Ravished with their pleasant tunes,²¹ and sweetness of their voice.
 Lemans²² I had, so fair²³ and of so lively hue,
 That whoso gazed in their face²⁴ might well their beauty rue.²⁵
 Never erst sat there king²⁶ so rich, in David's seat;
 Yet still, methought, for so small gain²⁷ the travail was too great.
 From my desirous eyes²⁸ I hid no pleasant sight,
 Nor from my heart no kind of mirth²⁹ that might give men delight.³⁰
 To feed my eyes, and to³¹ rejoice with all my gain
 My heart, this was the only fruit³² I reap'd of all my pain.³³
 But when I made my count,³⁴ with how great care of mind
 And hearts unrest, thus I had sought³⁵ so wasteful fruit to find;³⁶
 Then was I stricken straight³⁷ with that abused fire,³⁸
 To glory in that goodly wit³⁹ that compass'd my desire.⁴⁰

But fresh before mine eyes" grace did my faults renew :
What gentle callings I had fled," my ruin to pursue ;
What raging pleasures past," peril and hard escape ;
What fancies in my head had wrought" the liquor of the grape."
The error then I saw" that their frail hearts doth move,
Which strive in vain for to compare" with Him that sits above :
In whose most perfect works" such craft appeareth plain,
That to the least of them, there may" no mortal hand attain.
And like as lightsome day" doth shine above the night,
So dark to me did folly seem," and wisdom's beams as bright,
Whose eyes did seem so clear"¹³ mores to discern and find :
But Will had closed Folly's eyes," which groped like the blind.
Yet death and time consume" all wit and worldly fame ;
And look! what end that folly hath," and wisdom hath the same.
Then said I thus : " Oh, Lord!" may not thy wisdom cure
" The wailful wrongs and hard conflicts" that folly doth endure?
To sharp my wit so fine" then why took I this pain?
Now find I well this noble search" may eke be called vain.
As slander's loathsome bruit" sounds folly's just reward,
Is put to silence all betime," and brought in small regard : "¹⁴
Even so doth time devour" the noble blast of fame,
Which should resound their glories great" that do deserve the same.
Thus present changes chase" away the wonders past,
Ne is the wise man's fatal thread" yet longer spun to last.
Then in this wretched vale," our life I loathed plain,
When I beheld our fruitless pains" to compass pleasures vain.
My travail this avail" hath me produced, lo!
An heir unknown "¹⁵ shall reap the fruit" that I in seed did sow.
But whereunto the Lord" his nature shall incline
Who can foreknow ; or to whose hands" I must my goods resign.

But, Lord, how pleasant sweet" then seem'd the idle life,
That never charged was with care," nor burthened with strife.

And vile the greedy trade" of them that toil so sore,
To leave to such their travails fruit" that never sweat therefore.

What is that pleasant gain?" what is that sweet relief?
That should delay the bitter taste" that we feel of our grief?

The gladsome days we pass" to search a simple gain;
The quiet nights, with broken sleeps," to feed a restless brain.

What hope is left us then?" What comfort doth remain?
Our quiet hearts for to rejoice" with the fruit of our pain.

If that be true, who may" himself so happy call
As I, whose free and sumptuous 'spence" doth shine beyond them all?

Surely it is a gift" and favour of the Lord,
Liberally to spend our goods," the ground of all discord.

And wretched hearts have they" that let their treasures mould,
And carry the rod that scourgeth them" that glory in their gold.

But I do know, by proof," whose riches bear such bruit,
What stable wealth may stand in waste," or heaping of such fruit."

CHAPTER III.

LIKE to the steerless boat" that swerves with every wind,
The slipper top of worldly wealth," by cruel proof I find."

Scarce hath the seed (whereof" that nature formeth man)
Received life, when death him yields" to earth where he began!

The grafted plants with pain," whereof we hoped fruit,
To root them up, with blossoms spread," then is our chief pursuit.

That erst we reared up," we undermine again;
And shred the sprays whose growth sometime" we laboured with pain.

Each froward threat'ning chere["] of fortune makes us plain;
And every pleasant show revives["] our woeful hearts again.

Ancient walls to rase["] is our unstable guise;
And of their weather-beaten stones,["] to build some new device.

New fancies daily spring,["] which ^avade³ returning tho';
And now we practise to obtain["] that straight we must forego.

Some time we seek to spare["] that afterward we waste;
And that we travaill sore to knit,["] for to unloose as fast.

In sober silence now["] our quiet lips we close;
And with unbridled tongues forthwith["] our secret hearts disclose.

Such as in folded arms["] we did embrace, we hate;
Whom straight we reconcile again,⁴["] and banish all debate.

My seed with labour sown,["] such fruit produceth me,
To waste my life in contraries["] that never shall agree.

From God these heavy cares["] are sent for our unrests;
And with such burdens for our wealth⁵["] he fraughteth full our breasts.

All that the Lord hath wrought,["] hath beauty and good grace;
And to each thing assigned is["] the proper time and place.

And granted eke to man["] of all the world's estate,
And of each thing wrought in the same,["] to argue and debate.

Which art, though it approach["] the heavenly knowledge most,
To search the natural ground of things,["]—yet all is labour lost.

But then the wandering eyes["] that long for surety sought,
Found that by pain no certain wealth["] might in the world be bought.

Who liveth in delight["] and seeks no greedy thrift,
But freely spends his goods, may think["] it is a secret gift.

Fulfilled shall it be["] what so the Lord intend;
Which no device of man's wit may["] advance, nor yet defend;

Who made all things of nought,["] that Adam's children might
Learn how to dread the Lord, that wrought["] such wonders in their sight.

^a Pass away.

The grisly wonders past⁶ " which time wears out of mind,
To be renewed in our days" the Lord hath so assign'd.

Lo! thus his careful scourge⁷ " doth steal on us unaware;
Which, when the flesh hath clean forgot," he doth again repair.

When I in this vain search" had wander'd sore my wit,⁸
I saw a royal throne where as" pure Justice should have sit.⁹

Instead of whom I saw," with fierce and cruel mood,
Wrong there was set;" that bloody beast" that drank the guiltless blood:

Then thought I thus; " One day," the Lord shall sit in doom,
" To view his flock, and choose the pure;" the spotted have no room."

Yet be such scourges sent," that each aggrieved mind
Like the brute beasts that swell in rage" and fury by their kind,"

His error may confess" when he hath wrestled long;
And then with patience may him arm:" the sure defence of wrong.

For death, that of the beast" the carrion doth devour,
Unto the noble kind of man" presents the fatal hour.

The perfect form that God" hath either given to man,
Or other beast dissolve it shall" to earth, where it began.

And who can tell if that" the soul of man ascend;
Or with the body if it die," and to the ground descend.

Wherefore each greedy heart" that riches seeks to gain,
Gather may he that savoury fruit" that springeth of his pain.¹²

A mean convenient wealth" I mean to take in worth;¹³
And with a hand of largess eke" in measure pour it forth.

For treasure spent in life" the body doth sustain;
The heir shall waste the hoarded gold," amassed with much pain.

Nor may foresight of man" such order give in life,
For to foreknow who shall rejoice" their gotten good with strife.

CHAPTER IV.

WHEN I bethought me well,^a under the restless Sun
 By folk of power what cruel works^a unchastised were done;
 I saw where stood a herd^a by power of such oppress,
 Out of whose eyes ran floods of tears,^a that bayned^a all their breast;^a
 Devoid of comfort clean,^a in terrors and distress;
 In whose defence none would arise^a such rigor to repress.^a
 Then thought I thus; "Oh Lord!" the dead whose fatal hour
 "Is clean run out more happy are;" whom that the worms devour:
 "And happiest is the seed^a that never did conceive;
 "That never felt the wailful wrongs^a that mortal folk receive."
 And then I saw that wealth,^a and every honest gain
 By travail won, and sweat of brows^a gan grow into disdain;^a
 Through sloth of careless folk,^a whom ease so fat doth feed:
 Whose idle hands do nought but waste^a the fruit of other seed.
 Which to themselves persuade^a—that little got with ease
 More thankful is, than kingdoms won^a by travail and misease.^a
 Another sort I saw^a without both friend or kin,^a
 Whose greedy ways yet never sought^a a faithful friend to win.
 Whose wretched corpse no toil^a yet ever weary could;
 Nor gluttoned ever were their eyes,^a with heaps of shining gold.
 But, if it might appear^a to their abused eyen,^b
 To whose avail^a they travail so,^a and for whose sake they pine;
 Then should they see what cause^a they have for to repent,
 The fruitless pains and eke the time^a that they in vain have spent.
 Then gan I thus resolve^a—"More pleasant is the life
 "Of faithful friends that spend their goods^a in common, without strife;"

^a Bathed.^b Eyes.

For as the tender friend^a appeaseth every grief,
 So, if he fall that lives alone,^b who shall be his relief?
 The friendly feeres^a lie warm^b in arms embraced fast;
 Who sleeps alone, at every turn^b doth feel the winter blast.
 What can he do but yield,^b that must resist alone :
 If there be twain, one may defend^b the t'other overthrown.
 The single twined cords^b may no such stress endure
 As cables braided threefold may,^b together wreathed sure.
 In better far estate^b stand children, poor and wise,
 Than aged kings, wedded to will,^b that work without advice.
 In prison have I seen,^b or this, a woful wight^b
 That never knew what freedom meant,^b nor tasted of delight;
 With such unhoped hap^b in most despair hath met,
 Within the hands that erst ware^c gyves^b to have a scepter set.
 And by conjures^c the seed^b of kings is thrust from state,
 Whereon a grieved people work^b oft-times their hidden hate.
 Other, without respect,^b I saw of friend or foe^c
 With feet worn bare in tracing such,¹⁰ " whereas the honours grew.
 And at death of a prince^b great routs revived strange,
 Which fain their old yoke to discharge,^b rejoiced in the change.
 But when I thought, to these^b as heavy even or more
 Shall be the burden of his reign,^b as his that went before;
 And that a train like great^b upon the dead attend,¹¹
 I gan conclude, each greedy gain^b hath its uncertain end.¹²
 In humble spirit is set^b the temple of the Lord;
 Where if thou enter, look thy mouth^b and conscience may accord!
 Whose Church is built of love,^b and deckt with hot desire,
 And simple faith; the yolden^c ghost¹³ his mercy doth require.

^a Companions.^b Person.^c Surrendered to his will.

Where perfectly for aye^a he in his word doth rest;
 With gentle ear to hear thy suit,^b and grant thee thy request.¹⁴
 In boast of outward works^a he taketh no delight,
 Nor waste of words; such sacrifice^a unsavoreth in his sight.

CHAPTER V.

WHEN that repentant tears^a hath cleansed clear from ill
 The charged breast; and grace hath wrought^a therein, amending will;^a
 With bold demands then may^a his mercy well assail
 The speech man saith, without the which^a request may none prevail.
 More shall thy penitent sighs^a his endless mercy please,
 Than their importune suits, which dream^a that words God's wrath appease.
 For heart, contrite of fault,^a is gladsome recompence;
 And prayer, fruit of Faith, whereby^a God doth with sin dispense.
 As fearful broken sleeps^a spring from a restless head,
 By chattering of unholy lips^a is fruitless prayer bred.
 In waste of wind I^a reode^a vow nought unto the Lord,
 Whereto thy heart to bind thy will,^a freely doth not accord;
 For humble vows fulfill'd,^a by grace right sweetly smoke:³
 But bold behests, broken by lusts,^a the wrath of God provoke.
 Yet^b bet^a with humble heart^a thy frailty to confess,
 Than to boast of such perfectness,^a whose works such fraud express.
 With feigned words and oaths^a contract with God no guile;
 Such craft returns to thine own harm,^a and doth thyself defile.
 And though the mist of sin^a persuade such error light,
 Thereby yet are thy outward works^a all dampned in his sight.
 As sundry broken dreams^a us diversly abuse,
 So are his errors manifold^a that many words doth use.

^a I advise.^b Better.

With humble secret plaint,^a few words of hot effect,^b
 Honour thy Lord; allowance vain^c of void desert, neglect.^d
 Though wrong at times the right,^e and wealth eke need oppress,^f
 Think not the hand of justice slow^g to follow the redress.^h
 For such unrighteous folkⁱ as rule withouten dread,
 By some abuse of secret lust^j he suffereth to be led.
 The chief bliss that on earth^k to living man is lent,
 Is moderate wealth to nourish life,^l if he can be content.^m
 He that hath but one field,ⁿ and greedily seeketh nought,^o
 To fence the tiller's hand from need,^p is king within his thought.^q
 But such as of their gold^r their only idol make,^s
 No treasure may the raven^t of^u their hungry hands aslake.^v
 For he that gapes for gold,^w^x and hoardeth all his gain,^y
 Travails in vain to hide the sweet^z that should relieve his pain.^{aa}
 Where is great wealth, there should^{ab} be many a needy wight^{ac}
 To spend the same; and that should be^{ad} the rich man's chief delight.^{ae}
 The sweet and quiet sleeps^{af} that wearied limbs oppress,^{ag}
 Beguile the night in diet thin,^{ah} and feasts of none excess:^{ai}
 But waker^{aj} lie the rich;^{ak}^{al} whose lively heat with rest^{am}
 Their charged bulks^{an} with change of meats^{ao} cannot so soon digest.^{ap}
 Another righteous doom^{aq} I saw of greedy gain;^{ar}
 With busy cares such treasures oft^{as} preserv'd are to their bane:^{at}
 The plenteous houses sackt;^{au} the owners end with shame;^{av}
 Their sparkled goods; their needy heirs,^{aw} that should rejoice the same.^{ax}
 From wealth despoiled bare,^{ay} from whence they came they went;^{az}
 Clad in the arms of poverty,^{ba} as Nature first them sent.^{bb}
 Naked as from the womb^{bc} we came, if we depart,^{bd}
 With toil to seek that we must leave,^{be} what boot to vex the heart?^{bf}

^a Wakeful.^b Bodies.^c Injury.

What life lead testy men["] then, that consume their days
 In inward frets, untemper'd hates,["] at strife with some always.
 Then gan I praise all those,["] in such a world of strife,
 As take the profit of their goods,["] that may be had in life.
 For sure the liberal hand["] that hath no heart to spare¹³
 This fading wealth, but pours it forth,["] it is a virtue rare.
 That makes wealth slave to need,["] and gold become his thrall,
 Clings^a not his guts with niggish^b fare,^{"14} to heap his chest withal;
 But feeds the lusts of kind["] with costly meats and wine;
 And slacks the hunger and the thirst["] of needy folk that pine.
 No glutton's feast I mean["] in waste of spence^c to strive;
 But temperate meals the dulled spirits["] with joy thus to revive.
 No care may pierce where mirth["] hath temper'd such a breast:¹⁵
 The bitter gall, season'd with sweet,["] such wisdom may digest.¹⁶

^a Starve.^b Niggard.^c Expense.

A PARAPHRASE OF SOME OF THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PROEM.

WHEN reckless^a youth in an unquiet breast,
 Set on by wrath, revenge, and cruelty,
 After long war patience had repress'd;¹
 And justice, wrought by princely equity;
 My Denny² then mine error deep imprest
 Began to work despair of liberty;
 Had not David, the perfect warrior taught,
 That of my fault thus pardon should be sought.

PSALM LXXXVIII.

O LORD! upon whose will" dependeth my welfare;
 To call upon thy holy name," since day nor night I spare,
 Grant that the just request" of this repentant mind
 So pierce thine ears, that in thy sight" some favour it may find.
 My soul is fraughted full" with grief of follies past;
 My restless body doth consume," and death approacheth fast:
 Like them whose fatal thread" thy hand hath cut in twain;¹
 Of whom there is no further^b bruit;" which in their graves remain.
 Oh, Lord! thou hast me cast" headlong, to please my foe,
 Into a pit all bottomless," where-as I plain^c my woe.²
 The burden of thy wrath" it doth me sore oppress;
 And sundry storms thou hast me sent" of terror and distress.
 The faithful friends are fled" and banished from my sight:
 And such as I have held full dear," have set my friendship light.

^a Careless.^b Report.^c Mourn.

My durance doth persuade["] of freedom such despair,
 That by the tears than bain^a my breast,["] mine eye-sight doth^b appair.³
 Yet do I never cease["] thine aid for to desire,
 With humble heart and stretched hands,["] for to appease thine ire.
 Wherefore dost thou forbear["] in the defence of thine,
 To shew such tokens of thy power["] in sight of Adam's line;
 Whereby each feeble heart["] with faith might so be fed,
 That in the mouth of thy elect["] thy mercies might be spread.
 The flesh that feedeth worms["] cannot thy love declare!
 Nor such set forth thy praise as dwell["] in the land of despair.
 In blind indured hearts⁴ ["] light of thy lively name
 Cannot appear; they cannot judge["] the brightness of the same.
 Nor blazed may thy name⁵ ["] be by the mouth of those
 Whom death hath shut in silence, so["] as they may not disclose.
 The lively voice of them["] that in thy word delight,
 Must be the trump that shall resound⁶ ["] the glory of thy might.
 Wherefore I shall not cease,["] in chief of my distress
 To call on Thee, till that the sleep["] my wearied limbs oppress.
 And in the morning eke["] when that the sleep is fled,
 With floods of salt repentant tears["] to wash my restless bed.
 Within this careful mind,["] burden'd with care and grief,
 Why dost thou not appear, O Lord!["] that should'st be his relief.
 My wretched state behold,["] whom death shall straight assail;
 Of one, from youth afflicted still;["] that never did but wail.⁷
 The dread, lo! of thine ire["] hath trod me under feet:
 The scourges of thine angry hand["] hath made death seem full sweet.
 Like as the roaring waves⁸ ["] the sunken ship surround;
 Great heaps of care did swallow me,["] and I no succour found.
 For they whom no mischance["] could from my love divide,
 Are forced, for my greater grief,["] from me their face to hide.

^a Bathe.^b Fail.

PSALM LXXIII.

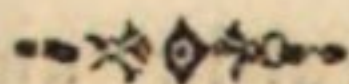
THE sudden storms that heave me to and fro,
 Had well near pierced Faith, my guiding sail.
 For I that on the noble voyage go
 To succour truth, and falsehood to assail,
 Constrained am to bear my sails full low;
 And never could attain some pleasant gale.¹
 For unto such the prosperous winds do blow
 As run from port to port to seek ^a avail.²
 This bred despair; whereof such doubts did grow
 That I gan faint, and all my courage fail.
 But now, my Blage, mine error well I see;
 Such goodly light king David giveth me.
 —————
 THOUGH, Lord, to Israel["] thy graces plenteous be;
 (I mean to such, with pure intent["] as fix their trust in Thee)
 Yet whiles the Faith did faint["] that should have been my guide,
 Like them that walk in slipper paths["] my feet began to slide;
 Whiles I did grudge at those["] that glory in their gold,
 Whose loathsome pride rejoiceth ¹ wealth,["] in quit as they would.
 They see by course of years["] when nature doth ^b appair,²
 Their palaces of princely form["] succeed from heir to heir,
 From all such travails free,["] as 'long to Adam's seed;
 Neither withdrawn from wicked works["] by danger, nor by dread.
 Whereof their scornful pride,["] and gloried pomp doth rise:³
 As garments clothe the naked man,["] so ⁴ are they clad in vice.

^a Advantage^b Become weak; decay.

Thus as they wish succeeds" the mischief that they mean;
Whose gluttoned cheeks sloth feeds so fat," as scant their eyes be seen.
Unto whose cruel power" most men for dread are fain
To bend and bow; with lofty looks," whiles they vaunt in their reign;
And with their bloody hands," in cruelty do frame
The wailful works that scourge the poor," without regard of blame.
To tempt the living God" they think it no offence;
And pierce the simple with their tongues" that can make no defence.
Such proofs before the just," to cause their hearts to waver,⁶
Be set; like cups mingled with gall," of bitter taste and savour.
Then say thy foes in scorn," that taste no other food,
But such the flesh of thy Elect" and bathe them in their blood;
"Should we believe the Lord" doth know, and suffer this?
"Fooled be he with fables vain" that so abused is."
In terror of the just," thus reigns iniquity,
Armed with power, laden with gold," with dread and cruelty.⁷
Then vain the war might seem," that I by faith maintain
Against the flesh; whose false effects⁸ my pure heart would disdain.
For I am scourged still," that no offence have done,
By wrath's children; and from my birth" my chastising begun.
When I beheld their pride," and slackness of thy hand,
I gan bewail the woeful state" wherein thy chosen stand.
And as I sought whereof" thy sufferance, Lord, should grow;
I found no wit could piece so far," thy holy dooms to know:
And that no mysteries," nor doubt could be discust,⁹
Till I come to the holy place," the mansion of the just;
Where I shall see what end" thy justice shall prepare,
For such as build on worldly wealth," and die their colours fair.¹⁰
Oh! how their ground is false!" and all their building vain!
And they shall fall; their power shall fail" that did their pride maintain.

As charged hearts with care," that dream some pleasant turn,
 After their sleep find their abuse," and to their plaint return;"
 So shall their glory fade;" thy sword of vengeance shall
 Unto their drunken eyes in blood" disclose their errors all.
 And when their golden fleece" is from their back y-shorn;
 The spots that underneath were hid," thy chosen sheep shall scorn:
 But till that happy day,"¹² " my heart shall swell in care,
 My eyes yield tears, my years consume," between hope and despair.
 Lo! how my spirits are dull," and all thy judgments dark,
 No mortal head may scale so high," but wonder at thy wark.
 Alas! how oft my foes" have framed my decay;
 But when I stood in dread to^a drench,"¹³ " thy hands still did me stay.
 And in each voyage that" I took to conquer sin,"¹⁴
 Thou wert my guide, and gave me grace," to comfort me therein.
 And when my wither'd skin" unto my bones did cleave,
 And flesh did waste, thy grace did then" my simple spirits relieve.
 In other succour then," O Lord! why should I trust;
 But only thine, whom I have found" in thy behight^b so just."¹⁵
 And such for dread, or gain" as shall thy name refuse,
 Shall perish with their golden gods" that did their hearts seduce.
 While^c I, that in thy word" have set my trust and joy,
 The high reward that 'longs thereto" shall quietly enjoy.
 And my unworthy lips," inspired with thy grace,
 Shall thus forespeak¹⁶ thy secret works," in sight of Adam's race.

^a To be overwhelmed. ^b Promise. ^c MS. *Where*.



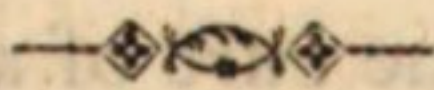
PSALM LV.

GIVE ear to my suit, Lord!" fromward hide not thy face:¹
 Behold! sinking in grief," lamenting how I pray:
 My foes they bray so loud," and eke ^a threapen so fast,²
 Buckled to do me ^b scath,³ " so is their malice bent.
 Care pierceth my entrails," and travaileth my spirit;
 The grisly fear of death" environeth my breast:
 A trembling cold of dread" clean overwhelm'th my heart.
 " Oh!" think I, " had I wings" like to the simple dove,
 " This peril might I fly;" and seek some place of rest
 " In wilder woods, where I" might dwell far from these cares."
 What speedy way of wing" my complaints should they lay on,⁴
 To 'scape the stormy blast" that threaten'd is to me?
 Rein those unbridled tongues!" break that conjured league!
 For I decipher'd have" amid our town the strife.
 Guile, and wrong keep the walls;" they ward both day and night:
 And mischief join'd with care" doth keep the market-stead:⁵
 Whilst wickedness with craft" in heaps swarm through the street.⁶
 Ne my declared foe" wrought me all this reproach.
 The harm so looked for," it weigheth half the less.⁷
 For though mine enemies hap" had been for to prevail,
 I could have hid my face" from venom of his eye.
 It was a friendly foe,⁸ " by shadow of good will;
 Mine old fere,^c and dear friend," my guide that trapped me;
 Where I was wont to fetch" the cure of all my care,
 And in his bosom hide" my secret zeal to God.⁹
 With such sudden surprise," quick may him hell devour;¹⁰

^a To accuse with clamour.^b Injury.^c Companion.

Whilst I invoke the Lord," whose power shall me defend.
 My prayer shall not cease," from that the sun descends,
 Till he his alture win," and hide him in the Sea,"
 With words of hot ^a effect,"¹² that moves from heart contrite :
 Such humble suit, O Lord," doth pierce thy patient ear.
 It was the Lord that brake" the bloody compacts of those
 That pressed on with ire,"¹³ to slaughter me and mine.
 The everlasting God," whose kingdom hath no end
 Whom by no tale so dread ^a " he could divert from sin
 Of conscience unquiet," he strikes with heavy hand,
 And proves their force in faith," whom he sware to defend.
 Butter falls not so soft" as doth his patience long,
 And overpasseth fine oil ^a " running not half so smooth.
 But when his sufferance finds" that bridled wrath provokes;
 His threatned wrath he whets" more sharp than tool can file."¹⁶
 Friar! whose harm and tongue ^a " presents the wicked sort,
 Of those false wolves, with cowls" which do their ravin hide;
 That swear to me by heaven," the foot-stool of the Lord,
 Though force had hurt my fame" ^a " they did not touch my life.
 Such patching care I loath," as feeds the wealth with lies."¹⁹
 But in the tother Psalm" of David find I ease."²⁰

^a Affection ; passion.



PSALM VIII.

THY name, O Lord, how great' is found before our sight!
 It fills the earth, and spreads the air:" the great works of thy might!
 For even unto the Heavens thy pow'r" hath given a place,
 And closed it above their heads;" a mighty, large, compass.
 Thy praise what cloud can hide," but it will shine again:
 Since young and tender sucking babes," have pow'r to shew it plain.
 Which in despite of those" that would thy glory hide,
 [Thou] hast put into such infants mouths" for to confound their pride.
 Wherefore I shall behold" thy figur'd heaven so high,
 Which shews such prints of divers forms" within the cloudy sky:
 As hills, and shapes of men;" eke beasts of sundry kind,
 Monstruous to our outward sight," and fancies of our mind.
 And eke the wanish moon," which sheens by night also;
 And each one of the wand'ring stars," which after her do go.
 And how these ' keep their course;" and which are those that stands;
 Because they be thy wondrous works," and labours of thy hands.
 But yet among all these" I ask, "What thing is man?"
 Whose turn to serve in his poor need" this work Thou first began.
 Or what is Adam's son" that bears his father's mark?
 For whose delight and comfort eke" Thou hast wrought all this wark.
 I see thou minds't him much," that dost reward him so;
 Being but earth, to rule the earth," whereon himself doth go.
 From Angel's substance eke" Thou mads't him differ small;
 Save one doth change his life awhile;" the other, not at all.
 The sun and moon also" Thou mad'st to give him light;
 And each one of the wand'ring stars" to twinkle sparkles bright.

The air to give him breath ; " the water for his health ;
 The earth to bring forth grain and fruit , " for to increase his wealth.
 And many metals too , " for pleasure of the eye ;
 Which in the hollow sounded ground " in privy veins do lie.
 The sheep to give his wool , " to wrap his body in ;
 And for such other needful things , " the ox to spare his skin.
 The horse even at his will " to bear him to and fro ;
 And as him list each other beast " to serve his turn also.
 The fishes of the sea " likewise to feed him oft ;
 And eke the birds , whose feathers serve " to make his sides lie soft.
 On whose head thou hast set " a crown of glory too ,
 To whom also thou didst appoint , " that honour should be do.
 And thus thou mad'st him lord of all this work of thine ;
 Of man that goes , of beast that creeps , " whose looks doth down decline ;
 Of fish that swim below , " of fowls that fly on high ,
 Of sea that finds the air his rain , " and of the land so dry.
 And underneath his feet , " Thou hast set all this same ;
 To make him know , and plain confess , " that marvellous is thy name.
 And Lord , which art our Lord , " how marvellous it is found
 The Heavens do shew , the earth doth tell , " and eke the world so round.
 Glory , therefore , be given " to Thee first , which art Three ;
 And yet but one Almighty God , in substance and degree :
 As first it was when Thou " the dark confused heap
 Clotted in one , didst part " in four ; which elements we clepe :
 And as the same is now , " even here within our time ;
 So ^b ever shall hereafter be , " when we be filth and slime.

^a We call.^b MS. And.

THE SECOND BOOK

VIRGIL'S ÆNEID.

THE SECOND AND FOURTH BOOKS

THEY whistled all, with fixed face attend:

When prince Æneas from the royal seat

Thus gan to speak: O Queen ^{or} is thy will

I should renew a war, can not be told

How that the Greeks did spoil, and overthrow

The Phrygian ^{king} **VIRGIL'S ÆNEID.**

Those ruthless things that I myself beheld;

And whereof no small part fell to my share.

Which to express, who could refrain from tears?

What Myrmidon? or yet what Dolopos?

What stern Ulysses waged soldier?

And lo! moist night now from the welkin^{*} falls,

And stars declining counsel us to rest.

But since so great is thy delight to hear

Of our mishaps, and Troie's last decay;

Though to record the same my mind abhors,

And pliant eschews, yet thus will I begin.

The Greeks' chiefest all, yoked with the war

Wherein they wasted had so many years;

And oft repuls'd by fatal destiny.

* Was clear.

* Heaven.

World.

VIRGIL'S

THE SECOND AND FOURTH BOOKS

OF

VIRGIL'S *ÆNEID*.

THE SECOND BOOK

OF

VIRGIL'S ÆNEID.

THEY whisted^a all, with fixed face attent:

When prince Æneas from the royal seat

Thus gan to speak. O Queen! it is thy will

I should renew a woe, can not be told

How that the Greeks did spoil, and overthrow

The Phrygian wealth, and wailful realm of Troy:

Those ruthless things that I myself beheld;

And whereof no small part fell to my share.

Which to express, who could refrain from tears?

What Myrmidon? or yet what Dolopes?

What stern Ulysses waged soldier?

And lo! moist night now from the welkin^b falls;

And stars declining counsel us to rest.

But since so great is thy delight to hear

Of our mishaps, and Troia's last decay;

Though to record the same my mind abhors,

And plaint eschews, yet thus will I begin.

The Greeks' chieftans all^c irked with the war

Wherein they wasted had so many years;

And oft repuls'd by fatal destiny,

^a Were silent.

^b Heavens.

^c Wearied.

A huge horse made, high raised like a hill,
 By the divine science of Minerva.
 Of cloven fir compacted were his ribs;
 For their return a feigned sacrifice:

The fame whereof so wander'd it at point.

25

In the dark bulk they clos'd bodies of men
 Chosen by lot, and did enstuff by stealth
 The hollow womb with armed soldiers.

There stands in sight an isle, hight Tenedon,
 Rich, and of fame, while Priam's kingdom stood;

30

Now but a bay, and road, unsure for ship.

Hither them secretly the Greeks withdrew,
 Shrouding themselves under the desert shore.

And, weening we they had been fled and gone,

And with that wind had fet the land of Greece,

35

Troia discharged her long continued dole.

The gates cast up, we issued out to play,

The Greekish camp desirous to behold,

The places void, and the forsaken coasts.

" Here Pyrrhus' band; there fierce Achilles' pight;

40

" Here rode their ships; there did their battles join."

Astonnied some the ^bscatheful gift beheld,

Behight^c by vow unto the chaste Minerve;

All wond'ring at the hugeness of the horse.

And first of all Timætes gan advise

45

Within the walls to lead and draw the same;

And place it eke amid the palace court:

Whether of guile, or Troia's fate it would.

Capy's, with some of judgment more discreet,

Will'd it to drown; or underset with flame

50

^a Placed.

^b Destructive.

^c Dedicated, promised.

The suspect present of the Greeks' deceit;
 Or bore and gage the hollow caves uncouth.
 So diverse ran the giddy people's mind.

Lo! foremost of a rout that follow'd him,

Kindled Laocoon hasted from the tower, 55

Crying far off: "O wretched citizens!

"What so great kind of frensy fretteth you?

"Deem ye the Greeks our enemies to be gone?

"Or any Greekish gifts can you suppose

Devoid of guile? Is so Ulysses known? 60

"Either the Greeks are in this timber hid;

"Or this an engine is to annoy our walls,

"To view our towers, and overwhelm our town.

"Here lurks some craft. Good Trojans! give no trust

"Unto this horse; for what so ever it be, 65

"I dread the Greeks; yea! when they offer gifts."

And with that word, with all his force a dart

He launched then into that crooked womb;

Which trembling stack, and shook within the side:

Wherewith the caves gan hollowly resound. 70

And, but for Fates, and for our blind forecast,

The Greeks device and guile had he descried;

Troy yet had ^a stood, and Priam's towers so high.

Therewith, behold; whereas the Phrygian herds

Brought to the king with clamour, all unknown 75

A young man, bound his hands behind his back;

Who willingly had yielded ^b prisoner,

To frame his guile, and open Troia's gates

Unto the Greeks; with courage fully bent,

And mind determed either of the twain; 80

^a Stand.

^b Surrendered.

To work his feat, or willing yield to death.
 Near him, to gaze, the Trojan youth gan flock,
 And strave who most might at the captive scorn.
 The Greeks deceit behold, and by one proof
 Imagine all the rest. 85

For in the press as he unarmed stood
 With troubled chere, and Phrygian routs beset;
 "Alas!"^a quoth he, "what earth now, or what seas
 "May me receive? catiff! what rests me now?
 "For whom in Greece doth no abode remain. 90
 "The Trojans eke offended seek to wreak
 "Their heinous wrath, with shedding of my blood."

With this regrete^b our hearts from rancour moved.
 The bruit appeas'd, we ask'd him of his birth,
 What news he brought; what hope made him to yield. 95

Then he, all dread removed, thus began:
 "O King! I shall, what ever me betide,
 "Say but the truth: ne first will me deny
 "A Grecian born; for though fortune hath made
 "Sinon a wretch, she cannot make him false. 100
 "If ever came unto your ears the name,
 "Nobled by fame, of the sage Palamede?
 "Whom trait'rously the Greeks condemn'd to die;
 "Guiltless, by wrongful doom, for that he did
 "Dissuade the wars; whose death they now lament; 105
 "Underneath him my father, bare of wealth,
 "Into his band young, and near of his blood,
 "In my prime years unto the war me sent.
 "While that by fate his state in stay did stand,
 "And when his realm did flourish by advice; 110

^a Quod.^b Lamentation.

- " Of glory, then, we bare some fame and bruit.^a
 " But since his death by false Ulysses' sleight,
 " (I speak of things to all men well be-known)
 " A dreary life in doleful plaint I led,
 " Repining at my guiltless friend's mischance. 115
 " Ne could I, fool! refrain my tongue from threats,
 " That if my chance were ever to return
 " Victor to Arge, to follow my revenge.
 " With such sharp words procured I great hate.
 " Here sprang my harm. Ulysses ever sith^b 120
 " With new found crimes began me to affray.
 " In common ears false rumours gan he sow :
 " Weapous of wreak his guilty mind gan seek.
 " Ne rested aye till he by Calchas mean —
 " But whereunto these thankless tales in vain 125
 " Do I rehearse, and linger forth the time,
 " In like estate if all the Greeks ye price?^c
 " It is enough ye here rid me at once.
 " Ulysses, Lord! how he would this rejoice!
 " Yea, and either Atride would buy it dear." 130

This kindled us more eager to inquire,
 And to demand the cause; without suspect
 Of so great mischief thereby to ensue,
 Or of Greeks' craft. He then with forged words
 And quivering limbs, thus took his tale again. 135

- " The Greeks oftimes intended their return,
 " From Troia town, with long wars all y-tired,
 " And^d to dislodge; which, would God! they had done.
 " But oft the winter storms of raging seas;
 " And oft the boisterous winds did them to stay; 140

^a Report.^b Since.^c Appreciate.^d For.

" And chiefly, when of clinch'd ribs of fir
 " This horse was made, the storms roar'd in the air.
 " Then we in doubt to Phœbus' temple sent
 " Euripilus, to weet^a the prophesy.
 " From whence he brought these woeful news again. 145
 " With blood, O Greeks! and slaughter of a maid,
 " Ye peas'd the winds, when first ye came to Troy.
 " With blood likewise ye must seek your return:
 " A Greekish soul must offer'd be therefore."
 " But when this sound had pierc'd the peoples' ears, 150
 " With sudden fear astonied were their minds;
 " The chilling cold did over-run their bones.
 " To whom that fate was shap'd? whom Phœbus would?"
 " Ulysses then amid the press brings in
 " Chalcas with noise, and will'd him to discuss 155
 " The Gods' intent. Then some gan deem to me
 " The cruel wreak of him that fram'd the craft;
 " Foreseeing secretly what would^b ensue.
 " In silence then, y-shrowding him from sight,
 " For^c days twice five he whisted; and refused 160
 " To death, by speech, to further any wight.
 " At last, as forced by false Ulysses' cry,
 " Of purpose he brake forth, assigning me
 " To the altar; whereto they granted all:
 " And that, that erst each one dread to himself, 165
 " They turned^d all unto my wretched death.
 " And now at hand drew near the woeful day.
 " All things prepar'd wherewith to offer me;
 " Salt, corn, fillets, my temples for to bind.
 " I scap'd the death, I grant! and brake the bands, 170

^a To learn, to understand.^b Wold.^c But.^d Returned.

" And lurked in a ^amarish all the night
 " Among the ooze, while they did set their sails;
 " If it so be that they in deed so did.
 " Now rests no hope my native land to see,
 " My children dear, nor long desired sire; 175
 " On whom, perchance, they shall wreak my escape:
 " Those harmless wights^b shall for my fault be slain.
 " Then, by the Gods, to whom all truth is known;
 " By faith unfil'd, if any any-where
 " With mortal folk remains; I thee beseech, 180
 " O King, thereby rue on my travail great:
 " Pity a wretch that guiltless suffereth wrong."

Life to these tears with pardon eke, we grant.

And Priam first himself commands to loose
 His ^cgyves, his bands; and friendly to him said. 185
 " Whoso thou art, learn to forget the Greeks:
 " Henceforth be ours; and answer me with truth.
 " Whereto was wrought the mass of this huge horse?
 " Whose the devise? and whereto should it tend?
 " What holy vow? or engine for the wars?" 190

Then he, instruct with wiles and Greekish craft,
 His loosed hands lift upward to the stars:
 " Ye everlasting lamps! I testify,
 " Whose power divine may not be violate;
 " Th' altar, and sword," quoth he, " that I have scap'd; 195
 " Ye sacred bands! I wore as yielden ^dhost;
 " Lawful be it for me to break mine oath
 " To Greeks; lawful to hate their nation;
 " Lawful be it to sparkle ^ein the air
 " Their secrets all, what-so they keep in close: 200

Marsh.

^b Persons.^c Fetters.^d Surrendered victim.^e Scatter.

- " For free am I from Greece, and from their laws.
 " So be it, Troy, thou^a saued by me from scathe,^b
 " Keep faith with me, and stand to thy behest;
 " If I speak truth, and opening things of weight,
 " For grant of life requite thee large amends. 205
 " The Greeks' whole hope of undertaken war
 " In Pallas' help consisted evermore.
 " But sith the time that wicked Diomed,
 " Ulysses eke, that forger of all guile,
 " Adventur'd from the holy sacred fane 210
 " For to bereave Dame Pallas' fatal form,
 " And slew the watches of the chiefest tower,
 " And then away the holy statue stole;
 " (That were so bold with hands embrued in blood,
 " The virgin Goddess veils for to defile) 215
 " Sith then^c their hope gan fail, their hope to fall,
 " Their pow'r appair,^d their Goddess grace withdraw;
 " Which with no doubtful signs she did declare.
 " Scarce was the statue to our tents y-brought,
 " But she gan stare with sparkled eyes of flame; 220
 " Along her limbs the salt sweat trickled down:
 " Yea thrice herself, a hideous thing to tell!
 " In glances bright she glittered from the ground,
 " Holding in hand her targe^e and quivering spear.
 " Calchas by sea then bade us haste our flight: 225
 " Whose engines might not break the walls of Troy,
 " Unless at Greece they would renew their lots,
 " Restore the God that they by sea had brought
 " In warped keels. To Arge sith they be gone,^f
 " They 'pease their Gods, and war afresh prepare. 230

^a And.^b Destruction.^c That.^d Impair^e Shield.^f Come.

" And cross the seas unlooked for eftsoons^a
 " They will return. This order Calchas set.
 " This figure made they for th' aggrieved God,
 " In Pallas' stead ; to cleanse their heinous fault.
 " Which mass he willed to be reared high 235
 " Toward the skies, and ribbed all with oak,
 " So that your gates, ne wall might it receive ;
 " Ne yet your people might defended be
 " By the good zeal of old devotion.
 " For if your hands did Pallas' gift defile, 240
 " To Priam's realm great mischief should befall :
 " Which fate the Gods first on himself return.
 " But had your own hands brought it in your town,
 " Asia should pass, and carry offer'd war
 " In Greece, e'en to the walls of Pelops' town ; 245
 " And we and ours that destiny endure."

By such like wiles of Sinon, the forsworn,
 His tale with us did purchase credit ; some,
 Trapt by deceit ; some, forced by his tears ;
 Whom neither Diomed, nor great Achille, 250
 Nor ten years war, ne a thousand sail could daunt.

Us caitiffs then a far more dreadful chance
 Befel ; that troubled our unarmed breasts.
 Whiles Lacon, that chosen was by lot
 Neptunus' priest, did sacrifice a bull 255
 Before the holy altar ; suddenly
 From Tenedon, behold ! in circles great
 By the calm seas come fleting^b adders twain,
 Which plied towards the shore (I loath to tell)

^a Presently.^b Floating.

With reared breast lift up above the seas : 260
 Whose bloody crests aloft the waves were seen ;
 The hinder part swam hidden in the flood.
 Their grisly backs were linked manifold.
 With sound of broken waves they gat the strand,
 With glowing^a eyen, tainted with blood and fire ; 265
 Whose^b waltring tongues did lick their hissing mouths.
 We fled away ; our face the blood forsook :
 But they with gait direct to Lacon ran.
 And first of all each serpent doth enwrap
 The bodies small of his two tender sons ; 270
 Whose wretched limbs they bit, and fed thereon.
 Then raught^c they him, who had his weapon caught
 To rescue them ; twice winding him about,
 With folded knots and circled tails, his waist :
 Their scaled backs did compass twice his neck, 275
 With reared heads aloft and stretched throats.
 He with his hands strave to unloose the knots,
 (Whose sacred fillets all-besprinkled were
 With filth of gory blood, and venom rank)
 And to the stars such dreadful shouts he sent. 280
 Like to the sound the roaring bull forth lows,
 Which from the altar^d wounded doth astart,
 The swerving axe when he shakes from his neck.
 The serpents twain,^e with hasted trail they glide
 To Pallas' temple, and her towers of height : 285
 Under the feet of the which^f Goddess stern,
 Hidden behind her target's boss they crept.

^a *Gloing.*^b *Rolling about.*^c *Laid hold of.*^d *Halter.*^e *Twine.*^f *Which the.*

New gripes of dread then pierce our trembling breasts.
 They said ; Lacon's deserts had dearly bought
 His heinous deed ; that pierced had with steel 290
 The sacred ^a bulk, and thrown the wicked lance.
 The people cried with sundry greeing shouts
 To bring the horse to Pallas' temple blive;^b
 In hope thereby the Goddess' wrath t' appease.
 We cleft the walls and closures of the town, 295
 Whereto all help ; and underset the feet
 With sliding rolls, and bound his neck with ropes.
 This fatal gin thus overclamb our walls,
 Stuft with arm'd men ; about the which there ran
 Children, and maids, that holy carolls sang ; 300
 And well were they whose hands might touch the cords.
 With threat'ning chere thus slided through our town
 The subtle tree, to Pallas' temple-ward.
 O native land ! Ilion ! and of the Gods
 The mansion place ! O warlike walls of Troy ! 305
 Four times it stopt in th' entry of our gate ;
 Four times the harness clatter'd in the womb.
 But we go on, unsound of memory,
 And blinded eke by rage persever, till^c
 This fatal monster in the fane we place. 310
 Cassandra then, inspired with Phœbus' sprite,
 Her prophet's lips, yet never of us 'lieved,^d
 Disclosed eft;^e fore-speaking things to come.
 We wretches, lo ! that last day of our life
 With boughs of feast the town, and temples deck. 315

^a Body.^b Quickly.^c Still.^d Believed.^e Immediately.

With this, the sky gan whirl about the sphere:
 The cloudy night gan thicken from the sea,
 With mantles spread; that cloaked earth, and skies,
 And eke the treason of the Greekish guile.
 The watchmen lay dispers'd to take their rest; 320
 Whose wearied limbs sound sleep had then oppress'd:
 When, well in order comes the Grecian fleet
 From Tenedon, toward the coasts well known,
 By friendly silence of the quiet moon.
 When the king's ship put forth his mark of fire, 325
 Sinon, preserved by froward destiny,
 Let forth the Greeks enclosed in the womb:
 The closures eke of pine by stealth unpinn'd,
 Whereby the Greeks restored were to air.
 With joy down hasting from the hollow tree, 330
 With cords let down did slide unto the ground
 The great captains; Sthenel, and Thessander,
 And fierce Ulysses, Athamas, and Thoas;
 Machaon first, and then king Menelae;
 Opeas eke that did the engine forge. 335
 They^a straight invade the town y-buried then
 With wine and sleep. And first the watch is slain:
 Then, gates unfold to let their fellows in,
 They join themselves with the conjured bands.
 It was the time when granted from the Gods 340
 The first sleep creeps most sweet in weary folk.
 Lo! in my dream before mine eyes, me thought,
 With rueful chere I saw where Hector stood,

^a And.

(Out of whose eyes there gushed streams of tears)
 Drawn at a cart as he of late had be, 345
 Distained with bloody dust; whose feet were bowln^a
 With the strait cords wherewith they haled him.
 Aye me! what one? that Hector how unlike,
 Which erst return'd clad with Achilles' spoils;
 Or when he threw into the Greekish ships 350
 The Trojan flame! so was his beard defiled;
 His crisped locks all clustred with his blood,
 With all such wounds, as many he received
 About the walls of that his native town.
 Whom frankly thus, methought I spake unto, 355
 With bitter tears and doleful deadly voice.
 " O Trojan light! O only hope of thine!
 " What lets so long thee staid? or from what coasts,
 " Our most desired Hector, dost thou come?
 " Whom, after slaughter of thy many friends, 360
 " And travail of the people, and thy town,
 " All-wearied, lord! how gladly we behold.
 " What sorry chance hath stain'd thy lively face?
 " Or why see I these wounds, alas! so wide?"
 He answer'd nought, nor in my vain demands 365
 Abode; but from the bottom of his breast
 Sighing he said; " Flee, flee, O Goddess' son!
 " And save thee from the fury of this flame.
 " Our en'mies now are masters of the walls;
 " And Troia town now falleth from the top. 370
 " Sufficeth that is done for Priam's reign.
 " If force might serve to succour Troia town,

^a Swoln.

" This right hand well mought have been her defence.

" But Troia now commendeth to thy charge

" Her holy reliques, and her privy Gods. 375

" Them join to thee, as fellows of thy fate.

" Large walls rear thou for them: for so thou shalt,

" After time spent in th' overwand' red flood."

This said, he brought forth Vesta in his hands;

Her fillets eke, and everlasting flame. 380

In this mean while with diverse plaint, the town

Throughout was spread; and louder more and more

The din resounded, with rattling of arms.

Although mine old Father Anchises' house

Removed stood, with shadow hid of trees, 385

I waked: therewith to the house-top I clamb

And hark'ning stood I. Like as when the flame

Lights in the corn, by drift of boisteous wind;

Or the swift stream that driveth from the hill,

Roots up the fields, and presseth the ripe corn, 390

And plowed ground, and overwhelms the grove:

The silly herdman all astonnied stands,

From the high rock while he doth hear the sound.

Then the Greeks' faith, then their deceit appeared.

Of Deiphobus the palace large and great 395

Fell to the ground, all overspred with flash.

His next neighbour Ucalegon afire.

The Sygean seas did glister all with flame.

Up sprang the cry of men, and trumpets blast,

Then, as distraught,^a I did my armour on; 400

Ne could I tell yet whereto arms avail'd.

^a Distracted.

But with our feres^a to throng out of the press
 Toward the tower, our hearts brent^b with desire.
 Wrath prick'd us forth; and unto us it seemed
 A seemly thing to die, arm'd in the field. 405

Wherewith Panthus scap'd from the Greekish darts,
 Otrëus son, Phœbus' priest, brought in hand
 The sacred reliques, and the vanquish'd Gods:
 And in his hand his little nephew led;
 And thus, as phren'tic, to our gates he ran. 410

"Panthus," quoth I, "in what estate stand we?
 "Or for refuge what fortress shall we take?"
 Scarce spake I this, when wailing thus he said.

"The latter day, and fate of Troy is come;
 "The which no plaint, or prayer may avail. 415

"Trojans we were; and Troia was sometime:
 "And of great fame the Teucrian glory erst.
 "Fierce Jove to Greece hath now transposed all.

"The Greeks are lords over this fired town.
 "Yonder huge horse that stands amid our walls 420

"Sheds armed men: and Sinon, victor now,
 "With scorn of us doth set all things on flame.
 "And, rushed in at our unfolded gates,
 "Are thousands mo' than ever came from Greece.

"And some with weapons watch the narrow streets 425
 "With bright swords^c drawn, to slaughter ready bent.

"And scarce the watches of the gate begin^d
 "Them to defend; and with blind fight resist."

Through Panthus' words, and lightning of the Gods,
 Amid the flame and arms ran I in press, 430

^a Companions.^b Burnt.^c Swords.^d Began.

As fury guided me, and wheras I had heard
 The cry greatest that made the air resound.
 Into our band then fell old Iphytus,
 And Rypheus, that met us by moon-light;
 Dymas and Hypanis joining to our side, 435
 With young Choræbus, Mygdonius' son;
 Which in those days at Troia did arrive,
 (Burning with rage of dame Cassandra's love)
 In Priam's aid, and rescue of his town.
 Unhappy he! that would ^a no credit give 440
 Unto his spouses words of prophecy.

Whom when I saw, assembled in such wise,
 So desperately the battle to desire;
 Then furthermore thus said I unto them.
 "O! ye young men of courage stout, in vain! 445
 "For nought ye strive to save the burning town.
 "What cruel fortune hath betid, ye see!
 "The Gods out of the temples all are fled,
 "Through whose might, long this empire was maintain'd:
 "Their altars eke are left both waste and void. 450
 "But if your will be bent with me to prove
 "That uttermost, that now may us befall;
 "Then let us die, and run amid our foes.
 "To vanquish'd folk, despair is only hope."

With this the young men's courage did increase; 455
 And through the dark, like to the ravening wolves
 Whom raging fury of their empty maws
 Drives from their den, leaving with hungry throats
 Their whelps behind; among our foes we ran,

Upon their swords, unto apparent death ; 460

Holding alway the chief street of the town,

Cover'd with the close shadows of the night.

Who can express the slaughter of that night?

Or tell the number of the corpses slain?

Or can in tears bewail them worthily? 465

The ancient famous city falleth down,

That many years did hold such seignory.

With senseless bodies every street is spread,

Each palace, and sacred porch of the Gods.

Nor yet alone the Trojan blood was shed. 470

Manhood oft times into the vanquish'd breast

Returns, whereby some victor^a Greeks are slain.

Cruel complaints, and terror every where,

And plenty of grisly pictures of death.

And first with us Androgeus there met, 475

Followed^b with a swarming rout of Greeks,

Deeming us, unware, of that fellowship,

With friendly words whom thus he call'd unto :

" Haste ye, my friends ! what sloth hath tarried you?

" Your feres now sack and spoil the burning Troy : 480

" From the tall ships are^c ye but newly come?"

When he had said, and heard no answer made

To him again, whereto he might give trust ;

Finding himself chanced amid his foes,

'Maz'd he withdrew his foot back with his word. 485

Like him that wandring in the bushes thick,

Treads on the adder with his rechless^d foot,

Reared for wrath, swelling her speckled neck,

^a Victors.

^b Followed.

^c Where.

^d Careless.

Dismay'd, gives back all suddenly for fear :
 Androgeus so, fear'd of that sight, stept back, 490
 And we gan rush amid the thickest rout ;
 When, here and there we did them overthrow,
 Striken with dread, unskilful of the place.

Our first labour thus lucked well with us.

Choræbus then, encouraged by his chance, 495
 Rejoicing said ; " Hold forth the way of health,
 " My feres, that hap and manhood hath us taught.
 " Change we our shields ; the Greeks' arms do we on.
 " Craft or manhood with foes what reck^a it which :
 " The slain to us their armour they shall yield." 500

And with that word Androgeus' crested helm
 And the rich arms of his shield did he on ;
 A Greekish sword^b he girded by his side :
 Like gladly Dimas and Riphæus did.

The whole youth gan them clad in the new spoils. 505

Mingled with Greeks, for no good luck to us,
 We went, and gave many onsets that night,
 And many a Greek we sent to Pluto's court.
 Other there fled and hasted to their ships,
 And to their coasts of safeguard ran again. 510

And some there were of shameful cowardry,
 Clamb up again unto the hugy horse,
 And did them hide in his well-knownen womb.

Aye me ! bootless it is for any wight
 To hope on aught against will of the Gods. 515
 Lo ! where Cassandra, Priam's daughter dear,
 From Pallas' church was drawn with sparkled^c tress,

^a What does it signify.

^b *Sword.*

^c Dishevelled ; scattered.

Lifting in vain her flaming eyen^a to heaven ;
 Her eyen, for fast her tender wrists were bound.
 Which sight Choræbus raging could not bear, 520
 Reckless of death, but thrust amid the throng ;
 And after we through thickest of the swords.^b

Here were we first y-batter'd with the darts
 Of our own feres, from the high temples' top ;
 Whereby of us great slaughter did ensue, 525
 Mistaken by our Greekish arms and crests.

Then flock'd the Greeks moved with wrath and ire,
 Of the virgin from them so rescued.
 The fell Ajax ; and either Atrides,
 And the great band^c cleped the Dolopes. 530

As wrestling winds, out of dispersed whirl
 Befight themselves, the west with southern blast,
 And gladsome east proud of Aurora's horse ;
 The woods do whiz ; and foamy Nerëus
 Raging in fury, with three forked mace 535

From bottom depth doth^d weltre up the seas ;
 So came the Greeks. And such, as by deceit
 We sparkled^e erst in shadow of the night,
 And drave about our town, appeared first.
 Our feigned shields and weapons then they found, 540

And, by sound, our discording voice they knew,
 We went to wreck with number overlaid.
 And by the hand of Penëleus first
 Choræbus fell before the altar dead
 Of armed Pallas ; and Rhiphëus eke, 545
 The justest man among the Trojans all,

^a Eyes.^b Swords.^c Called.^d Roll^e Scattered.

And he that best observed equity.
 But otherwise it pleased now the Gods.
 There Hypanis, and Dymas, both were slain;
 Through pierced with the weapons of their feres. 550
 Nor thee, Panthus, when thou wast overthrown,
 Pity, nor zeal of good devotion,
 Nor habit yet of Phœbus hid from scath.

Ye Trojan ashes! and last flames of mine!
 I call in witness, that at your last fall 555
 I fled no stroke of any Greekish sword.^a
 And if the fates would^b I had fallen in fight,
 That with my hand I did deserve it well.

With this from thence I was recoiled^c back
 With Iphytus and Pelias alone. 560
 Iphytus weak, and feeble all for age;
 Pelias lamed by Ulisses' hand.
 To Priam's palace cry did call us then.
 Here was the fight right hideous to behold;
 As though there had no battle been but there, 565
 Or slaughter made else-where throughout the town.
 A fight of rage and fury there we saw.
 The Greeks toward the palace rushed fast,
 And cover'd with engines the gates beset,
 And reared up ladders against the walls; 570
 Under the windows scaling up their steps,
 Fenced with shields in their left hands, whereon
 They did receive the darts; while their right hands
 Gripped for hold th' embattle^d of the wall. 575
 The Trojans on the tother part rend down

^a Swerd.^b Wold.^c Recuiled.^d Them battel.

The turrets high, and eke the palace roof:
 With such weapons they shope them to defend,
 Seeing all lost, now at the point of death.

The gilt spars, and the beams then threw they down; 580
 Of old fathers the proud and royal works.

And with drawn swords^a some did beset the gates,
 Which they did watch, and keep in routs full thick.
 Our sprites restor'd to rescue the king's house,
 To help them, and to give the vanquish'd strength. 585

A postern with a blind wicket there was,
 A common^b trade to pass through Priam's house;
 On the back side whereof waste houses stood.
 Which way eft-sithes,^c while that our kingdom dured,
 Th' infortunate Andromache alone 590

Resorted to the parents of her make;^d
 With young Astyanax, his grandsire to see.
 Here passed I up to the highest tower
 From whence the wretched Trojans did throw down
 Darts, spent in waste. Unto a turret then 595

I^e stept; the which stood in a place aloft,
 The top whereof did reach well near the stars;
 Where we were wont all Troia to behold,
 The Greekish navy, and their tents also.

With instruments of iron gan we pick, 600
 To seek where we might find the joining shrunk;
 From that high seat which we razed, and threw down:
 Which falling, gave forthwith a rushing sound,
 And large in breadth on Greekish routs it light.

But soon another sort stept in their stead; 605
 No stone unthrown, nor yet no dart uncast.

^a Swords.^b Passage.^c Many times.^d Husband.^e We.

Before the gate stood Pyrrhus in the porch
 Rejoicing in his darts, with glittering arms.
 Like to th' adder with venemous herbs fed,
 Whom cold winter all bowln,^a hid under ground ; 610
 And shining bright, when she her slough had flung,
 Her slipper back doth roll, with forked tongue
 And raised breast, lift up against the sun.
 With that together came great Periphas ;
 Automedon eke, that guided had sometime 615
 Achilles' horse, now Pyrrhus armour bare ;
 And eke with him the warlike Scyrian youth
 Assail'd the house ; and threw flame to the top.
 And he an axe before the foremost raught,
 Wherewith he gan the strong gates hew, and break ; 620
 From whence he bet the staples out of brass.
 He brake the bars, and through the timber pierc'd
 So large a hole, whereby they might discern
 The house, the court, and secret chambers eke
 Of Priamus, and ancient kings of Troy ; 625
 And armed foes in th' entry of the gate.

But the palace within confounded was
 With wailing, and with rueful shrieks and cries ;
 The hollow halls did howl of womens' plaint :
 The clamour strake up to the golden stars. 630
 The 'frayd^b mothers, wandring through the wide house,
 Embracing pillars did them hold and kiss.
 Pyrrhus assaileth with his father's might ;
 Whom the closures ne keepers might hold out.
 With often pushed ram the gate did shake ; 635
 The posts beat down, removed from their hooks :

^a Swoln.^b Affrightned.

By force they made the way, and th' entry brake.
 And now the Greeks let in, the foremost slew:
 And the large palace with soldiers gan to fill.
 Not so fiercely doth overflow the fields 640
 The foaming flood, that breaks out of his banks;
 Whose rage of waters bears away what heaps
 Stand in his way, the cotes,^a and eke the herds.

In th' entry^b [there] of slaughter furious
 I saw Pyrrhus, and either Atrides. 645

There Hecuba I saw, with a hundred mo'
 Of her sons wives, and Priam at the altar,
 Sprinkling with blood his flame of sacrifice.
 Fifty bed-chambers of his childrens wives,
 With loss of so great hope of his offspring, 650
 The pillars eke proudly beset with gold,
 And with the spoils of other nations,
 Fell to the ground: and what so that with flame
 Untouched was, the Greeks did all possess.

Percase^c you would ask what was Priam's fate? 655
 When of his taken town he saw the chance,
 And the gates of his palace beaten down,
 His foes amid his secret chambers eke,
 Th' old man in vain did on his shoulders then,
 Trembling for age, his cuirass long disused; 660
 His bootless sword^d he girded him about,
 And ran amid his foes, ready to die.

Amid the court, under the heaven, all bare,
 A great altar there stood, by which there grew
 An old laurel tree, bowing thereunto, 665
 Which with his shadow did embrace the Gods.

^a Cottages.^b As in the entry.^c Perchance.^d Sword.

Here Hecuba, with her young daughters all
 About the altar swarmed were in vain ;
 Like doves, that flock together in the storm,
 The statues of the Gods embracing fast. 670
 But when she saw Priam had taken there
 His armour, like as though he had been young ;
 " What furious thought my wretched spouse," quoth she,
 " Did move thee now such weapons for to wield ?
 " Why hastest thou ? This time doth not require 675
 " Such succour, ne yet such defenders now :
 " No, though Hector my son were here again.
 " Come hither ; this altar shall save us all :
 " Or we shall die together." Thus she said.
 Wherewith she drew him back to her, and set 680
 The aged man down in the holy seat.

But lo ! Polites, one of Priam's sons,
 Escaped from the slaughter of Pyrrhus,
 Comes fleeing through the weapons of his foes,
 Searching, all wounded, the long galleries 685
 And the void courts ; whom Pyrrhus all in rage
 Followed fast to reach a mortal wound ;
 And now in hand, well near strikes with his spear.
 Who fleeing forth till he came now in sight
 Of his parents, before their face fell down 690
 Yielding the ghost with flowing streams of blood.
 Priamus then, although he were half dead,
 Might not keep in his wrath, nor yet his words ;
 But crieth out : " For this thy wicked work,
 " And boldness eke such thing to enterprise, 695
 " If in the heavens any justice be,

327 "That of such things takes any care or keep,
 "According thanks the Gods may yield to thee;
 "And send thee eke thy just deserved hire,
 "That made me see the slaughter of my child,
 "And with his blood defile the father's face. 700
 027 "But he, by whom thou feign'st thyself begot,
 "Achilles, was to Priam not so stern.
 "For, lo! he tend'ring my most humble suit,
 "The right, and faith, my Hector's bloodless corps
 "Rend'red, for to be laid in sepulture; 705
 327 "And sent me to my kingdom home again."
 Thus said the aged man, and therewithall,
 Forceless he cast his weak unwieldy dart.
 Which repuls'd from the brass where it gave dint,
 Without wound^a hung vainly in the shield's boss. 710
 047 Quoth Pyrrhus; "Then thou shalt this thing report:
 "On message to Pelide my father go:
 "Shew unto him my cruel deeds, and how
 "Neoptolem is swerved out of kind.
 "Now shalt thou die," quoth he. And with that word 715
 247 At the altar him trembling 'gan he draw
 Wallowing through the bloodshed of his son:
 And, his left hand all clasped in his hair,
 With his right arm drew forth his shining sword,
 Which in his side he thrust up to the hilts. 720
 027 Of Priamus this was the fatal fine;^b
 The woeful end that was allotted him,
 When he had seen his palace all on flame,
 With ruin of his Trojan turrets eke.

^a Sound.^b End.

That royal prince of Asia, which of late 725
 Reign'd over so many people ^a and realms,
 Like a great stock now lieth on the shore;
 His head and shoulders parted been in twain :
 A body now without renown and fame.

Then first in me enter'd the grisly fear : 730
 Dismay'd I was. Wherewith came to my mind
 The image eke of my dear father, when
 I thus beheld the king of equal age,
 Yield up the sprite with wounds so cruelly.
 Then thought I of Creusa left alone ; 735
 And of my house in danger of the spoil,
 And the estate of young Iulus eke.
 I looked back to seek what number then
 I might discern about me of my feres :
 But wearied they had left me all alone. 740
 Some to the ground were lopen ^b from above,
 Some in the flame their irked bodies cast.

There was no mo' but I left of them all,
 When that I saw in Vesta's temple sit,
 Dame Helen, lurking in a secret place ; 745
 Such light the flame did give as I went by
 While here and there I cast mine eyen about.
 For she in dread lest that the Trojans should ^c
 Revenge on her the ruin of their walls ;
 And [dreading] of the Greeks cruel the wrecks also ; 750
 The fury eke of her forsaken make, ^d
 The common bane of Troy, and eke of Greece !
 She hateful, ^e sat beside the altars hid.

^a Peoples.^b Leapt.^c Shold.^d Husband^e Hateful she.

Then boil'd my breast with flame, and burning wrath,
 To revenge my town, unto such ruin brought; 755
 With worthy pains on her to work my will.
 Thought I: " Shall she pass to the land of Sparte
 " All safe? and see Mycene her native land?
 " And like a Queen return with victory
 " Home to her spouse, her parents and children, 760
 " Followed with a train of Trojan maids,
 " And served with a band of Phrygian slaves?
 " And Priam eke with iron murder'd thus?
 " And Troia^a town consumed all with flame?
 " Whose shore hath been so oft for-bathed in blood? 765
 " No! no! for though on women the revenge
 " Unseemly is, (such conquest hath no fame)
 " To give an end unto such mischief yet
 " My just revenge shall merit worthy praise,
 " And quiet eke my mind, thus^b to be wroke^c 770
 " On her, which was the causer of this flame;
 " And satisfy the cinder^d of my feres."^e
 With furious mind while I did argue thus,
 My blessed mother then appear'd to me,
 Whom erst so bright mine eyes had never seen; 775
 And with pure light she glistred in the night,
 Disclosing her in form a Goddess; like
 As she doth seem to such as dwell in heaven.
 My right hand then she took, and held it fast,
 And with her rosy lips thus did she say. 780
 " Son! what fury hath thus provoked thee
 " To such untamed wrath? what ragest thou?

^a Troy.^b For.^c Avenged.^d Ashes.^e Companions.

- " Or where is now become the care of us? 785
 " Wilt thou not first go see where thou hast left
 " Anchises, thy father for-done with age? 785
 " Doth Creusa live, and Ascanius thy son?
 " Whom now the Greekish bands have round beset:
 " And were they not defenced by my cure^a 790
 " Flame had them raught, and en'mies sword ere this.
 " Not Helen's beauty hateful unto thee, 790
 " Nor blamed Paris yet, but the Gods' wrath
 " Reft you this wealth, and overthrew your town.
 " Behold! and I shall now the cloud remove,
 " Which overcast thy mortal sight doth dim;
 " Whose moisture doth obscure all things about. 795
 " And fear not thou to do thy mother's will;
 " Nor her advice refuse thou to perform.
 " Here, where thou see'st the turrets overthrown,
 " Stone bet^b from stone, smoke rising mixt with dust,
 " Neptunus there shakes with his mace the walls, 800
 " And eke the loose foundations of the same;
 " And overwhelms the whole town from his seat.
 " And cruel Juno with the foremost here
 " Doth keep the gate that Scæa cleped^c is,
 " Near wode^d for wrath, whereas she stands and calls 805
 " In harness bright the Greeks out of their ships.
 " And in the turrets high behold where stands
 " Bright shining Pallas, all in warlike weed,
 " And with her shield, where Gorgon's head appears. 810
 " And Jupiter, my father, distributes
 " Availing strength and courage to the Greeks.

^a Care.^b Beaten.^c Called.^d Mad.

" Yet overmore, against the Trojan pow'r

" He doth provoke the rest of all the Gods.

" Flee then, my son! and give this travail end.

" Ne shall I thee forsake, in safeguard till

815

" I have thee brought unto thy father's gate."

This did she say: and therewith gan she hide

Herself, in [the] close^a shadow of the night.

Then dreadful figures gan appear to me;

And great Gods eke aggrieved with our town.

820

I saw Troia fall down in burning gledes,^b

Neptunus' town, clean razed from the soil.

Like as the elm for-grown in mountains high,

Round hewen with axe, that husbandmen

With thick assaults strive to tear up, doth threat,

825

And hack'd beneath trembling doth bend his top;

Till yold^c with strokes giving the latter crack,

Rent from the height with ruin it doth fall.

With this I went, and guided by a God

I passed through my foes, and eke the flame:

830

Their weapons and the fire eke gave me place.

And when that I was come before the gates,

And ancient building of my father's house;

My father, whom I hoped to convey

To the next hills, and did him thereto 'treat,

835

Refused either to prolong his life,

Or bide exile after the fall of Troy.

" All ye," quoth he, " in whom young blood is fresh,

" Whose strength remains entire and in full power,

" Take ye your flight!

840

^a Close.

^b Burning coals.

^c Yielded up.

" For if the Gods my life would have prorogued,
 " They had reserved for me this winning^a place.
 " It was enough, alas! and eke too much,
 " To see the town of Troy thus razed once;
 " [Enough] to have lived after the city taken. 845
 " When ye have said, " Alas!" this corps laid out forsake.
 " My hand shall seek my death; and pity shall
 " Mine en'mies move, or else hope of my spoil.
 " As for my grave I weigh the loss but light:
 " For I my years, disdainful to the Gods, 850
 " Have lingered forth, unable to all needs;
 " Since that the Sire of Gods and king of men
 " Strake me with thunder, and with levening^b blast."
 Such things he gan rehearse, thus firmly bent.
 But we besprent^c with tears, my tender son, 855
 And eke my sweet Creusa, with the rest
 Of the household, my father 'gan beseech
 Not so with him to perish all at once,
 Nor so to yield unto the cruel fate:
 Which he refused, and stack^d to his intent. 860
 Driven I was to harness then again,
 Miserably my death for to desire;
 For what advise, or other hope was left?
 " Father! thought'st thou that I may once remove,"
 Quoth I, " My foot, and leave thee here behind. 865
 " May such a wrong pass from a fathers mouth!
 " If God's will be, that nothing here be saved
 " Of this great town; and thy mind bent to join
 " Both thee and thine to ruin of this town:

^a Dwelling.^b Lightning.^c Besprinkled.^d Remained fixed.

- 870 " The way is plain this death for to attain.
 " Pyrrhus shall come besprent with Priam's blood;
 " That gor'd the son before the father's face,
 " And slew the father at the altar eke.
 " O sacred Mother! was it then for this
 875 " That you me led through flame, and weapons sharp,
 " That I might in my secret chamber see
 " Mine en'mies; and Ascanius my son,
 " My father, with Creusa my sweet wife,
 " Murder'd, alas! the one in th' others blood?
 880 " Why, servants! then bring me my arms again!
 " The latter day us vanquished doth call.
 " Render me now to the Greeks' sight again:
 " And let me see the fight begun of new!
 " We shall not all unwroken^a die this day."
 885 About me then I girt my sword^b again,
 And eke my shield on my left shoulder cast,
 And bent me so to rush out of the house.
 Lo! in my gate my spouse, clasping my feet,
 For against his father young Iulus set.
 890 " If thou wilt go," quoth she, " and spill thyself,
 " Take us with thee in all that may betide.
 " But as expert if thou in arms have set,
 " Yet any hope, then first this house defend;
 " Whereas thy son, and eke thy father dear,
 895 " And I, sometime thine own dear wife, are left."
 Her shrill loud voice with plaint thus fill'd the house:
 When that a sudden monstrous marvel fell.
 For in their sight, and woeful parents' arms,

^a Unrevenged.^b Sword.

Behold! a light out of the button sprang 900

That in tip of Iulus cap did stand,

With gentle touch whose harmless flame did shine

Upon his hair, about his temples spread.

And we afraid, trembling for dreadful fear,

Bet out the fire from his blasing tress, 905

And with water 'gan quench the sacred flame.

Anchises glad his eyen lift to the stars;

With hands his voice to heaven thus he bent.

"If by pray'r, almighty Jupiter,

"Inclined thou may'st be, behold us then 910

"Of ruth at least, if we so much deserve!

"Grant eke thine aid, Father! confirm this thing."

Scarce had the old man said, when that the heavens

With sudden noise thund'ed on the left hand.

Out of the sky, by the dark night there fell 915

A blasing star, dragging a brand of^a flame,

Which with much light gliding on the house top

In the forest of Ida hid her beams;

The which full bright kindling^b a furrow, shone;

By a long tract appointing us the way: 920

And round about of brimstone rose a fume.^c

My father vanquish'd then, beheld the skies;

Spake to the Gods, and th' holy star adored.

"Now, now," quoth he, "no longer I abide.

"Follow^d I shall where ye me guide at hand. 925

"O native Gods! your family defend;

"Preserve your line. This warning comes of you;

"And Troia stands in your protection now.

^a Or.

^b Cendleing.

^c Smoke.

^d Fellow.

" Now give I place, and whereso that thou go,
 " Refuse I not my son to be thy ^afere." 930

Thus did he say; and by that time more clear
 The crackling flame was heard throughout the walls,
 And more and more the burning heat drew near.

" Why then ! have done, my father dear," quoth I,
 " Bestride my neck forthwith, and sit thereon," 935

" And I shall with my shoulders thee sustain,

" Ne shall this labour do me any dere^b

" What so betide, one^c peril, one^c welfare,

" Like to us both and common there shall be;

" Young Iulus shall bear me company: 940

" And my wife shall follow far off my steps.

" Now ye, my servants, mark well what I say.

" Without the town ye shall find, on an hill

" An old temple there stands, whereas some time

" Worship was done to Ceres the Goddess; 945

" Beside which grows an aged cypress tree

" Preserved long by our forefather's zeal:

" Behind which place let us together meet.

" And thou, Father, receive into thine hands

" The reliques all, and the Gods of the land. 950

" The which it were not lawful I should touch,

" That come but late from slaughter and bloodshed,

" Till I be washed in the running flood."

When I had said these words, my shoulders broad,

And lay'd neck with garments 'gan I spread, 955

And thereon cast a yellow lion's skin;

And thereupon my burden I receive.

^a Companion.

^b Harm.

^c Come.

Young Iulus clasped in my right hand,
 Followeth me fast, with unequal pace;
 And at my back my wife. Thus did we pass 960
 By places shadowed most with the night;
 And me, whom late the dart which enemies threw,
 Nor press of Argive routs could make amaz'd:
 Each whisp'ring wind hath power now to fray,
 And every sound to move my doubtful mind: 965
 So much I dread my burden, and my fere.

And now we 'gan draw near unto the gate,
 Right well escap'd the danger, as me thought,
 When that at hand a sound of feet we heard.
 My father then, gazing throughout the dark, 970
 Cried on me, "Flee, son! they are at hand."
 With that bright shields, and shene^a armours I saw
 But then, I know not what unfriendly God
 My troubled wit from me bereft for fear.
 For while I ran by the most secret streets, 975
 Eschewing still the common haunted track,
 From me catif, alas! bereaved was
 Creusa then, my spouse; I wot not how.
 Whether by fate, or missing of the way,
 Or that she was by weariness retain'd; 980
 But never sith these eyes might her behold.
 Nor did I yet perceive that she was lost,
 Ne never backward turned I my mind;
 Till we came to the hill whereas there stood
 The old temple, dedicate to Ceres. 985
 And when that we were there assembled all,
 She was only away deceiving us,

^a Shining.

Her spouse, her son, and all her company.
 What God or man did I not then accuse,
 Near wode^a for ire? or what more cruel chance 990
 Did hap to me in all Troy's overthrow?
 Ascanius to my feres I then betook,
 With Anchises, and eke the Trojan Gods,
 And left them hid within a valley deep;
 And to the town I 'gan me hie again, 995
 Clad in bright arms, and bent for to renew
 Aventures past, to search throughout the town,
 And yield my head to perils once again.
 And first the walls, and dark entry I sought
 Of the same gate whereat I issued out; 1000
 Holding backward the steps where we had come
 In the dark night, looking all round about.
 In every place the ugly^b sights I saw;
 The silence self of night aghast my sprite.
 From thence^c again I pass'd unto our house, 1005
 If she by chance had been returned home.
 The Greeks were there, and had it all beset:
 The wasting fire, blown up by drift of wind,
 Above the roofs in^d blazing flame sprang up;
 The sound whereof with fury pierc'd the skies. 1010
 To Priam's palace, and the castle then
 I made; and there at Juno's sanctuary,
 In the void porches, Phoenix, Ulysses eke
 Stern guardians stood, y-watching of the spoil. 1015
 The riches here were set,^e reft^f from the brent^g
 Temples of Troy; the tables^h of the Gods,

^a Mad.^b Hideous.^c Hence.^d The.^e Taken.^f Rest.^g Burnt.^h Table.

The vessels eke that were of massy gold,
 And vestures spoil'd were gather'd all in heap :
 The children orderly and mothers pale for fright,
 Long ranged on a row stood round about. 1020
 So bold was I to show my voice that night
 With clepes,^a and cries, to fill the street throughout
 With Creuse' name in sorrow, with vain tears ;
 And often-sithes the same for to repeat.

The town restless with fury as I sought 1025
 Th' unlucky figure of Creusa's ghost,
 Of stature more than wont, stood 'fore mine eyen.
 Abashed then I woxe:^b therewith my hair
 'Gan start right up : my voice stack in my throat :
 When with such words she 'gan my heart remove. 1030
 " What helps, to yield unto such furious rage,
 " Sweet spouse?" quoth she. " Without will of the Gods
 " This chanced not: ne lawful was for thee
 " To lead away Creusa hence with thee. 1035
 " The King of the high heaven suff'reth it not.
 " A long exile thou art assigned to bear,
 " Long to furrow large space of stormy seas :
 " So shalt thou reach at last Hesperian land
 " Where Lidian Tiber with his gentle stream
 " Mildly doth flow along the fruitful fields ! 1040
 " There, mirthful wealth ; there, kingdom is for thee ;
 " There a king's child prepar'd to be thy make.^c
 " For thy beloved Creusa stint thy tears :
 " For now shall I not see the proud abodes
 " Of Myrmidons, nor yet of Dolopes : 1045

^a Calls^b Waxed; became.^c Wife.

" Ne I, a Trojan lady, and the wife
 " Unto the son of Venus, the Goddess,
 " Shall go a slave to serve the Greekish dames.
 " Me here the God's great mother holds——
 " And now farewell; and keep in father's breast 1050
 " The tender love of thy young son and mine."

This having said, she left me all in tears,
 And minding much to speak; but she was gone,
 And subtly fled into the weightless air.
 Thrice raught I with mine arms t' accoll^a her neck; 1055
 Thrice did my hands vain hold th' image escape
 Like nimble winds, and like the flying dream.
 So, night spent out, return I to my feres;
 And there wond'ring, I find together swarm'd,
 A new number of mates; mothers, and men 1060
 A rout exiled, a wretched multitude,
 From each-where flock together, prest to pass
 With heart and goods, to whatsoever land
 By sliding seas, me listed them to lead.
 And now rose Lucifer above the ridge 1065
 Of lusty Ide, and brought the dawning light.
 The Greeks held th' entries of the gates beset:
 Of help there was no hope. Then gave I place,
 Took up my sire, and hasted to the hill. 1069

^a To embrace.



THE FOURTH BOOK

OF

VIRGIL'S ÆNEID.

BUT now the wounded Queen with heavy care,
Throughout the veins she nourished the plaie,^a
Surprised with blind flame; and to her mind
'Gan eke resort the prowess of the man,
And honour of his race: while in her breast,
Imprinted stak his words, and pictures form;
Ne to her limbs care granteth quiet rest.

5

The next morrow, with Phœbus' lamp the earth
Alightned clear; and eke the dawning day
The shadows dark 'gan from the pole remove;
When all unsound, her Sister of like mind,
Thus spake she to: "O! Sister Anne, what dreams
" Be these, that me, tormented thus afay?
" What new guest this,^b that to our realm is come?
" What one of chere? how stout of heart in arms?
" Truly I think (ne vain is my belief)
" Of Goddish race some offspring should he be:
" Cowardry notes hearts swerved out of kind.
" He driven, lord! with how hard destiny!

10

15

^a Wound,

^b Is this

" What battles eke achieved did he recount? 20
 " But that my mind is fixt unmoveably
 " Never with wight^a in wedlock aye to join,
 " Sith my first love me left by death dissever'd;
 " If genial brands^b and bed, me lothed not,
 " To this one guilt perchance yet might I yield. 25
 " Anne, for I grant, sith wretched Sichee's death,
 " My spouse and house with brother's slaughter stain'd
 " This only man hath made my senses bend,
 " And pricked forth the mind that 'gan to slide.
 " Now feelingly I taste the steps of mine old flame. 30
 " But first I wish the earth me swallow down,
 " Or with thunder the mighty Lord me send
 " To the pale ghosts of hell, and darkness deep;
 " Ere I thee stain, shamefastnes,^c or thy laws.
 " He that with me first coupled, took away 35
 " My love with him; enjoy it in his grave."

Thus did she say, and with surprised tears
 Bained her breast. Whereto Anne thus replied.

" O Sister, dearer beloved than the light!
 " Thy youth alone in plaint still wilt thou spill? 40
 " Ne children sweet, ne Venus' gifts wilt know?
 " Cinders, thinkest thou, mind this? or graved ghosts?
 " Time of thy doole,^d thy spouse new dead, I grant,
 " None might thee move: no, not the Libyan king,
 " Nor yet of Tyre; Iarbas set so light, 45
 " And other princes mo'; whom the rich soil
 " Of Afric breeds, in honours triumphant.
 " Wilt thou also gainstand^e thy liked love?

^a Person.^b Torches.^c Modesty.^d Widow's mourning.^e Oppose.

" Comes not to mind upon whose land thou dwel'st?

" On this side, lo! the Getule town behold! 50

" A people bold, unvanquished in war.

" Eke the undaunted Numides compass thee:

" Also the Sirtes unfriendly harbrough.^a

" On th' other hand, a desert realm for thirst,

" The Barceans; whose fury stretcheth wide. 55

" What shall I touch the wars that move from Tyre?

" Or yet thy brother's threats?—

" By Gods purveyance it blew, and Juno's help,

" The Trojan's^b ships, I think, to run this course.

" Sister! what town shalt thou see this become? 60

" Through such ally how shall our kingdom rise!

" And by the aid of Trojan arms how great.

" How many ways shall Carthages glory grow?

" Thou only now beseech the Gods of grace

" By sacrifice; which ended, to thy house 65

" Receive him, and forge causes of abode:

" Whiles winter frets the seas, and wat'ry Orion;

" The ships shaken, unfriendly the season."

Such words inflamed the kindled mind with love;

Loosed all shame, and gave the doubtful hope. 70

And to the temples first they haste, and seek

By sacrifice for grace, with hogrels^c of two years,

Chosen, as ought, to Ceres that gave laws;

To Phœbus, Bacchus, and to Juno chief,

Which hath in care the bands of marriage. 75

Fair Dido held in her right hand the cup

Which 'twixt the horns of a white cow she shed

^a Harbour.

^b Troiaynes.

^c Sheep of the second year.

In presence of the Gods, passing before
 The altars fat; which she renewed oft
 With gifts that day, and beasts debowelled;
 Gazing for counsel on the entrails warm.
 Aye me! unskilful minds of prophesy!
 Temples or vows, what boot they in her rage?
 A gentle flame the marrow^a doth devour,
 Whiles in the breast the silent wound keeps life.
 Unhappy Dido burns, and in her rage
 Throughout the town she wand'reth up and down.
 Like [to] the stricken hind with shaft, in Crete
 Throughout the woods which chasing with his darts,
 Aloof, the shepherd smiteth all^b unwares,
 And leaves unwist in her the thirling^c head;
 That through the groves and lands glides in her flight,
 Amid whose side the mortal arrow sticks.
 Æneas now about the walls she leads,
 The town prepared, and Carthage wealth to shew.
 Off'ring to speak amid her voice she whists:
 And when the day gins^d fail new feasts she makes.
 The Troy's travails to hear a-new she lists,
 Enraged all: and stareth in his face
 That tells the tale. And when they are^e all gone,
 And the dim moon doth eft withhold the light,
 And sliding stars provoke^f unto [sweet] sleep;
 Alone she mourns within her palace void,
 And sets her down on her forsaken bed.
 And, absent, him she hears; when he is gone,
 And seeth eke. Oft in her lap she holds

^a Mary.^b At.^c Piercing.^d Gan.^e Were.^f Provoked.

Ascanius, trapp'd by his father's form,
So to beguile the love cannot be told.

The turrets now arise not, erst begun;
Neither the youth wields arms, nor yet^a advance 110
The ports; nor other meet defence for war.

Broken there hang the works, and mighty frames
Of walls, high raised, threatening the sky.

Whom as soon as Jove's dear wife saw infect
Of such a plague, ne fame resist the rage; 115
Saturnus'^b daughter thus bourds^c Venus then.

"Great praise," quoth she, "and worthy spoils you win,

"You and your son; great Gods of memory!

"By both your wiles one woman to devour.

"Yet am not I deceived, that foreknew 120

"Ye dread our walls, and buildings gan suspect

"Of high Carthage. But what shall be the end?

"Or whereunto now serveth such debate?

"But rather peace, and bridal bands knit we,

"Sith thou hath sped of that thy heart desired. 125

"Dido doth burn with love; rage frets her bones.

"This people now as common to us both,

"With equal favour let us govern then.

"Lawful^d be it to serve a Trojan spouse,

"And Tyrians yield to thy right hand in dow'r." 130

To whom Venus replied thus, that knew

Her words proceeded from a feigned mind;

To Libyan coasts to turn th' empire, from Rome.

"What wight so fond such offer to refuse?

"Or yet with thee had liefer^e strive in war? 135

^a They.

^b Saturnes.

^c Addresses.

^d Leful.

^e Lever: liefer, rather.

" So be it fortune thy tale bring t' effect.
 " But destinies I doubt: lest Jove nill^a grant
 " That folk of Tyre, and such as came from Troy,
 " Should hold one town; or grant these nations
 " Mingled to be, or joined aye in league. 140
 " Thou art^b his wife: lawful it is for thee
 " For to attempt his fancy by request:
 " Pass on before; and follow thee I shall."

Queen Juno then thus took her tale again:

" This travail be it mine. But by what mean 145
 " Mark! in few words I shall thee learn eftsoons^c
 " This work in hand may now be compassed.
 " Æneas now, and wretched Dido eke,
 " To the forest a hunting mind to wend
 " To-morn; as soon as Titan shall ascend, 150
 " And with his beams hath overspread the world.
 " Then^d whiles the wings of youth do swarm about;
 " And whiles they range to overset the groves,
 " A cloudy shower mingled with hail I shall
 " Pour down; and then with thunder shake the skies. 155
 " Th' assembly^e scattered the mist shall cloke.
 " Dido a cave, the Trojan prince the same
 " Shall enter too; and I will be at hand:
 " And if thy will stick unto mine, I shall
 " In wedlock sure knit, and make her his own. 160
 " Thus shall the marriage be." To whose request
 Without debate Venus did seem to yield;
 And smiled soft, as she that found the wile.

^a Will not.^b At.^c Presently.^d And.^e Assemble.

Then from the seas the dawning gan arise.
 The sun once up, the chosen youth gan throng 165
 Out at the gates: the hayes^a so rarely knit,
 The hunting staves with their broad heads of steel;
 And of Masile the horsemen forth they brake;
 Of scenting hounds a kennel huge likewise.
 And at the threshold of her chamber door 170
 The Carthage lords did on the Queen attend.
 The trampling steed with gold and purple trapp'd,
 Chewing the foamy bit there fiercely stood.
 Then issued she, awaited with great train,
 Clad in a cloke of Tyre embroidred rich. 175
 Her quiver hung behind her back; her tress
 Knotted in gold; her purple vesture eke
 Button'd with gold. The Trojans of her train
 Before her go, with gladsome Iulus.
 Æneas eke, the goodliest of the rout, 180
 Makes one of them, and joineth close the throngs.
 Like when Apollo leaveth Lycia,
 His wint'ring place, and Xanthus' floods likewise,
 To visit Delos, his mother's mansion,
 Repairing eft; and, furnishing her choir, 185
 The Candians, and folks of Dryopè,^b
 With painted Agathyrsi^c shout, and cry,
 Environing the altars round about;
 While^d that he walks upon mount Cynthus' top,
 His sparkled^e tress repress'd with garlands soft 190
 Of tender leaves, and trussed up in gold;
 His quivering darts clatt'ring behind his back.

^a Hunting nets; toils. ^b Dryopes. ^c Agathyrses. ^d When. ^e Scattered.

So fresh and lusty did Æneas seem ;

Such lordly port in present countenance.

But to the hills and wild holts^a when they came 195
From the rock's top the driven savage rose.

Lo ! from the hill above, on th' other side

Through the wide lawns^b they gan to take their course.

The harts likewise in troops taking their flight,

Raising the dust, the mountain fast forsake. 200

The child Iulus blithe of his swift steed

Amid the plain now pricks by them, now these ;

And to encounter wisheth oft in mind

The foaming boar instead of fearful beasts ;

Or Lion brown might from the hill descend. 205

In the mean while the skies gan rumble sore ;

In tail thereof, a mingled show'r with hail.

The Tyrian folk, and eke the Trojan youth,

And Venus' nephew, the cottages for fear

Sought round about : the floods fell from the hills. 210

Dido a den, the Trojan prince the same

Chanced upon. Our mother then, the Earth,

And Juno that hath charge of marriage,

First tokens gave with burning gleads^c of flame ;

And, privy to the wedlock, lightning skies ; 215

And the Nymphs yelled from the mountains top.

Aye me ! this was the first day of their mirth ;

And of their harms the first occasion eke.

Respect of Fame no longer her withholds,

Nor museth now to frame her love by stealth. 220

Wedlock she calls it ; under the pretence

Of which fair name she cloaketh now her fault.

^a Woods.

^b Lawnds.

^c Coals of fire.

Forthwith Fame flieth through the great Libyan towns.
 A mischief Fame, there is none else so swift;
 That moving grows, and flitting gathers force. 225
 First small for dread, soon after climbs the skies;
 Stayeth on Earth, and hides her head in clouds.
 Whom our Mother the Earth, tempted by wrath
 Of Gods begat; the last Sister (they write)
 To Coeus, and to Enceladus eke. 230
 Speedy of foot, of wing likewise as swift:
 A monster huge, and dreadful to describe.
 In every plume that on her body sticks
 (A thing in deed, much marvelous to hear)
 As many waker^a eyes lurk underneath; 235
 So many mouths to speak, and list'ning ears.
 By night she flies amid the cloudy sky
 Shrieking, by the dark shadow of the earth,
 Ne doth decline to the sweet sleep her eyes.
 By day she sits to mark on the house top, 240
 Or turrets high; and the great towns affrays;
 As mindful of ill and lies, as blasing truth.

This monster, blithe, with many a tale gan sow
 This rumour then into the common ears:
 As well things done, as that was never wrought. 245
 As, that there comen is to Tyrian's court
 Æneas, one outsprung of Trojan blood,
 To whom fair Dido would herself be wed:
 And that, the while, the winter long they pass
 In foul delight, forgetting charge of reign; 250
 Led against honour with dishonest lust.

^a Wakeful.

This in each mouth, the filthy Goddess spreads;
 And takes her course to king Hiarbas straight,
 Kindling his mind: with tales she feeds his wrath.
 Gotten was he by Ammon Jupiter, 55
 Upon the ravish'd nymph of Garamant.
 An hundred hugy, great temples he built
 In his far stretching realms to Jupiter.
 Altars as many kept, with waking flame;
 A watch always upon the Gods to tend; 260
 The floors embru'd with yielded blood of beasts,
 And threshold spread with garlands of strange hue.
 He wode of mind, kindled with bitter bruit
 To-fore th' altars, in presence of the Gods,
 With reared hands gan humbly Jove intreat. 265
 "Almighty God! whom the Moores nation,
 "Fed at rich tables presenteth with wine;
 "See'st thou these things? or fear we thee in vain,
 "When thou lettest fly thy thunder from the clouds?
 "Or do those flames with vain noise us affray? 270
 "A woman that wand'ring in our coasts hath bought
 "A plot for price, where she a city set;
 "To whom we gave the strond for to manure,
 "And laws to rule her town, our^a wedlock loathed,
 "Hath chose Æneas to command her realm. 275
 "That Paris now, with his unmanly sort
 "With mitred hats, with ointed bush^b and beard,
 "His rape enjoy'th: whiles to thy temples we
 "Our offrings bring, and follow rumors vain."

^a She.^b Hair.

Whom praying in such sort, and griping eke 280
 The altars fast, the mighty Father heard;
 And writhed^a his look toward the royal walls,
 And lovers eke, forgetting their good name.
 To Mercury then gave he thus in charge:
 "Hence, Son, in haste! and call to thee the winds. 285
 "Slide with thy plumes, and tell the Trojan prince
 "That now in Carthage loitereth, reckless
 "Of the towns granted him by destiny.
 "Swift through the skies see thou these words convey.
 "His fair Mother behight^a him not to us 290
 "Such one to be; ne, therefore twice him saved
 "From Greekish arms: but such a one
 "As meet might seem great Italy to rule;
 "Dreadful in arms; charged with seigniory;
 "Shewing in proof his worthy Teucrian race, 295
 "And under laws the whole world to subdue.
 "If glory of such things nought him enflame:
 "Ne that he lists seek honour by some pain;
 "The towers yet of Rome, being his sire,
 "Doth he envy to young Ascanius? 300
 "What mindeth he to frame? or on what hope,
 "In en'mies land doth he make his abode?
 "Ne his offspring in Italy regards?
 "Ne yet the land of Lavine doth behold?
 "Bid him make sail: have here the sum and end: 305
 "Our message thus report." When Jove had said,
 Then Mercury 'gan bend him to obey
 His mighty father's will: and to his heels

^a Turned.

His golden wings he knits, which him transport
 With a light wind above the earth and seas. 310
 And then with him his wand he took, whereby
 He calls from hell pale ghosts; and other some
 Thither also he sendeth comfortless;
 Whereby he forceth sleeps, and them bereaves;
 And mortal eyes he closeth up in death. 315
 By power whereof he drives the winds away,
 And passeth eke amid the troubled clouds,
 Till in his flight he 'gan descry the top
 And the steep flanks of rocky Atlas' hill,
 That with his crown sustains the welkin^a up: 320
 Whose head foregrown with pine, circled alway
 With misty clouds, beaten with wind and storm;
 His shoulders spread with snow; and from his chin
 The springs descend; his beard frozen with ice.
 Here Mercury with equal shining wings 325
 First touched; and, with body headling bent,^b
 To the water then took he his descent.
 Like to the fowl that endlong coasts and stronds
 Swarming with fish, flies sweeping by the sea;
 Cutting betwixt the winds and Libyan lands, 330
 From his grandfather by the mother's side,
 Cyllene's child, so came: and then alight
 Upon the houses with his winged feet;
 To form towers^c where he Æneas saw;
 Foundations cast, arearing lodges new, 335
 Girt with a sword^d of jasper, starry bright.
 A shining 'parel,^e flaming^f with stately eye

^a Heaven.^b Better.^c Fore.^d Sward.^e Robe.^f Flamed.

Of Tyrian purple, hung his shoulders down;
 The gift and work of wealthy Dido's hand,
 Striped throughout with a thin thread of gold. 340

Thus he encounters him: "Oh! careless wight!

" Both of thy realm, and of thine own affairs!

" A wife-bound man now dost thou rear the walls

" Of high Carthage? and^a build a goodly town?

" From the bright skies the ruler of the Gods 345

" Sent me to thee, that with his beck^b commands

" Both heav'n and earth: in haste [he] gave me charge

" Through the light air this message thee to say.

" What framest thou? or on what hope thy time

" In idleness dost^c waste in Afric land? 350

" Of so great things if nought the fame thee stir,

" Ne list by travail honour to pursue;

" Ascanius yet, that waxeth fast behold,

" And the hope of Iulus' seed, thine heir;

" To whom the realm of Italy belongs, 355

" And soil of Rome." When Mercury had said,

Amid his tale far off from mortal eyes

Into light air he vanish'd out of sight.

Æneas with that vision stricken down,

Well near distraught,^d upstart his hair for dread, 360

Amid his throat^e his voice likewise 'gan stick.

For to depart by night he longeth now,

And the sweet land to leave, astoined sore

With this advise and message of the Gods.

What may he do, alas! or by what words

Dare he persuade the raging Queen in love? 365

^a To.

^b Nod.

^c Doth.

^d Bestraught.

^e Throtal.

Or in what sort may he his tale begin?
 Now here, now there his reckless^a mind 'gan run,
 And diversly him draws, discoursing all.
 After long doubts this sentence seemed best. 370
 Mnestheus first, and strong Cloanthus eke
 He calls to him, with Sergest; unto whom
 He gave in charge his navy secretly
 For to prepare, and drive to the sea coast;
 His people and their armour to address; 375
 And for the cause of change to feign excuse:
 And that he, when good Dido least foreknew,
 Or did suspect so great a love could break,
 Would^b wait his time to speak thereof most meet:
 The nearest way to hasten his intent. 380
 Gladly his will and biddings they obey.

Full soon the Queen this crafty sleight 'gan smell,
 (Who can deceive a lover in forecast?)
 And first foresaw the motions for to come;
 Things most assured fearing. Unto whom 385
 That wicked Fame reported, how to flight
 Was arm'd the fleet all ready to avale:^c
 Then ill bested of counsel, rageth she;
 And whisketh through the town: like Bacchus' nun,^d
 As Thyas stirs, the sacred rites begun, 390
 And when the wonted third years sacrifice
 Doth prick her forth, hearing Bacchus' name hallowed,
 And that the feastful night of Citheron
 Doth call her forth, with noise of dancing.

^a Careless.^b Would.^c Lower down.^d Votary.

- At length herself bourdeth^a Æneas thus. 395
- “ Unfaithful wight! to cover such a fault
 “ Couldst thou hope? unwist to leave my land?
 “ Not thee our love, nor yet right hand betrothed,
 “ Ne cruel death of Dido may withhold,
 “ But that thou wilt in winter ships prepare, 400
 “ And try the seas in broil of whirling^b winds?
 “ What if the land thou seekest were not strange!
 “ If not unknown or ancient Troy yet stood;
 “ In rough seas yet should Troia town be sought?
 “ Shunnest thou me? By these tears, and right hand!! 405
 “ (For nought else have I, wretched, left myself)
 “ By our spousals and marriage begun!
 “ If I of thee deserved ever well,
 “ Or thing of mine were ever to thee lief,^d
 “ Rue on this realm! whose ruin is at hand. 410
 “ If ought be left that prayer may avail,
 “ I thee beseech to do away this mind;
 “ The Libyans, and tyrants of Nomades,^e
 “ For thee me hate: my Tyrians eke for thee
 “ Are wroth; by thee my shamefastness eke stained. 415
 “ And good renown whereby up to the stars
 “ Peerless I clamb. To whom wilt thou me leave,
 “ Ready to dye, my sweet guest! sith this name
 “ Is all, as now that of a spouse remains.
 “ But whereto now should I prolong my death? 420
 “ What! until my brother Pigmalion
 “ Beat down my wall? or the Getulian king
 “ Hiarbas, yet captive lead me away?

^a Addresseth.^b Whorling.^c Begonne.^d Dear.^e Nomadane.

392 " Before thy flight a child had I once borne ;
 " Or seen a young Æneas in my court, 425
 " Play up and down, that might present thy face ;
 " All utterly I could not seem forsaken."

Thus said the Queen. He to the Gods advise,
 400 Unmoved held his eyes ; and in his breast,
 Represt his care, and strove against his will : 430
 And these few words at last then forth he cast.

" Never shall I deny, Queen, thy desert ;
 " Greater than thou in words may well express.
 404 " To think on thee ne irk me aye it shall,
 " Whiles of myself I shall have memory ; 435
 " And whiles the spirit these limbs of mine shall rule.

" For present purpose somewhat shall I say.
 " Never meant I to cloak the same by stealth,
 414 " (Slander me not) ne to escape by flight.
 " Nor I to thee pretended marriage : 440
 " Ne hither came to join me^a in such league.

" If destiny at mine own liberty,
 " To lead my life would have permitted me ;
 418 " After my will, my sorrow to redoub,^b
 " Troy, and the [lov'd] remainder of our folk, 445
 " Restore I should :^c and with these scaped hands,

" The walls again unto the vanquished,
 " And palace high of Priam eke repair.
 424 " But now Apollo, called Grineus,
 " And prophecies of Lycia me advise 450
 " To seize upon the realm of Italy.

" That is my love, my country, and my land.

^a Men.

^b Redouble.

^c Should.

" If Carthage turrets thee, Phœnician born,
 " And of a Libyan town the sight detain;
 " To us Trojans, why doest thou then envy " 455
 " In Italy to make our resting seat?
 " Lawful^a is eke for us strange realms to seek.
 " As oft as night doth cloak with shadows dark
 " The earth; as oft as flaming stars appear;
 " The troubled ghost of my father Anchise^b " 460
 " So oft in sleep doth fray^c me; and advise
 " The wronged head by me of my dear son,
 " Whom I defraud of the Hesperian crown,
 " And lands allotted him by destiny.
 " The messenger eke of the Gods but late " 465
 " Sent down from Jove (I swear by either head)
 " Passing the air did this to me report.
 " In bright day-light the God my self I saw
 " Enter these walls; and with these ears him heard.
 " Leave then with plaint to vex both thee, and me! " 470
 " Against my will to Italy I go."

Whiles in this sort he did his tale pronounce,
 With wayward look she 'gan him aye behold,
 And rolling eyes, that moved to and fro;
 With silent^d look discoursing over all: " 475
 And forth in rage, at last thus 'gan she upbraid.^e

" Faithless! forsworn! ne Goddess was thy dam!
 " Nor Dardanus beginner of thy race!
 " But of hard rocks mount Caucase monstrous
 " Bred thee; and teats of Tyger gave thee suck. " 480
 " But what should I dissemble now my chere?

^a Lefull.^b Anchises^c Frighten.^d Silence.^e Braid.

- " Or me reserve to hope of greater things?
 " Minds he our tears? or ever moved his eyen?
 " Wept he for ruth? or pitied he our love?
 " What shall I set before? or where begin? 485
 " Juno, nor Jove with just eyes this beholds!
 " Faith is no where in surety to be found!
 " Did I not him, thrown up upon my shore
 " In need, receive? and, fonded^a eke invest 490
 " Of half my realm? his navy lost, repair?
 " From death's danger his fellows eke defend?
 " Aye me! with rage and furies, lo! I drive.
 " Apollo now; now Lycian prophecies;
 " Another while, the messenger of Gods,
 " He says, sent down from mighty Jove himself, 495
 " The dreadful charge amid the skies hath brought.
 " As though that were the travail of the Gods;
 " Or such a care their quietness might move!
 " I hold thee not; nor yet gainsay thy words.
 " To Italy pass on by help of winds; 500
 " And through the floods go search thy kingdom new!
 " If ruthful Gods have any power, I trust
 " Amid the rocks thy guerdon^b thou shalt find;
 " When thou shalt clepe full oft on Dido's name.
 " With burial brandes^c I, absent, shall thee chase. 505
 " And when cold death from life these limbs divides,
 " My ghost each where shall still on thee await.
 " Thou shalt abyed^d; and I shall hear thereof.
 " Among the souls below the^e bruit shall come."

^a Treated with kindness.^b Reward.^c Torches.^d Abide it dear.^e Thy.

With such like words she cut off half her tale, 510
 With pensive heart abandoning the light.
 And from his sight herself gan far remove;
 Forsaking him, that many things in fear
 Imagined, and did prepare to say.
 Her swouning limbs her damsels 'gan relieve, 515
 And to her chamber bore of marble stone;
 And laid her on her bed with tapets^a spread.
 But just Æneas, though he did desire
 With comfort sweet her sorrows to appease,
 And with his words to banish all her care; 520
 Wailing her much, with great love overcome,
 The Gods' will yet he worketh; and resorts
 Unto his navy, where the Trojans fast
 Fell to their work, from the shore to unstock
 High rigged ships. Now fletes the tallowed keel; 525
 Their oars with leaves yet green from wood they bring;
 And masts, unshave, for haste to take their flight.
 You might have seen them throng out of the town
 Like ants, when they do spoil the bin^b of corn,
 For winter's dread, which they bear to their den: 530
 When the black swarm creeps over all the fields,
 And thwart the grass by strait paths drags their prey:
 The great grains then some on their shoulders truss;
 Some drive the troop; some chastise eke the slow;
 That with their travail chafed is each path. 535
 Beholding this what thought might Dido have?
 What sighs gave she? when from her towers high
 The coasts^d she saw haunted with Trojans' works,

^a Coverlid.^b Bing.^d The large coasts.

And in her sight the seas with din confounded.
 O, witless Love! what thing is that to do 540
 A mortal mind thou canst not force thereto?
 Forced she is to tears aye to return,
 With new requests to yield her heart to love.
 And lest she should before her causeless death
 Leave any thing untried: "O Sister Anne!" 545
 Quoth she, "behold! the whole coast round about
 "How they prepare, assembled every where;
 "The streaming sails abiding but for wind:
 "The shipmen crown their ships with boughs for joy.
 "O sister! if so great a sorrow I 550
 "Mistrusted had; it were more light to bear.
 "Yet nathëless^a this for me wretched wight,
 "Anne, shalt thou do: for faithless, thee alone
 "He revered, thee eke his secrets told.
 "The meetest time thou knowest^b to bourd^c the man. 555
 "To my proud foe thus, Sister, humbly say.
 "I with the Greeks within the port Aulide
 "Conjured not, the Trojans to destroy;
 "Nor to the walls of Troy yet sent my fleet:
 "Nor cinders of his father Anchises 560
 "Disturbed have, out of his sepulture.
 "Why lets he not my words sink in his ears,
 "So hard to overtreat? Whither whirls he?
 "This last boon yet grant he to wretched love.
 "Prosperous winds for to depart with ease, 565
 "Let him abide; the foresaid marriage now,
 "That he betray'd, I do not him require,

^a Nevertheless.^b Knewest.^c Address.

" Nor that he should fair Italy forgo ;
 " Neither I would he should his kingdom leave.
 " Quiet I ask, and a time of delay, 570
 " And respite eke, my fury to assuage ;
 " Till my mishap teach me all comfortless
 " How for to wail my grief. This latter grace,
 " Sister, I crave : have thou remorse of me ;
 " Which, if thou shalt vouchsafe, with heaps I shall 575
 " Leave by my death redoubled unto thee."

Moistened with tears thus wretched gan she plain :
 Which Anne reports, and answer brings again.
 Nought tears him move, ne yet to any words
 He can be framed, with gentle mind to yield. 580
 The weirds^a withstand, and God stops his meek ears.
 Like to the aged boisteous bo died oak,
 The which among the Alps, the Northern winds
 Blowing now from this quarter, now from that,
 Betwixt them strive to overwhelm with blasts : 585
 The whistling air among the branches roars,
 Which all at once bow to the earth her crops,^b
 The stock once smit : whiles in the rocks the tree
 Sticks fast ; and look ! how high to the heav'n her top
 Rears up, so deep her root spreads down to hell. 590
 So was this Lord now here, now there beset
 With words ; in whose stout breast wrought many cares.
 But still his mind in one remains ; in vain
 The tears were shed. Then Dido, fray'd^c of Fates,
 Wisheth for death, irked^d to see the skies. 595
 And that she might the rather work her will,

^a Fates.^b Tops.^c Affrighted.^d Wearied.

And leave the light, (a grisly thing to tell!)
 Upon the altars burning full of 'cense
 When she set gifts of sacrifice, she saw
 The holy-water stocks wax black within. 600
 The wine eke shed, change into filthy gore:
 This she to none, not to her sister told.

A marble temple in her palace eke,
 In memory of her old spouse, there stood,
 In great honour and worship which she held; 605
 With snow white clothes deck'd, and with boughs of feast.
 Whereout was heard her husband's voice and speech
 Cleping^a for her, when dark night hid the earth.
 And oft the owl with rueful song complain'd
 From the house top, drawing long doleful tunes. 610
 And many things forespoke by prophets past
 With dreadful warning 'gan her now affray:
 And stern Æneas seemed in her sleep
 To chase her still about, distraught in rage:
 And still, her thought, that she was left alone 615
 Uncompanied, great voyages^b to wend
 In desert land, her Tyrian folk to seek.
 Like Pentheus, that in his madness saw,
 Swarming in flocks, the furies all of hell;
 Two suns remove, and Thebès town shew twain. 620
 Or like Orestes, Agamemnon's son,
 In tragedy who represented, aye
 Driven about, that from his mother fled
 Armed with brands, and eke with serpents black;
 That sitting found within the temple's porch 625

^a Calling.^b Viages.

The ugly furies, his slaughter to revenge.
 Yelden to woe, when phrensy had her caught,
 Within herself then gan she well debate,
 Full bent to die, the time and eke the mean ;
 And to her woeful sister thus she said, 630
 In outward chere dissembling her intent,
 Presenting hope under a semblant glad.
 " Sister, rejoice ! for I have found the way
 " Him to return, or loose me from his love.
 " Toward the end of the great ocean flood, 635
 " Whereas the wand'ring sun descendeth hence,
 " In the extremes of Ethiope, is a place
 " Where huge Atlas doth on his shoulders turn
 " The sphere so round, with flaming stars beset,
 " Born of Massyle, I hear should be a Nun ; 640
 " That of th' Hesperian sisters' temple old,
 " And of their goodly garden keeper was ;
 " That gives unto the Dragon eke his food,
 " That on the tree preserves the holy fruit,
 " That hony moist, and sleeping poppy casts. 645
 " This woman doth avaunt by force of charm,
 " What heart she list to set at liberty ;
 " And other some to pierce with heavy cares :
 " In running flood to stop the waters course ;
 " And eke the stars their movings ^a to reverse ; 650
 " T'assemble eke, the ghosts that walk by night.
 " Under thy feet the earth ^b thou shalt behold
 " Tremble and roar ; the oaks come from the hill.
 " The Gods and thee, dear Sister, now I call

^a Movings.^b Th' earth.

" In witness, and thy head to me so sweet, 655
 " To magick arts against my will I bend.
 " Right secretly within our inner court,
 " In open air rear up a stack of wood,
 " And hang thereon the weapon of this man,
 " The which he left within my chamber, stick. 660
 " His weeds dispoiled all, and bridal bed,
 " Wherein, alas! Sister, I found my bane,
 " Charge thereupon; for so the Nun commands,
 " To do away what did to him belong,
 " Of that false wight, that might remembrance bring." 665

Then whisted she; the pale her face gan stain.

Ne could yet Anne believe, her sister meant
 To cloke her death by this new sacrifice:
 Nor in her breast such fury did conceive.
 Neither doth she now dread more grievous thing 670
 Than followed Sichee's death; wherefore
 She put her will in ure.^a But then the Queen,
 When that the stack of wood was reared up
 Under the air, within the inward court,
 With cloven oak, and billets made of fir:^b 675
 With garlands she doth all beset the place,
 And with green boughs eke crown the funeral;
 And thereupon his weeds, and sword y-left,
 And, on a bed, his picture she bestows;
 As she that well fore-knew what was to come. 680
 The altars stand about; and eke the Nun
 With sparkled^c tress; the which, three hundred Gods
 With a loud voice doth thunder out at once.

^a Practice.

^b Fyrre.

^c Scattered; dishevelled.

Erebus the grisly, and Chaos huge,
And eke the threefold Goddess, Hecate; 685

Three^a faces of Diana the virgin:
And sprinkles eke the water, counterfeit
Like unto black Avernus' lake in hell;
And springing herbs, reap'd up with brasen scythes
Were sought, after the right course of the Moon. 690

The venom black intermingled with milk;
The lump of flesh 'tween the new born foals eyen;^b
To reave that, winneth from the dam her love.
She, with the mole all in her hands devout,
Standing^c near th' altar, bare of the one foot, 695
With vesture loose, the bands unlaced all,
Bent for to die, calls the Gods to record,
And guilty stars eke of her destiny.
And if there were any God that had care
Of lovers hearts not moved with love alike, 700
Him she requires of justice to remember.

It was then night: the sound and quiet sleep
Had through the earth the wearied bodies caught.
The woods, the raging seas were fall'n to rest,
When that the stars had half their course declined; 705
The fields whist;^d beasts, and fowls of divers hue,
And what so that in the broad lakes remained,
Or yet among the bushy thicks of briar,
Laid down to sleep by silence of the night,
'Gan swage their cares, mindless of travails past. 710
Not so the spirit of this Phenician.
Unhappy she! that on no sleep could chance,

^a And three.^b Eyes.^c Stood.^d Hushed; silent.

Nor yet nights rest enter in eye, or breast.
 Her cares redouble: love doth rise and rage again,
 And overflows with swelling storms of wrath. 715
 Thus thinks she then; this rolls she in her mind.

“What shall I do? shall I now bear the scorn,
 “For to assay mine old woers again?
 “And humbly yet a Numid spouse require?
 “Whose marriage I have so oft disdained. 720
 “The Trojan navy, and Teucrian vile commands
 “Follow shall I? as though it should avail,
 “That whilom^a by my help they were relieved!
 “Or, for because with kind and mindful folk
 “Right well doth sit the passed thankful deed! 725
 “Who would me suffer? (admit this were my will)
 “Or me scorned, to their proud ships receive?
 “Oh! woe begone! full little knowest thou yet
 “The broken oaths of Laomedon’s kind.
 “What then? alone on merry mariners 730
 “Shall I await?^b or board them with my power
 “Of Tyrians, assembled me about?
 “And, such as I with travail brought from Tyre
 “Drive to the seas, and force them sail again?
 “But rather die—even as thou hast deserved: 735
 “And to this woe with iron give thou end.
 “And thou, Sister, first vanquish’d with my tears,
 “Thou, in my rage with all these mischiefs first
 “Didst burden me, and yield me to my foe.
 “Was it not granted me from spousals free, 740
 “Like to wild beasts, to live without offence?

^a Formerly.^b Wait.

" Without taste of such cares? is there no faith,
 " Reserved to the cinders of Sychee?"

Such great complaints brake forth out of her breast:

Whiles Æneas full minded to depart, 745

All things prepared, slept in the poop on high.

To whom in sleep the wonted Godhead's form

Gan aye appear, returning in like shape

As seemed him: and 'gan him thus advise;

Like unto Mercury in voice and hue, 750

With yellow bush, and comely limbs of youth.

" O Goddess son! in such case can'st thou sleep?

" Ne yet bestraught the dangers dost foresee,

" That compass thee? nor hear'st the fair winds blow?

" Dido in mind rolls vengeance and deceit, 755

" Determ'd to die, swells with unstable ire.

" Wilt thou not flee whiles thou hast time of flight?

" Straight shalt thou see the seas covered with sails,

" The blazing brands, the shore all spread with flame,

" An^a if the morrow steal upon thee here. 760

" Come off! have done! set all delay aside:

" For full of change these women be alway."

This said, in the dark night he gan him hide.

Æneas of this sudden vision

Adread, starts up out of his sleep up in haste; 765

Calls up his feres: " Awake! get up my men!

" Aboard your ships; and hoise up sail with speed.

" A God me wills, sent from above again,

" To haste my flight, and wreathen cables cut.

" O, holy God! what so thou art, we shall 770

" Follow thee, and all blithe obey thy will.

^a And.

" Be at our hand, and friendly us assist ;
 " Address the stars with prosperous influence."
 And with that word his glistening sword unsheaths,
 With which drawn he the cables cut in twain. 775
 The like desire the rest embraced all.
 All thing in haste they cast, and forth they whirl ;
 The shores they leave ; with ships the seas are spread ;
 Cutting the foam by the blue seas they sweep.

Aurora now from Titan's purple bed 780
 With new day-light hath overspread the earth ;
 When by her windows the Queen the peeping day
 Espied, and navy with 'splay'd^a sails depart
 The shore, and eke the port of vessels void.

Her comely breast thrice and^b four times she smote 785
 With her own hand, and tore her golden tress.

" Oh, Jove !" quoth she, " shall he then thus depart ?
 " A stranger thus ! and scorn our kingdom so ?
 " Shall not my men do on their armour prest,^c
 " And eke pursue them throughout all the town ? 790

" Out of the road soon shall the vessel warp.
 " Haste on ! cast flame ! set sail, and wield your oars !
 " What said I ? or^d where am I ? what phrensy
 " Alters thy mind ? Unhappy Dido ! now
 " Hath thee beset a froward destiny. 795

" Then it behoved, when thou didst give to him
 " The sceptre ! Lo !^e his faith, and his right hand !
 " That leads with him, they say, his country Gods ;^f
 " That on his back his aged father bore.
 " His body might I not have caught and rent, 800

^a Displayed.^b Or.^c Ready.^d But.^e So.^f Goods.

- " And in the seas drenched him and his feres?^a
 " And from Ascanius his life with iron reft?
 " And set him on his father's board for meat?
 " Of such debate perchance the fortune might
 " Have been doubtful: would God! it were assay'd. 805
 " Whom should I fear, sith I myself must die?
 " I might^b have throwen into the navy brands
 " And filled eke their decks with flaming fire,
 " The father, son, and all their nation
 " Destroy'd, and fall'n myself dead over all! 810
 " Sun! with thy beams that mortal works descries;
 " And thou, Juno! that well these travails know'st;
 " Proserpine! thou, upon whom folk do use
 " To howl, and call in forked ways by night;
 " Infernal Furies! ye wreakers of wrong, 815
 " And Dido's Gods! who stands at point of death,
 " Receive these words; and eke your heavy power
 " Withdraw from me, that wicked folk deserve,
 " And our request accept we you beseech.
 " If so that yonder wicked head must needs, 820
 " Recover port, and sail to land of force;
 " And if Jove's will have so resolved it,
 " And such end set as no wight can foredo;
 " Yet at the least assailed might^c he be
 " With arms and wars of hardy nations; 825
 " From the bounds of his kingdom far exiled;
 " Iulus eke, ravish'd^d out of his arms.
 " Driven to call for help that may he see
 " The guiltless corpses of his folk lie dead;

^a Companions.^b Might I.^c Mought.^d Rashed.

" And after hard conditions of peace, 830

" His realm, nor life desired may he brook ;^a

" But fall before his time, ungraved amid the sands.

" This I require ; these words with blood I shed, 775

" And Tyrians, ye his stock and all his race 203

" Pursue with hate ! reward our cinders so. 835

" No love nor league betwixt our peoples be.

" And of our bones some wrecker may there spring,

" With sword and flame that Trojans may pursue 780

" Now,^b from henceforth, when that our pow'r may stretch. 618

" Our coasts to them contrary be for aye 840

" I crave of God ; and our streams to their floods :

" Arms unto arms, and offspring of each race

" With mortal war each other may for-do." 785

This said, her mind she writhed on all sides ;

Seeking with speed to end her irksome life. 845

To Sichees' nurse Barcen, then thus she said,

(For hers at home in ashes did remain) :

" Call unto me, dear Nurse, my Sister Anne : 790

" Bid her in haste in water of the flood 628

" She sprinkle the body, and bring the beasts, 850

" And purging sacrifice I did her shew ;

" So let her come : and thou thy temples bind

" With sacred garlands ; for the sacrifice 795

" That I to Pluto have begun, my mind 638

" Is to perform, and give end to these cares, 855

" And Trojan statue throw into the flame."

When she had said redouble gan her nurse

Her steps forth, on an aged woman's trot. 608

^a Enjoy.

^b And.

But trembling Dido, eagerly now bent
Upon her stern determination, 860

Her bloodshot eyes rolling within her head,
Her quivering cheeks flecked^a with deadly stain
Both pale and wan, to think on death to come;
Into the inward wards of her palace

She rusheth in, and clamb up, as distraught, 865
The burial stack; and drew the Trojan sword,^b

Her gift sometime, but meant to no such use.
Where when she saw his weed, and wellknown bed,
Weeping awhile in study gan she stay;
Fell on the bed, and these last words she said. 870

"Sweet spoils! whiles God, and destinies it would,
"Receive this sprite! and rid me of these cares.

"I lived and ran the course fortune did grant;
"And under earth my great ghost now shall wend.

"A goodly town I built, and saw my walls. 875

"Happy! alas, too happy! if these coasts
"The Trojan ships had never touched aye."

This said, she laid her mouth close to the bed.
"Why then," quoth she, "unwroken shall we die?"

"But let us die! for thus, and in this sort 880

"It liketh us to seek the shadows dark:
"And from the seas the cruel Trojan's eyes

"Shall well discern this flame, and take with him
"Eke these unlucky tokens of my death."

As she had said, her damsels^c might perceive 885

Her with these words fall pierced on a sword,
The blade embrued, and hands besprent with gore.

^a Spotted.^b Sword.^c Damsel

The clamour rang unto the palace top ;
 The bruit ^a ran throughout all th' astonied town.
 With wailing great, and women's shrill yelling 890
 The roofs 'gan roar ; the air resound with plaint.
 As though Carthage, or th' ancient town of Tyre
 With press of enter'd enemies swarmed full :
 Or when the rage of furious flame doth take
 The temples tops, and mansions eke of men. 895

Her sister Anne spriteless for dread to hear
 This fearful stir, with nails gan tear her face.
 She smote her breast, and rushed through the rout :
 And her dying she clepes ^b thus by her name.

" Sister ! for this with craft did you me bound ? ^c 900
 " The stack, the flame, the altars, bred they this ?
 " What shall I first complain, forsaken wight !
 " Loathest thou in death thy sisters fellowship ?
 " Thou should'st have call'd me to like destiny.
 " One woe, one sword, one hour, might ^d end us both. 905
 " This funeral stack built I with these hands,
 " And with this voice cleped our native Gods ?
 " And, cruel ! so absentest me from thy death ?
 " Destroy'd thou hast, Sister, both thee and me ;
 " Thy people eke, and princes born of Tyre. 910
 " Give here ! I shall with water wash her wounds ;
 " And suck with mouth her breath, if ought be left !"

This said unto the high degrees she mounted,
 Embracing fast her sister, now half dead,
 With wailful plaint ; whom in her lap she laid : 915
 The black swart gore wiping dry with her clothes.

^a Report.^b Calls.^c Deceive.^d Mought.

But Dido striveth to lift up again
Her heavy eyen, and hath no power thereto :
Deep in her breast that fixed wound doth gape.
Thrice leaning on her elbow gan she raise 920
Herself upward ; and thrice she overthrew
Upon the bed : ranging with wandring eyes
The skies for light, and wept when she it found.

Almighty Juno having ruth by this,
Of her long pains, and eke her lingering death, 925
From heaven she sent the Goddess Iris down,
The throe-ing sprite, and jointed limbs to loose.
For that neither by lot of destiny,
Nor yet by kindly death she perished ;
But wretchedly before her fatal day, 930
And kindled with a sudden rage of flame ;
Proserpine had not from her head bereft
The golden hair, nor judged her to hell.

The dewy Iris thus with golden wings,
A thousand hues shewing against the sun, 935
Amid the skies then did she fly adown.
On Dido's head where as she gan a light ;
“ This hair,” quoth she, “ to Pluto consecrate,
“ Commanded I reave ; and thy spirit unloose
“ From this body !” And when she thus had said, 940
With her right hand she cut the hair in twain :
And therewith-all the kindly heat gan quench,
And into wind the life forthwith resolve.

But Dido striveth to lift up again
 Her heavy eyes, and hath no power thereof:
 Deep in her breast that fixed wound doth gaze,
 Thrice leaning on her elbow can she raise
 Herself upward; and thrice she overthrew
 Upon the bed: ranging with wandering eyes
 The skies for light, and wept when she it found.
 Almighty Juno having ruth by this
 Of her long pains, and eke her lingering-death,
 From heaven she sent the Goddess Iris down,
 The throving spirit, and jointed limbs to loose
 For that neither by lot of destiny,
 Nor yet by kindly death she perished;
 But wretchedly before her fatal day
 And kindled with a sudden rage of flame;

IMPRINTED AT LONDON IN FLEET STREET, WITHIN TEMPLE

BAR, AT THE SIGN OF THE HAND AND STAR, BY

RICHARD TOTTEL, THE XXII DAY OF

JUNE, AN. 1557.

THE two following poems are given from a very curious MS. of the time of Henry the VIIIth, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire; the use of which his Grace has obligingly granted to the Editor. The greater part of the poems in that MS. have the names, or the initials of their respective authors subscribed. The signatures originally affixed to those here printed, have been much effaced. What remains of them however is sufficient to lead to some conjecture. The first is subscribed "Finis q^d. W t." The second, "Finis q^d. S o e." Respecting the first of these names I apprehend no doubt can be entertained, especially as a large number of the poems in the volume bear Wyatt's signature. That the latter name was designed for Surrey's, I think extremely probable; for his name was then generally spelt "Surreye:" and the letter preceding the final "e," though erased in part, seems to have been a "y." I believe that many compositions have been ascribed to authors on presumptive evidence less strong than the present. It should be observed, that Surrey and Wyatt were in the habit of frequently communicating their verses to each other. See the poems in this volume, which begin; "As oft as I behold and see;" p. 7: and "Love that liveth and reigneth in my thought;" p. 16: with the notes upon them.

PRIMUS.

My fearful hope from me is fled,
Which of long time hath been my guide.

Now faithful trust is in his stead,

And bids me set all fear aside.

O' truth it is, I not deny,

All Lovers may not live in ease.

Yet some by hap doth hit truly;

So like may I, if that she please.

Why! so it is a gift, ye wot,

By nature one to love another.

And since that love doth fall by lot;

Then why not I, as well as other.

It may so be the cause is why,

She knoweth no part to my poor mind:

But yet as one assuredly

I speak nothing but as I find.

If Nature will, it shall so be:

No reason ruleth Fantasy.

Yet in this case, as seemeth me,

I take all thing indifferently.

Yet uncertain I will rejoice,

And think to have, though yet thou hast.

I put my chance unto her choice

With patience, for power is past.

No! no! I know the like is fair

Without disdain or cruelty:

And so to end, from all despair;

Until I find the contrary.

SECUNDUS.

Your fearful hope cannot prevail;
Nor yet faithful trust also.
Some thinks to hit, oft-times do fail;
Whereby they change their wealth to woe.
What though! in that yet put no trust:
But always after as ye see.
For say your will, and do your lust;
There is no place for you to be.
No such within; ye are far out.
Your labour lost ye hope to save.
But once I put ye out of doubt;
The thing is had that ye would have.
Though to remain without remorse,
And pitiless to be opprest;
Yet is the course of Love, by force
To take all things unto the best.
Well! yet beware, if thou be wise:
And leave thy hope thy heat to cool:
For fear lest she thy love despise,
Reputing thee but as a fool.
Since this to follow of force thou must,
And by no reason can refrain;
Thy chance shall change thy least mistrust;
As thou shalt prove unto thy pain.
When with such pain thou shalt be paid,
The which shall pass all remedy;
Then think on this that I have said;
And blame thy foolish Fantasy.

ANACREON

Your fearful hope cannot prevail;
 Nor yet faithful trust also.
 Some think to hit, oft-times do fail;
 Wherby they change their wealth to woe.
 What thought! in that yet put no trust;
 But always after as ye see.
 For say your will, and do your lust;
 There is no place for you to be.
 No such within; ye are far out.
 Your labour lost ye hope to save.
 But once I put ye out of doubt;
 The thing is had that ye would have.
 Though to remain without remorse,
 And pitiless to be oppress;
 Yet is the course of Love, by force
 To take all things unto the best.
 Well! yet beware, if thou be wise;
 And leave thy hope thy heart to cool;
 For fear lest she thy love despise.
 Reputing thee but as a fool.
 Since this to follow of force thou must,
 And by no reason can refrain;
 Thy chance shall change thy least mistrust;
 As thou shalt prove unto thy pain.
 When with such pain thou shalt be paid,
 The which shall pass all remedy;
 Then think on this that I have said;
 And blame thy foolish Fantasy.

LETTERS
OF THE
EARL OF SURREY.

LETTERS
OF THE
EARL OF SURREY.

And for
 further that my said lord & lady gett and
 to have returned by said to my present
 purpose in his said ship for that said nob
 lord for his by the Bulling for many reasons
 that Henry of Ounay was never for
 further of that conspired nor never yet
 hoped for said nobles to be of the kind of
 my father and myself to proceed for
 for in the said ship

Cotton M.S.S.
 Titus B. II.

your afonnyd to my
 friend
 H. RYDEMONT

YEE knowe the lesse puttynge my hole
 water en to your grace handes. & my lorde for the deaft
 poble as ye wyet lathe promysed to be good lorde theyn
 my humble desyres your blessenge & bede in your
 fornal frame penitential the waderes day

Cotton M.S.S.
 Vesp. F. XIII.

to my here goodlyed and
 father the duke of nofolke
 wher be desyred

by your humble
 brother
 H. RYDEMONT

Whome almighty god evermore have in his mooste hoolie and blisid tyeon and gouernance, at Skiriff
 buton the fourthe daye off Marche by your mooste humble Godson

Cotton M.S.S.
 Vesp. F. III.

H. Rydemont:

no more to you
 At this tyme but that wth god's helpe I trust we shall
 discomfite our enemyes off theyre intended p^{ro}p^os^e
 wth your hand off your loving master

Henry

Cotton M.S.S.
 Vespasian F. XIII.

To my lorde cardinall.

I wth wthold refuse to do this
 for manye faultes wth me l^ord. but before
 appoynted wth and this for the use
 of the contynent for the wth day

ys shew appoynted

Northfolk

Cotton M.S.S.
 Titus B. I.

written to the hand of her that besetted y^e grace to accept this letter
 as p^{ro}ceeding from one that is most bound to be

Cotton M.S.S.
 Vespasian F. XIII.

to his l^ord and
 obedyent servant

unwthbley

By your most bounden to
 do you any greaser wthout
 my selfe

y^r so most humbly and assuredly
 at commaundment till death

Henry How
 y^r affectionat and
 faythfull friend

Northampton

Cotton M.S.S.
 Titus B. I.

LETTERS.

LETTER I.

THE EARL OF SURREY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

[*Harleian MSS. No. 283.*]

MY VERY GOOD LORDS;

AFTER my humble commendations to your Lordships; these presents shall be to advertise you, that albeit I have of late severally required each of you, by my servant Pickering, of your favour; from whom as yet I have received no other comfort than my passed folly hath deserved; I have yet thought it my duty again, as well to renew my suit, as humbly to require you rather to impute this error to the fury of reckless youth, than to a will not conformable and contented, with the quiet learning of the just reward of my folly; for as much as I so suddenly and quickly did procure and attempt to seek for friendship, and intreat for my deliverance: as then not sufficiently pondering nor debating with myself; that a Prince offended hath none redress upon his subject but condign punishment, without respect of person. Yet, let my youth unpractised in durance obtain pardon: (although for lack of strength it yield not itself wholly to his gentle chastisement,) whilst the heart is resolved in patience to pass over the same, in satisfaction of mine errors.

And my Lords, if it were lawful to persuade by the precedent of other young men reconciled; I would affirm that this might sound to me an happy fault: by so gentle a warning to learn how to bridle my heady will: which in youth is rarely attained without adversity.

Where, might I without vaunt lay before you the quiet conversation of my passed life; which (unstained with any unhonest touch, unseeming in such a man as it hath pleased God and the King to make me,) ^a might perfectly promise new amendment of mine offence. Whereof, if you doubt in any point, I shall humbly desire you, that during mine affliction, (in which time malice is most ready to slander the innocent) there may be made an whole examination of my life: wishing, for the better trial thereof, to have the time of my durance redoubled; and so (declared as well tried, and unsuspected) by your mediations ^b to be restored to the King's favour; than, condemned in your grave heads, without answer or further examination to be quickly delivered: this heinous offence always unexcused, whereupon I was committed to this noisome prison; whose pestilent airs are not unlike to bring some alteration of health.

Wherefore, if your good Lordships judge me not a member rather to be clean cut away, than reformed; it may please you to be suitors to the King's Majesty on my behalf; as well for his favour, as for my liberty: or else, at the least, if his pleasure be to punish this oversight with the forbearing his presence; (which unto every loving subject, specially unto me, from a Prince cannot be less counted than a living death,) yet it would please him to command me into the country, to some place of open air, with like restraint of liberty, there to abide his Grace's pleasure.

Finally; that no part of this my trespass, [fail] in any way to do me good: I should judge me happy if it should please the King's Majesty to think, that this simple body rashly adventured in the revenge of mine own quarrel, shall be without respect always ready to be employed

^a He had been made a Knight of the Garter, in the month of April previous to the writing this letter, which must have been about the 25th of July, 1541.

^b MS. *Meditations*.

in his service; trusting once so to redouble this error,^a which may be well repented, but not revoked. Desiring your good Lordships that like as my offence hath not been [hid], my submission may likewise appear: which is all the recompense that I [ask; and shall] think well [withheld,] if my doings answer not.

Your grave heads should yet^b consider, that neither am I the first young man that governed by fury hath enterprised such things as he hath afterwards repented.^c Neither am I so wed to mine own will, that I had rather with favourable surmises obstinately to stand to the defence of my folly, than humbly to confess the same, infected with any such spot; as He knoweth, to whom there is nothing unknown: who, preserve you to his pleasure.^d Amen.

^a The meaning would be more obvious if we might read "so to *redeem* this error." But "redouble" may here mean "to retrace," an expression borrowed from hunting.

^b Ye.

^c The whole of the above passage is unintelligible in the original. I give it as it there stands, that the reader may decide how far the alterations made, were called for. "Ffinally albeyt no parte of this my tresspas in my wayght to do me good I shulde judge me happie yf y^t shulde please the Kyngs Ma^{te} to thynke y^t this symple bodye rashlye aventured in the revenge of his owne quarrell shalbe wthowt respecte alwayes reddie to be employed in his service trustynge ons so to redouble this error w^{ch} may be well repeted but not revoked, desyeringe yo^r good Lordshippes y^t like as my offence hath not byne my submyssion may lyke wyse appere w^h is all the recompence y^t I may well thynke my doings answeare not yo^r grave heades shulde ye consyder y^t nother am I the fyrste younge ma' y^t hathe enterprysed such thinges as he hathe afterward repented."

^d The title given to this letter in the Harleian M.S. is, "The Earl of Surrey to the Lords of the Council, at such time as he was prisoner in the Tower." Hence it has been said, that this letter was written by Surrey on the occasion of his imprisonment in 1546; a short time before his execution. I apprehend there must be some error in the title. The manner in which Surrey speaks of his offence, plainly shews that he refers to his imprisonment in 1541, when he challenged John a Leigh. His confinement in 1546 had no relation whatever to his having "rashly adventured his body in the revenge of his own quarrel." He was then committed for high treason, and he declared himself innocent of the offence. Whereas in this letter he admits he was guilty of what had been laid to his charge; though he treats it as "a folly" only, into which many young men had been, like himself, betrayed.

LETTER II.

FROM THE COUNCIL TO THE EARL OF SURREY.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 58.*]

OUR due commendations remembered unto your good Lordship; herein closed we send unto you a copy of a letter delivered unto us this last of July, betwixt th' hours of ten and eleven; which we have thought good to send unto you, to th' intent you may weigh the consideration of the stay of Londoners. And as the Lord Warden and Sir Thomas Seymour have been diligent to signify the peril, so we have by our letters required them to send us knowledge when time shall be to convey the number appointed to pass from hence. Thus praying your good Lordship to make our humble and hearty commendations unto our especial good Lord, your Father, we take our leave. From London, this last of July, Anno xxxvii^{mo} R. H. VIII.

Your good Lordship's to command,

JOHN BAKER.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

— SOUTHWELL.

EDWARD NORTH.

To the Right Honourable our especial good Lord the Earl of Surrey give these with all diligence, at Kenninghall within the county of Norfolk, in haste. Haste; post haste.

LETTER III.

HENRICO COMITI SURRIANO BONONIÆ PICARDIÆ PROREGI.

[*Ex Epistolis Hadriani Junii. p. 89.*]

QUANTUM nobis liberis tuis, charissimis pignoribus; quantum illustrissimo Heroi Patri tuo; quantum inclytæ Duci Sorori tuæ; quantum clarissimæ fœminæ, Parenti nostræ, tuæque conjugii; quantum denique clientibus omnibus, familiæque universæ gaudium tuus, Pater ornatissime,^a ut inexpectatus, ita multò optatissimè reditus attulerit; quo ore, quâ linguâ queam reddere. Certè lætitiæ magnitudo ea est, ut exilis istius corpusculi latera exprimendo non sufficiant: cujus testimonium domestici quoque parietes non continerent taciti, nisi per naturam negatum id foret, itaque inviti quamvis silent. Nos verò non quantum volumus, sed id saltem quod possumus voce, gestu, vultuque, certissima indubitata lætitiæ signa edere, et occulta affectus nostri semina declarare conamur. Quod ipsum uti præstemus, justissimæ sunt rationes. Et officii nostri partes id exigunt; et nostra, in parentem optimè meritum pietas, suo jure^b flagitat. Proinde gratulamur tibi reduci omnes; tibi, Patri clementissimo, eidemque Imperatori fortissimo; qui cæsis toties profligatisque Gallis, acerrimis Anglici nominis hostibus, victor extitisti: qui, regias vices eâ fide tutatus fuisse omnium verbis prædicaris, ut majore non potueris: qui bellorum undas mirâ felicitate, maximâ tuâ gloriâ sustinuisti hactenus; magno animo, incredibili fortitudine, pari prudentiâ, industriâ summâ, fortunâ tanto Heroë dignâ, iis te objiciendo, eaque oppositu quasi corporis repellendo, ut invictum pro aris focusque vallum. Gratulamur et Regi, Patri-Patriæ,

^a Ornatissimus.^b Jura.

qui hoc ipso, quod te Proregem potissimum delegit, quantum tuis virtutibus tribuat facili declaravit; et nunc suo judicio non fuisse falsum, suâque expectatione non excidisse se gaudet. Gratulamur et toti Regno, quod Henrici invictissimi maximique Regis humeris suffultum, et armis defensum; tuâ, alterius Henrici, operâ clarissimum apud exteras nationes nomen consecutum videatur; dum Gallis, præter invidiam, ploratum, tuique horrorem, reliquum feceris nihil. DIXI.^a

LETTER IV.

FROM THE COUNCIL AT BOULOGNE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 87.*]

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordships: The same shall understand that the ninth of this present, Thomas Norwick of London, bearer hereof, brought hither a crayer of the burthen of twenty-five ton, laden with victuals for the better furniture of the King's Majesty's garrison here: and after that he had discharged the most part of the same victuals, behind th' Old Man,^b there came cer-

^a This letter seems to have been sent to Surrey in the name of his children; though it was written probably by Junius; as may be conjectured from the circumstance of its having been found among his papers. The "return," alluded to in it, could not have been Surrey's final return to England, for obvious reasons. The reference is probably to his return to Boulogne after an occasional absence from it, in some enterprise against the enemy. Perhaps that enterprise in which he took Samer au Bois; which is mentioned in a subsequent letter.

^b The Old Man, of which frequent mention is made in these letters, and in all the historians, as well French as English, who notice the siege of Boulogne, was an old fortress, or tower, surrounded

tain French gallies and forced the mariners for safeguard of themselves to run the vessel on ground; which afterwards was carried away by the Frenchmen, having in her six barrels [of] butter, eight barrels of beer, and two double barrels. In consideration whereof we have thought good to desire your Lordships to be mean unto the King's Majesty, that the poor man may have some reasonable recompence for his said crayer; which shall not only be a great comfort to him; but also encourage others more willingly to adventure themselves, and their goods for the relief of his Highness's garrison hereafter. And thus we commit your honourable Lordships to Almighty God. From Boulogne, the 14th of September, 1545.

Your good Lordship's to command,

H. SURREY.

JOHN BRYGGYS.

RAUF ELLERKAR.

THOMAS PALMER.

THOMAS WIATT.

To the Right Honourable, and our very
good Lords, the Lords of the King's
Majesty's Privy Council.

with works, situated on the left hand, to those who entered the harbour of Boulogne, and near the mouth of it. There were works which connected it with the lower town, or Base Boulogne. It was supposed to have been a tower built originally by Julius Caesar, when he was preparing to invade Britain; and was therefore called, "The Old Man." In some maps of those times it is described as being more like a watch tower, or light house, than a tower of defence, as it consisted of several stories. In the French writers, and in their maps, it is called "Tour d'Ordre."

LETTER V.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF BOULOGNE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. p. 68.*]

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordships: The same shall understand that the ninth of this present, this bearer, Richard Songar of Dover, brought hither a pinnace of the burthen of twenty-five ton, fraughted with muttons, and other provision, for the better furniture of this, the King's Majesty's garrison: and the same being discharged behind th' Old Man; it fortun'd the vessel to be driven on land by certain French gallies, which afterwards took it away with them. In consideration whereof we have thought to desire your Lordships to be mean unto the King's Majesty, that this poor man may have such recompence for his boat and ordinance, as both he and others may thereby be encouraged more willingly to adventure themselves and their goods for the relief of his Highness's said garrison hereafter. And thus we commit your honourable Lordships to Almighty God. From Boulogne, the 14th of September, 1545.

Your good Lordship's to command,

H. SURREY.

JOHN BRYGGYS.

THOMAS WIATT.

HUGH POULETT.

THOMAS PALMER.

To the Right Honourable, and our very
good Lords, the Lords of the King's
Majesty's Privy Council.

LETTER VI.

FROM THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE EARL OF SURREY.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 23.]

AFTER our most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship: These shall be to advertise you that the King's Majesty having most gravely considered the state of all his Highness's pieces under your rule, hath finally resolved to have such only numbers to remain in every of the said pieces, as shall appear unto you, by a Schedule here enclosed; which order his Majesty commanded us to signify unto you; to th' intent, if you have at this present any greater numbers of men than shall suffice for the furniture of the said pieces according to his Majesty's pleasure, you may at your next pay-day cass so many of the weakest and worst men as shall be found there, above the said numbers: for the payment of which number then to be cassed, his Majesty requireth you to take order there accordingly; or if you do want money for the payment of the same, that then you do signify hither with speed [what] shall be wanted for that purpose; to th' intent money may be sent from hence for discharge of the same. And if upon consideration of your numbers you shall find that you want, to furnish every place according to his Majesty's appointment; his Highness's pleasure is, you shall advertise Hilson, in writing with speed what money you shall want for the furniture of every of the said pieces; and in the mean time sort your men in every of them notably; having respect to his resolution.

Your Lordship shall also understand that his Highness is advertised, that notwithstanding the often and earnest signification of his Majesty's pleasure to the contrary, there be remaining there an excessive number

of women, and children: and because (besides many other inconveniences) their being there is a great waste of his Majesty's victuals, his Highness hath commanded us eftsoones to require you not only to take order for the sending away and discharge of them that be now there; but so to provide, that from henceforth none, especially of the light sort, be permitted to repair thither, or remain there. Whereunto his Majesty requireth you to have earnest regard. Signifying further unto you; that his Majesty being resolved to have the number only of five thousand to remain there; his Highness's pleasure is, that Colonel Salerne, with his band of Italians, which we take to be about the number of seven hundred, shall repair to the camp to my Lord of Hertford; from whom we doubt not but you shall be shortly more fully advertised touching that matter.

From the Lords of the Privy Council.

To the Earl of Surrey, Governor of Boulogne.

LETTER VII.

FROM THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE EARL OF SURREY.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 98.*]

AFTER our most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship: This my letter to advertise you, that the King's Majesty having received your letters sent by this bearer; and having also considered both the book for the numbers to remain there, and also such credit as you committed to be declared to this bearer; hath for answer thereto commanded us to signify unto you as followeth.

First, touching your book; his Majesty liketh very well both the appointment of three hundred to one Captain, and the residue of your

devise contained in the same: and is very well pleased that you shall cause all things to be put in execution according to the tenor thereof: and then, sending the names of the Gentlemen that serve as Captains there, you will set to his Majesty to place in the room of Captains, such as best like his Highness.

His Majesty hath commanded us to advertise you, that forasmuch as the service and means of every of them is better known to your Lordship, and others of his Council there, his Majesty's pleasure is, that the appointment as well of the Captains, as Petty-Captains, should be referred to you, and the Council there, who, his Majesty doubteth not will have such good respect in the appointment of them, as those that have done best service, and be for their wit, courage, and experience most meet, may be preferred accordingly.

As for the order of the pioneers and ministers of victuals, forasmuch as you, Sir Richard Southwell, have sufficient commission to that effect, his Majesty would you should follow the instructions given in that part.

Touching the horsemen of Calais to repair unto Boulogne for his Majesty's service; his Highness thinketh with you that their presence should serve to very good purpose. But for that it is thought a great difficulty remaineth for provision of victuals, his Majesty hath suspended his determination for the same till advertisement from Mr. Rous and Mr. Awcher, how they may be conveniently furnished of victuals upon knowledge; whereof his Highness will resolve his further pleasure therein as the case shall then require.

Minute to the Earl of Surrey,

29th December, 1545.

LETTER VIII.

FROM THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO THE EARL OF SURREY.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 88.]

WITH this ye shall receive your letter sent to me by this bearer; by the which I perceive ye find yourself grieved for that I declared to the King such things as Cavendish shewed to me: which I did by his desire; shewing the same of his behalf without speaking of you. And if he will say he desired not me to shew the King thereof, ye may [say] he saith untruly. For the King hawking for a pheasant, he desired me as he went homeward to declare the same to his Highness. This is true; and he taken here not of the best sort. Ye may be sure I do not use my doings of any sort that may turn you to any displeasure. Have yourself in await, that ye animate not the King too much for the keeping of Boulogne; for who so doth, at length shall get small thanks. I have so handled the matter, that if any adventure be given to win the new fortress at Boulogne,^a ye shall have the charge thereof; and therefore, look well what answer ye make to the letter fro' us of the Council. Confirm not the enterprises contained in them.

Having written the premises, Mr. Paget desired me to write to you in no wise to animate the King to keep Boulogne. Upon what grounds he spake it I know not; but I fear ye wrote something too much therein to somebody. And thus with God's blessing and mine, Fare ye well. From Windsor the 27th of September at night.

Your loving father,

To my Son of Surrey.

T. NORFOLK.

The Duke's letter to his son, requiring him not to animate the King's Majesty to keep Boulogne. Received at Boulogne the 1st of Oct. 1545, at the arrival of Mr. Rogers.

^a This must have been the fortified camp at Outreau, which the French made after that they found the position at Portet not tenable. Fort Chatillon, of which much mention is made in the history of the siege of Boulogne, was a small fort nearly at the edge of the water, opposite to Base Boulogne, and supported from Outreau.

LETTER IX.

FROM THE EARL OF SURREY TO LORD COBHAM.

[Harleian M. S. 283. p. 329.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

AFTER my hearty commendations; this shall be most heartily to desire you to advertise me with all speed by this bearer, when my Lord of Winchester shall be at Calais: for it would not behove for a great thing for his Majesty's service here, but that Anthony Agar should speak with my said Lord before his departure. Wherefore I intend immediately upon your advertisement to send him to my Lord with diligence, to await upon his Lordship for such declarations of things as import to his Majesty's service here: here beseeching you, my Lord, to have me heartily commended to him.

Thus wishing your Lordship as well to do as myself; from Boulogne, the 20th of October, 1545.

Your loving cousin,

H. SURREY.

Whereas I perceive Sir Edward Wooton's son fantaseth a genet gelding of mine, that standeth at Calais, which is blind and winded, I am ashamed to give him; but if it please him to take him till I be able to give him a better, I shall desire him so to do.

I shall also send the money by Philleret, that Sir Edward Wooton paid to Barnard Grete, by my appointment.

To my very good Lord, my Lord Cobham,
Deputy of Calais.

LETTER X.

FROM THE EARL OF SURREY TO SIR WILLIAM PAGET.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 90.]

It may like you, gentle Mr. Secretary, to give me leave, amid your weighty affairs, to trouble you with an earnest suit. Whereas Mr. Treasurer of Guisnes is discharged, and some other, as I hear, appointed to his place, it will please you to inform yourself by the report of such as knoweth, [of] a gentleman, sometime my servant, and now a captain within this town, called T. Shelly, what his conditions and qualities are, and disposition to service, and then to square within yourself whether it be meet to recommend for that office such one, at the most effectual request of your poor friend, of whose rare virtues I could write more at large, but that I know virtue for the self, is to you sufficiently recommended; and that Mr. Palmer awaiteth upon you, who can sufficiently of the ability of the man instruct you. Assuring you, Sir, that I dare promise more of that man, his truth and honesty, than of any man that I know alive; and I should think myself happy to have bred such a servant, as I trust his Majesty should find him. And for your favour to be granted that man, I shall most heartily beseech you, and think the pleasure done as to myself, praying you to pardon my earnest writing: for the worthiness of the man bears it.^a And thus

^a I am not certain whether the Shelly here spoken of by Surrey in such terms of high commendation, is the same with that Shelly in praise of whom Chaloner has left us a long encomium, and who is mentioned in the Memoirs as having accepted a challenge at Surrey's command, from some French Knights at Boulogne. The name of that Shelly was Edward: the person here spoken of is called "T. Shelly." But it is more probable that there should be a mistake in a letter, than that Surrey should have two persons about him of the same name, both equally eminent for their accomplishments and bravery.

leaving to trouble you, I pray to God to send you health. From Boulogne, the 20th of November.

Your own most assuredly,

H. SURREY.

To my right worshipful Friend, Sir William Paget, Knight; one of the King's Majesty's Principal Secretaries.

In haste; at Calais, haste with diligence, haste post! haste!

LETTER XI.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 92.*]

PLEASETH it your most excellent Majesty; that since the re-victualment made by Monsieur De Tays, declared in my last letters, which upon a more certain intelligence, besides the sheep and oxen, were but sixteen carts laden with thirty pieces of wine; the rest all returned to Montreuil for fear. Whereupon the enemy were constrained with a great force to intend a new re-victualment. Whereof I having certain espial that this morning they would come with six or seven hundred horse at the full sea, to put in a great number of carts; and that the Almain[s] [had] marched from Aussie Chateau, and would within a day or twain come to Port hill, to land there such munition as should come thither from Dieppe and Estaples, for lack of carriages to convey the same by land; I first gave in charge to your Majesty's ships to keep upon this shore: and this morning, three hours before day, sent forth Mr. Wyat and Mr. Palmer, with a thousand footmen, to embush themselves under the hill side where the church of St. Etienne stood. Which

church because the enemy always kept, (to have espial upon us when we should pass the river [as at] the last journey we made into Boulonnois, when Mr. Bridges burned Sammer Town and all the country there about, and spoiled the cattle of the same,) Mr. Wyatt, accompanied with the Master of the Ordnance and Mr. Flammock also, overthrew, with twelve Gascoigns which would not yield the same. And I, with Mr. Marshall, this morning at the opening of the gates with th' ordinary horsemen of this town, to th' intent th' enemy should not discover our embush, if he should send for the same purpose. And so tarrying there looking for them coming, sending the northern men to scout towards Hardelot, which were all the night before to watch the same, I sent Mr. Palmer and Mr. Wyatt with a few horsemen towards the fortress, to seek out the ground of most advantage for your Majesty's camp, if it should be your pleasure to come to the field the next year.

They took the way towards Port hill, where by chance they found all their sheep; which, fearing lest the victuals would not have come that day, Mr. Palmer having taken a prisoner of the fortress [with] his own hands, took occasion to drive him and the sheep towards us, to train the footmen [to the] embush. Which indeed took such effect, that above seven hundred followed the sheep, and were come more than a mile towards us; so that they could not have escaped us, peradventure with some danger of their fortress, had not the troop of seven hundred horsemen betwixt us and Hardelot been discovered at the same moment. Then left we the sheep, and assembled our horsemen upon the hill, and drew our footmen upon the skantling of the hill as nigh as we could, not to be discovered; and Mr. Marshall and the cavallery offered the charge upon them. Th' enemy seeing but our ordinary horsemen, the flood increase; and having no advertisement from the fort of any footmen that were issued, gave without fear the

charge upon our men. Our horsemen seeming to fly, made down to the passage, leaving our footmen upon the left hand. So that th' enemy being upon the spur followed lower to the river than our footmen, and then discovering our footmen would have returned, and could not;^a so that there were taken seven men at arms, which our men would never suffer to recover the hill again. At the which charge Mr. Marshall very honestly and hardily brake his mace upon a Frenchman; Mr. Shelly brake his staff upon a tall young gentleman of Monsieur De Botyer's band, and took him prisoner: and in effect, all the men at arms of this town brake their staves.

The Frenchmen having then discovered our footmen, made an offer as though they would charge upon the same; amongst whom, for fear our own horsemen, being weak, might make some disorder, I made all our footmen take the trench upon the top of the hill, which the enemy had made this year when their camp lay there (a very strong plat of ground) which I determined, and might well have kept if their footmen had marched, till our succour had come from the town, which also I sent for. And then I sent Mr. Dudley, this bearer, his brother and Captain Clement of the Italians, who most honestly offered themselves to take the hedges near unto the troop; which was then stronger and nearer unto us, as me seemed, than I saw them this year. Our horsemen stood where they might back the footmen; which in regard of them God wot! were right weak. When the Frenchmen saw the harquibuters shoot off they began to retire; and so reinforcing our skirmish, giving Sir Thomas Palmer the charge of the same, we drove them from place to place to the Sandhills, and so from hill to hill to Hardelot. By that time our succours were come from the town: so that we were within

^a Du Bellay gives an account of an engagement, which, though it does not agree in dates, and not wholly in circumstances, seems nevertheless to be that here described by Surrey. See Du Bellay's *Memoires dans la Collection pour servir à l'Histoire France*, vol. xxi. p. 267. Du Bellay says only two men at arms were taken, and tells us the Marescal de Calais, chef d'Entreprise, was killed.

the trenches upon the hill, a fifteen hundred men in squadre, and five hundred at the passage to keep the same on the other side. We might also discern all the carts swarm up the hill again towards Montreuil, which as I guess had never passed Neuf-Chateau; and might discover five ensigns of footmen coming out of the wood. Whereupon being then three o'clock, and we four miles from home, judging by the fires that we saw in the woods, that the Almaines were come; and that also one of our men did discover nine ensigns of footmen; having empeched the thing wherefore we came, by the advice of the rest I thought it meet to return to my charge where I had left Mr. Bridges, Mr. Under Marshall, the Master of the Ordnance, and Mr. Porter; assuring your Majesty that I think at the retire their horses were well dagged with arrows, and that they were for one day right well affrayed; albeit when they saw our small power of horsemen, they might retire against our will: wishing to God that your Majesty, with the surety of the same, had seen the willing hearts as well of the gentlemen and strangers of this town, as also of the poor soldiers.

This day I think, if the Almaines be come, they shall put in their carts against our will. Yet sent I yesterday for my Lord Gray with his horsemen, with whom, if he come, we shall devise what is further to be done; trusting that the bitterness of this weather will soon make them weary, and the Almaines shall lose the intent of their journey, by the reason of your Majesty's ships, which shall let their revictualment by Port hill; and as I hear they have already taken divers sails laden with herring and coals: assuring your Majesty, that if we had any number of horsemen here, and meat for the same, and certain spynaces^b that would do their duty to keep upon this shore, I would hope the revictualling of this fortress should cost the French King dear.

^b Pinnaces.

Beseeching your Majesty, that your Council present at this journey, the Colonels of the Albanois, and Italians, with the other Captains and Gentlemen of this town, may receive thanks for their good service. Amongst whom I beseech your Highness to be good and gracious Lord to this bearer, Mr. Dudley; who for his towardness and good will to serve hath few fellows in this town: and hath a brother in the Old Man, a gentleman of as good a sort, and as serviceable as I have much seen. Mr. Arden also, both now and at sundry times for his service hath deserved to be humbly commended by me unto your Majesty. Mr. Adrian Poynings, I assure your Majesty, is a man for his discretion and hardiness of great service. Francis Aslebye, that hurt Mons. d'Aumale, break his staff very honestly.^a Trusting that as this ground hath been now, and in my Lord Admiral's time, happy to your Majesty's service, it shall always so continue. Not doubting but when your pleasure shall be such to keep the field, it shall be seen how the French King hath [] his fortress; as your Majesty would have said, if the same had seen us in the field, and how easy it is to keep the strait.

^a This Mons. d'Aumale was the eldest son of the Duke of Guise. He became afterwards the celebrated Duke of Guise, who retook Calais in Queen Mary's reign, and bore so conspicuous a part in the history of his times. The circumstance of his having been wounded is mentioned by most of the French historians. Surrey is the only writer, I believe, who has recorded the name of the person who wounded him. The account of the event is thus given by Du Bellay. D'Aumale is described as making an attack upon the English cavalry. "Mais n'étant suivi comme il eseroit, il reçut un coup de lance dedans la vue qui lui donna entre le nez et l'œil, et entra dedans la tête environ demi pied: car il faut entendre que le fer de la lance étoit à trois quarrés: et n'étoit gros, et avoit environ une paume de long; lequel entra dedans la tête avec la douille et bien deux doigts de bois. La lance rompit et lui demeura le tronçon dedans la tête. Toutfois pour le dit coup il ne perdit ni les arçons, ni l'entendement: dont bien lui prit. Car s'il fut tombé, jamais l'homme ne l'eut sauvé de mains des gens de pied Anglois; qui en prenoient peu à merci."—*Memoires de Du Bellay*, as quoted above, p. 249. He retained the scar of the wound throughout his life, in consequence of which he was surnamed "Le Balafre."

And thus leaving to trouble your Majesty with the circumstances of this Journey, I shall leave the same to the declaration of this said Bearer; to whom it may please your Majesty to give credit. I pray God to preserve your most excellent Majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble,

And obedient servant,

And subject,

H. SURREY.

From your Majesty's Town of Boulogne,

this fourth of December, 1545.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

Haste, haste, with all possible diligence.

LETTER XII.

FROM THE EARL OF SURREY TO THE KING.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 93.*]

It may like your most excellent Majesty: that according to my formal advertisement, my Lord Gray having received my message, assembling together such number of horsemen as so short warning would suffer, to the number of three hundred, arrived here with Mr. Pollard upon Saturday night at eleven o'clock, having made a right painful journey; as well for the bitterness of the weather as for lack of meat for his horses here; which he regarded not, in respect of your Majesty's service: for the which I beseech your Highness he may receive his thanks accordingly.

We then jointly resolved to attempt nothing till a further advantage were seen; considering that their horsemen were increased, being no fewer in number than a thousand; their Almains all encamped upon

the border in the wood, beyond Hardelot; and those carts of victuals that they had brought, and could spare from themselves, put into the fortress upon Friday at the full sea. Upon Saturday, at night, they laid a thousand men at Porthill by night, to receive the victuals that should come from Dieppe, which was the only intent of their journey. But Mr. Cotton, Vice Admiral of your Majesty's fleet, (according to the direction given him from hence by the advertisement of mine espial) lay for them a sea board Somme head, so that in the morning he might descry them a forty sail: and making with them, the men of war that were their conductors fled first; the victuallers escaped into Somme, saving seven that were passed by, which were taken; whereof six laden with meal and salt beef, and the other with wine. These boats were wonderfully well devised only for the revictualment of this fortress by Porthill; of great stowage, and drawing but three feet water. Beseeching your Majesty that Mr. Cotton may receive his thanks accordingly; referring unto your Highness's most prudent consideration of what importance this service is. Whereby, besides the ruin of their horsemen and footmen by the extremity of the weather, their whole purpose is for this present disappointed.

On Sunday, at night, fearing lest they had returned their carts to Montreuil for more victuals, we resolved, this morning before day to lay our whole ambush of horsemen and footmen at St. Etienne, and towards Hardelot, to see whether by any alarm in the break of the day we could train them out; and the rest of the day to have kept our trenches with some field pieces: and with our horsemen to have done our best to let their revictualment; sending afore night a few horsemen to dodge them to their lodging. But upon the news of the taking of their ships, as I think, the whole camp retired towards Montreuil, chafed for choler, and yet I think right well a-cold.

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The prizes, saving that of wine, I have been so bold to retain here for the revictualling of this town; for that I trust if these sails attempt to come again, to do some service with the same. Considering that I might put in each of them seven score men; and think it not unmeet that your Majesty saw them; to the intent the same might provide such like for the revictualling of this town from Calais, to steal along the shore; for the which purpose only they were made. Thus may your Majesty perceive with what difficulty this fortress may be victualled; and that they shall be driven to make an army by sea and by land to discharge the same at Porthill.

Finally; whereas Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir Thomas Wyatt^a (whom your Majesty of ignorant men hath framed to such towardness and knowledge in the war, that as I am able to judge of that I understand not myself, none other dispraised, your Majesty hath not of their behaviour and youth many the like within your realm, both for their hardiness, painfulness, circumspection, and natural disposition to the war) have desired license to repair into England in this time of least service, to settle their private affairs; which for their zeal to your Majesty's service they have long neglected; I have thought it good to beseech your Majesty to give them credit for the declaration of such

^a This was son to Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder. He was a young man of great courage and ability; his conduct fully justified the high character here given of him by Surrey. Previous to Surrey's appointment to Boulogne, Wyatt was entrusted with the command of some troops sent to attack Harelott, which he succeeded in taking. The capture of the place seems to have been owing to his own personal courage. We are told in the dispatches that he entered the turnpike, and "coming to a gate on the first bridge he went into the door, which he brake open, and himself being the first man that entered, slew one of their watchmen upon the said bridge; took the other twain of them, and set his hackbutters in the brage about the castle."—*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 38.* No Knight of the Round Table, not Arthur himself could have stormed a castle in a more chivalrous manner. In the State Paper Office are many letters written by this Sir T. Wyatt to Government, respecting the several charges which had been entrusted to him.

conferences and discourses as we have had together concerning the order of your Majesty's wars on this side the sea. Which hath proceeded, I take God to witness, rather of a care beyond all other affections to your Majesty's service, than to any presumption of knowledge: and that I hope your Majesty will at least take in good part upon the sight of things, the humble advertisement from time to time of him, whom most unworthy, your Majesty hath placed here. Neither do I think it my duty to use any other mean for the declaration of the discourse of any service to be done here, than to your Majesty. Beseeching your Highness that these Gentlemen may know that I have not unremembered to your Majesty their divers and sundry good services done to the same.

And thus I pray God to preserve your most excellent Majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble,

And obedient servant,

And subject,

H. SURREY.

From your Majesty's Town of Boulogne,
this seventh of December, 1545.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

LETTER XIII.

FROM THE KING TO THE EARL OF SURREY.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 99.*]

RIGHT TRUSTY, AND RIGHT WELL-BELOVED;

WE greet you well; and let [you] weet that minding to have sundry matters touching as well the advancement of our affairs as the em-
pechement of our enemies groundly considered, We have presently
dispatched unto you this bearer [- - -] Bellingham, one of the Gentle-
men of our privy chamber, to whom, as being at good length instructed
of our pleasure. [— — — — — — — — — —
— — — —] And where for the special trust and confidence
we have in our trusty and right well beloved servant [- - -] Belling-
ham, one of the Gentlemen of our privy chamber, We have addressed
him unto you, for the declaration of sundry matters of great im-
portance, touching the advancement of our affairs, and annoyance of
our enemies, We have thought good to signify unto you, that our plea-
sure is, you shall not only give firm credence unto him in such things
as he on our behalf shall propose unto you; but also, that conferring
both with him and John Thomaze, whom we have specially appointed
to repair thither with him, you, with others of our Council together,
shall consider by what means and with what numbers th' enemies' fort
may be taken, surprised, or won; and what annoyance can either
that way, or any otherways be done to th' enemies, upon a good and
mature consideration: whereof if you shall think the said fort to be
attempted, and determine to go in hand therewith, our pleasure is, that
in respect of the good experience and forwardness of our said servant
[— — — —] of better estimation as may both agree to the

place whereto we have called him, and give him occasion to declare that earnest service which we are well assured he meaneth, and will not fail to see executed, as any good occasion shall serve.

Minute from the King to my Lord of Surrey,
29th December, 1545.

LETTER XIV.

FROM THE EARL OF SURREY TO THE KING.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 1.*]

PLEASETH IT YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY;

WHEREAS of late I was so bold to dispatch unto your Highness Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir Thomas Wyatt, to declare my poor opinion by what mean this new fortress might be best attempted, the overture whereof it pleased your Majesty to command them then to differ, until it were seen what success the treatise of peace, then in hand, were like to have; having received commandment from your Highness by Mr. Secretary to give order for the war in all your Majesty's pieces here; I was so bold, after that I had in the company of Mr. Marshall, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and Sir Thomas Palmer, which jointly have consented to this devise, revisited the grounds of most advantage, to cause Giles your Highness's servant to draw a plat, and send the same by Rogers unto your Majesty. And then having lately received letters and credit from your Highness by Mr. Bellingham, that I, and the rest of your Majesty's Council here should with him, and Tomazo, (who is not yet arrived here,) consult by what means and with what numbers this

fortress might be won; I have not thought it yet good to stay the dispatch of Rogers, to the which I have made only privy Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Wyatt, and Sir Thomas Palmer; and in the meanwhile, till your Majesty have returned your pleasure, to consult with the rest of your Highness' Council here, and to advertise the general opinion of us all. Beseeching your Majesty to give credit to Rogers in that, he hath to declare in my behalf, touching as well my foresaid opinion, as the misery that the fortress now standeth in; which is such, that if the great revictualment now prepared might be empeched, your Majesty should never need to besiege the same. Whereby your Highness shall perceive your garrison here hath done their duty to keep the fortress so short, as the enemy is driven, with half a camp to revictual the same. The power that they have assembled, as I hear, is their old band of Almains, which be not now much above two thousand; and as many Picards or more, with a five hundred men at arms.

For as much as this new fortress is an annoyful neighbour to your Majesty's town of Boulogne, and county of the same; and that if the enemy have commodity the next year to finish the same, the difficulty to win it will increase, I would wish that your Majesty should besiege the same as timely as all necessities may be prepared, and the time of the year meet for men to lie in the field. The only difficulty wherein, that I see, is the conveyance of victual hither; which, after the French King hath put his ships into the seas, without a navy cannot be done. Your Majesty's only mean to win the fort, as me seemeth, is to prevent the enemy in the field, and to encamp so strongly in the strait in divers places trenched the one from the other, as no relief of victuals may pass: with a determination to famish the same, and in our strength to abide the enemy, and not to fight. Which, with trenches and a mount in every camp, the nature of the ground considered, seemeth unto me feasible.

The great difficulty in all your Majesty's wars [hath ever been] of horsemen; the service of whom is either in battle to encounter the like, or to convey the victual. In this case a small number may serve, considering that in my devise, as it appeareth by my plat, our victual once landed is conveyed to us within the precinct of our camp, without the danger of any other enemy but the fortress: and, if the French King's navy be not upon the seas, the victual may be landed with boats within the creek of Portet; which is also within our camp. And if your Majesty shall prevent the enemy in the field (and considering the ruin of his country, and the small number of men that he hath already assembled, unless he were advertised of your Majesty's enterprise, he cannot be prepared for the field so timely) so shall it not be possible for him to refresh the fort with any great mass of victual by land, if your Majesty would betimes give order by sea. So that I think the fortress would be starved before the season of the year would serve the enemy to put his gallies to the sea.

For the numbers of men, and all other things necessary for this enterprise, I remit the same most humbly to your Majesty's consideration. And albeit a great number of pioneers is requisite, yet, for the expedition of the fortifying of the camp, wherein consisteth the surety of the whole enterprise, there is no doubt but every soldier will set his hands thereto. Which done, it seemeth to me that what by the camp, the sea, the river, and your Majesty's pieces on the other side, there was never fortress more straitlier besieged, and more desperate of succour: and that the army of the enemy, be it never so great, shall not be able to levy us, being strongly entrenched, and having taken already the advantage of the highest grounds: enterlacing with trenches, the one hill to the other, and receiving our victuals always in surety: when also, in your Majesty's pieces a small garrison may serve.

Which devise, if it shall seem good unto your Highness, it shall be meet that in the mean time were placed here a good number of horsemen to put by the small revictualments, to make the fortress the meeter for the other enterprise; wherein the secret and diligent preparation in time for necessities is most requisite; but chiefly your Majesty's navy by sea importeth the whole success of the enterprise.

And whereas your Majesty, for lack of answer to the dispatch of the Clerk of the Council of this town, hath in wages still as many Captains, and double-pays, for the number that here now remaineth, as when there were here the whole eight thousand; it may please your Highness, remembering your charge, to return your resolution: and if the same mind to reduce the companies of footmen to three hundred, then, out of such captains as shall be cassed, it might please your Majesty, besides them that shall serve for the ordinary garrison, to choose some of the most experience and service, and to entertain them without men, after the wages of a Captain. So shall they be here occupied in place of service. And when your Highness shall amass more footmen, those captains be in a readiness to take the leading of them; and the men by this means sooner equeried than when the men and captains both are without experience. The charge whereof shall not be great, and the comfort to your subjects here much, when they shall see that your Majesty will entertain them still for their passed service. Beseeching the same to remember them generally with some letter of comfort, which shall afresh encourage them most willingly to adventure their lives, according to their most bounden duty, in your Majesty's service. So shall the same wipe out of their hearts the fear that they have conceived that your Highness should gather some suspicion of them, concerning the excessive allowance before time made. Assuring your Majesty, upon my most bounden duty to the same, that

as I cannot speak but sith my coming hither, I dare say at this present there was never Prince more truly served in that behalf: and that with the advice of your Highness's Council there is set so direct and certain orders for the payment of the garrison, that there is in effect no gate left open to deceit, as I think.

Mr. Southwell will inform your Majesty, at his return, that he findeth at this present that your Highness's affairs go directly. And if there were any fault before time, on my faith I think the foreign trouble of the enemy was rather the cause, than any spot or lack of duty to your Majesty.

On the contrary part, if your Majesty shall determine on war defensive, the same shall do well to resolve in what order your fortifications shall proceed, and upon your pleasure known, every way I shall travail to my power to your Majesty's contentation.

* * * * *

which I assure your Majesty I cannot yet see how they can bring to pass, if this weather continue; so that your Highness would give order that your ships might keep upon this shore, when the weather would serve: assuring your Majesty that these six days their whole garrison hath lived with biscuit and water; having neither wood, nor coal. Whereupon I have sent for the horsemen of Guisnes to bring hay with them by land, if the weather will suffer; for we had none here these ten days; and if they come, there shall be nothing left undone that shall be thought meet with the surety of your Majesty's pieces.

Finally, it may please your Majesty to receive herein enclosed my simple discourse concerning the attempting of the fortress; and, pardoning my folly, to accept my good intent; beseeching your Highness that this bearer may know I have most humbly commended his honest service here unto your Majesty. And that Giles may per-

ceive the same taketh in good part his honest travail; who desireth your Highness to pardon this plat made in haste, and promiseth to present your Majesty with another shortly to the full perfection; who, coming hither for his own affairs, hath been stayed here by me for this purpose. And thus I pray God to preserve your most excellent Majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble,

and obedient servant,

and subject,

H. SURREY.

From your Majesty's town of Boulogne,
this 5th of January, 1545.

LETTER XV.

FROM THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE EARL OF SURREY.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 94.*]

AFTER our right hearty commendations unto your good Lordship: These may be to advertise you that the King's Majesty, understanding as well by such private advertisements as have come from Boulogne, as otherwise, that Sir George Pollard is slain, and that his Majesty's enemies and you have encountered together, cannot but marvel very much that in so many days you have advertised hither no part of that matter. If your success have been good, his Majesty thinketh you should have done well to have communicated your good luck unto his Highness; who might, upon knowledge thereof, not only have given thanks to God, and rejoiced with you; but also by his great wisdom, have considered

and devised such things as might have tended to your further success and comfort, and to th' increase and furtherance of your well doing hereafter. And, of th' other side, if your chance at this time have not been even so good as you would have wished, yet his Majesty, who of his great clemency considereth the uncertainty and unstable chance of the wars, knowing the truth might and would perchance have resolved upon such order for the redubbe, and supply of this loss, as was not expedient to have been differed all this while. And therefore his Majesty hath specially commanded us to require you t' advertise without further delay, the very truth and whole circumstances of this chance; and that from henceforth, as often as any such matter or other worthy advertisement shall grow, that you fail not from time to time t' advertise his Majesty of the full truth thereof accordingly.^a

11th December, 1545.

^a The date indorsed on the back of this letter is, "December 11th, 1545:" but that date must be erroneous. For the death of Mr. Pollard, about which inquiries are made, did not take place till the 6th of January, as is described in Surrey's next letter. As Surrey wrote an account of the action the day after it took place, we can account for the rumour of it reaching England before his dispatch did, upon the supposition that the bad weather, which is alluded to in the postscript, had prevented Surrey's messenger from arriving at the proper time.

LETTER XVI.

FROM THE EARL OF SURREY TO THE KING.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 2.*]

It may like your most excellent Majesty; that having certain espial that Monsieur Du Biez was set fort [forth] of Montreuil with six hundred horse, and three thousand footmen, to relieve the great necessity of the fortress, mentioned in our former letters; we took yesterday before day the trenches at St. Etienne, with six hundred footmen, and sent out Mr. Ellerkar with all the horsemen of this town, and Mr. Pollard with two hundred that he brought the night before from Guisnes, to discover whither their camp marched, which he had discovered by their fires at Nouclier over night, six miles on this side Montreuil. And as they passed by Hardelot, Mr. Pollard was hurt with a culverin in the knee, and died thereof the night following; of whom your Majesty had a notable loss.

Our horsemen discovered their march beyond Hardelot, whereupon I th' Earl of Surrey being advertised, according to the order agreed upon amongst us, issued out with Mr. Bridges, Sir Henry Palmer, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and two thousand footmen; leaving within your Majesty's pieces two thousand footmen, and the rest of the Council here, divided in the pieces. And by that time that we had set our horsemen and footmen in order of battle without the trench of St. Etienne, the enemy was also in order of battle on this side Hardelot, and had put on their carriages by the sea's side towards the fortress. Whereupon, having discovered their horsemen not above five hundred, and footmen about four thousand, pondering the weight of the service, which might have imported no less success than the win-

ning of the fortress; and the courage and good will that seemed in our men (the surety of your Majesty's pieces being provided for) upon a consultation we presented them the fight with a squadre of pikes and bills, about three score in file, and two wings of harquebussiers, and one of bows; and our horsemen on the right wing. Many of the Captains and Gentlemen were in the first rank by their desire; for because they were well armed in corselets. The battle of the Almaines came towards us likewise with two wings of harquebussiers, and two troops of horsemen.

Mr. Marshall, Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Porter, Mr. Shelley, and Mr. Granado, with all the horsemen of this town, and Guisnes, gave the charge upon their right flank, and brake their harquebussiers. Their horsemen fled and ours followed the victory, and killed and slew till they came to the carriages, where they brake four score and ten, accompted by tale this morning. Our squadre then joined with th' Almaines, with a cry of as great courage, and in as good order as we could wish. And by that time our first rank and the second were come to the push of the pike, there grew a disorder in our men, and without cause fled; at which time many of our gentlemen were slain, which gave as hardy an onset as hath been seen, and could but have had good success, if they had been followed. So, stinted they never for any devise that we could use, till they came to the trenches: and being well settled there, which is such a place as may be kept against all their camp, they forsook that and took the river; which gave th' enemy courage to follow them: albeit the night drawing then on, they followed not far beyond. Assuring your Majesty that the fury of their flight was such, that it booted little the travail that was taken upon every strait to stay them. And so seeing it not possible to stop them, we suffered them to retire to the town.

In this meanwhile, our horsemen thinking all won, finding the disorder, were fain to pass over at a passage a mile beneath Pont de

Brique, without any loss, having slain a great number of the enemies; whereof we have yet no certain advertisement.

Thus was there loss and victory on both sides. And this morning we sent over afore day to number the dead. There was slain of our side two hundred and five; whereof Captains Mr. Edward Poynings; Captain Story, Captain Jones, Spencer, Roberts, Basford, Wourth, Wynchcombe, Mr. Vawse, and a man at arms called Harvy. Captain Crayford and Mr. John Palmer, and Captain Shelley, and Captain Cobham, missed but not found. All these were slain in the first rank. Other there were that escaped. Among whom Mr. Wyatt was one; assuring your Majesty that there were never gentlemen served more hardily, if it had chanced and saving the disorder of our footmen that fled without cause, when all things almost seemed won.

The enemy took more loss than we, but for the gentlemen; whose loss was much to be lamented. And this day we have kept the field from the break of day; and the enemy retired to Montreuil immediately after the fight, and left their carriages distressed behind them. And not twenty carts entered into the fortress; and that biscuit.

Beseeching your Majesty, though the success hath not been such as we wished, to accept the good intent of us all; considering that it seemed to us, in a matter of such importance, a necessary thing to present the fight. And that Mr. Ellerkar may know we have humbly recommended his good service unto your Highness; which was such, as if all the rest had answered to the same, the enemy had been utterly discomforted; and that it may please your Majesty to give him credit for the declaration thereof more at large.

Further; whereas Mr. Henry Dudley was one of those of the first rank that gave the onset upon the enemy, and is a man [to be esteemed] for his knowledge, heart, and of good service, it may like your Highness to be his good and gracious Lord; that whereas Mr. Poynings,

late Captain of your Majesty's guard here is deceased, if your Highness shall think him able to succeed him in that room, at our humble intercession to admit him thereto; if it may so stand with your most gracious pleasure.

And thus beseeching your Highness to accept our poor service, albeit the success in all things was not such as we wished, yet was th' enemies enterprise disappointed; which could not have been otherwise done, and mo' of their part slain than of our's; and the fortress in as great misery as before; and a sudden flight the let of a full victory. And if any disorder there were, we assure your Majesty there was no default in the rulers, nor lack of courage to be given them, but a humour that sometime reigneth in Englishmen: most humbly thanking your Majesty that it hath pleased the same to consider their payment; which shall much revive their hearts to adventure most willingly their lives, according to their most bounden duty, in your Majesty's service, to make recompence for the disorder that now they have made.

And thus we pray to God to preserve your most excellent Majesty.
From your Highness's Town of Boulogne, this 8th of January, 1546.

Your Majesty's most humble

and obedient Servants

and Subjects,

H. SURREY.

HUGH POULET.

HENRY PALMER.

RICHARD CAVINDISH.

A F

JOHN BRYGGYS.

RICHARD WYNDEBANCKE.

Postscript. Whereas we think that this victual can serve for no long time, that they have put into the fortress; wherefore it is to be thought

th' enemy will attempt the like again shortly : it may please your Majesty to resolve what is further to be done by us ; and for the declaration of our poor opinions therein, we have sent Mr. Ellerker to your Majesty, to whom may it please your Highness to give credit in that behalf ; and the present tempest being such, we have thought it meet to send these before, and stay him for a better passage.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

Note. The reader will not be displeased to see the French account of this engagement.

Une autre fois le Mareschal de Biez adverti que les vivres commençoient à diminuer au fort delibera d'y mener envitaillement. Parquoi, partant de son camp au-dessus de Montreuil il prit le chemin du Mont St. Etienne : au quel lieu il trouva le Milord Sorel accompagnè de six mille Anglois pour empêcher le dit envitaillement. En la compagnie du Mareschal il y avoit cinquante hommes d'armes et le Comte Reingrave avec son regiment de quatre mille Lansquenets et deux cens Arquebusers, conduit par le Capitaine Brueil, Breton, et le Capitaine Escarbouillat. Le Mareschal se trouvant en cet hazard delibera par l'avis des Capitaines, de passer outre et les combattre, encore qu'il fût moindre de nombre de deux mille hommes. Car se retirant il eut perdu son charroy et vivres. Ayant conclu le combat il marcha droit aux ennemis. Le combat fut longue et furieux. Mais enfin les Anglois furent renversès, et se retirerent en un petit fort lequel ils ne sçurent garder. Audit combat moururent de sept à huit cens Anglois. Le Milord Sorel, fils du Duc de Northfolk leur General se sauva avec le reste à la fuite et demeurerent des leurs de sept à huit vingts prisonniers. *Du Bellay, dans la Collection des Memoires &c. vol. xxi. p. 269.* Serres following Du Bellay describes the engagement in nearly the same terms. *Histoire* page 519. It is amusing to remark the French exaggerations of our numbers : as if even a Victory did not confer honour unless it were gained under unfavourable circumstances. It seems improbable that the Rhingrave should have been in this engagement ; for Surrey mentions in a subsequent letter, that he was not expected to join the army till the end of March following. See Page 208.

For the better understanding the above description of the French army it may be proper to add, that the respective force of armies was formerly computed by the number of the men of arms who were present ; for each man of arms was attended by a certain number of soldiers serving under him ; as well horse as foot. I believe the numbers of these attendants varied : but on the supposition that they amounted to an hundred ; an army of fifty men of arms, would imply an army of more than five thousand men. The following account will give a sufficiently accurate notion of the importance of a man of arms. We read that in the 7th of Henry VII. (1492,) George Earl of Kent engaged to serve with sixteen men at arms, each man of arms having with him his custril and page, sixteen demi-lances,

LETTER XVI.

FROM THE COUNCIL AT BOULOGNE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

[Harleian MSS. No. 283.]

AFTER our hearty commendations to your good Lordships; whereas, having matters of importance to impart with you concerning the service of the King's Majesty, we have addressed Sir Thomas Wyatt for the declaration thereof in our behalfs unto you; desiring you therefore to give credit unto him, and with expedition to give order for the same accordingly.

Thus we bid your Lordships most heartily farewell. From Boulogne, this tenth day of January, 1546.

Your Lordships assured loving Friends,

H. SURREY.

JOHN BRYGGYS.

RICHARD CAVENDISH.

HUGH JOWLER.

THOMAS PALMER.

To our very good Lords, my Lord Cobham,
Deputy of Calais; and my Lord Gray,
General of all the King's Crews at Calais
and Guisnes.

sixteen archers on horse-back, and sixty archers on foot: all able men fit for service, according to their different kinds, and stations, and customs of war. The pay for every man of arms garnished with his custril and page was 1s. 6d. the day: every demi-lance 9d. every archer horse or foot 6d. Cotgrave describes the custril to be a servant to a man of arms. The name has been derived from "coutille," a species of sword worn by persons of the above description.

As the strength of an army was thus calculated by the men of arms attending; so were defeats-estimated by the number of men of arms killed, or taken. The number of the common men lost, was not much attended to.

LETTER XVII.

FROM THE COUNCIL AT BOULOGNE TO THE KING.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 7.*]

IT MAY LIKE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

THAT whereas Sir Thomas Palmer hath declared unto us your Majesty's contentation upon our humble suit, t' appoint some worthy man to be his Lieutenant for the more surety of the piece in his absence, and the discharge of our duties for all events; We have thought it good, most humbly to recommend unto your Highness Mr. Crofts, late Water Bailiff of this town, and in the consideration of th' abatement of superfluous charges, discharged by Mr. Southwell, and me the Earl of Surrey; assuring your Highness that his service hath been such, both for his diligence and hardiness, that he meriteth to be recommended most humbly to your Highness for one of the most worthy gentlemen of this town: beseeching your Majesty to be his good and gracious Lord, and that the rather, at our humble intercession it may please your Highness to admit him to that place; and that your Majesty will think that no other private affection than the service of your Highness causeth us to make this motion; which maketh us bold to be suitors to your Majesty, to th' intent every other by the preferment of him may be encouraged to serve well. And thus we pray to God to preserve your most excellent Majesty. From your Highness's Town of Boulogne, this 10th of February, 1546.

Your Majesty's most humble
and obedient Servant

and Subjects,

H. SURREY.

JOHN BRYGGYS.

THOMAS WIATT.

THOMAS PALMER.

RAUF ELLERKER.

RICHARD WYNDEBANCK.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

LETTER XVIII.

FROM THE COUNCIL AT BOULOGNE TO THE KING.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 6.*]

PLEASETH YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY;

THAT whereas the service of the Colonel of th' Albanois, with his company here, is so painful and chargeable, both for loss of horse and dearth of all other things, that we can with much difficulty stay the soldiers here but that they go to Calais and Guisnes, where they are received of the Captains there, (as the soldier, your Majesty considereth, would advoid the service of pain, and seek where he may have his wages with ease :) we have thought it our duty to advertise your Highness, that whereas we hear the same hath licensed a Spaniard called Captain Charles, under Gambo to make a company of horsemen, that he seeketh by all means, and offers to embezzle the soldiers from the old Captains, whereby your Highness is here the worse served : and so the Colonel of the Albanois hath required us to advertize your Majesty.

And surely thus your Highness shall find, that by the new company of the Spaniards, and two other Captains of the Albanois that served in Scotland the last year, whom your Majesty hath commanded to be addressed unto us to be entertained here ; your Highness shall in effect have no horse the more, besides the great charge of the Captains and their officers : for if there were no mo' Captains than before, those few should have all the soldiers to serve your Majesty ; whereas now, your Highness's charge encreaseth, and not the number of horse. Assuring your Majesty that the discontentation among the Captains Albanois is

LETTER XVII.

FROM THE COUNCIL AT BOULOGNE TO THE KING.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 7.*]

IT MAY LIKE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

THAT whereas Sir Thomas Palmer hath declared unto us your Majesty's contentation upon our humble suit, t' appoint some worthy man to be his Lieutenant for the more surety of the piece in his absence, and the discharge of our duties for all events; We have thought it good, most humbly to recommend unto your Highness Mr. Crofts, late Water Bailiff of this town, and in the consideration of th' abatement of superfluous charges, discharged by Mr. Southwell, and me the Earl of Surrey; assuring your Highness that his service hath been such, both for his diligence and hardiness, that he meriteth to be recommended most humbly to your Highness for one of the most worthy gentlemen of this town: beseeching your Majesty to be his good and gracious Lord, and that the rather, at our humble intercession it may please your Highness to admit him to that place; and that your Majesty will think that no other private affection than the service of your Highness causeth us to make this motion; which maketh us bold to be suitors to your Majesty, to th' intent every other by the preferment of him may be encouraged to serve well. And thus we pray to God to preserve your most excellent Majesty. From your Highness's Town of Boulogne, this 10th of February, 1546.

Your Majesty's most humble

and obedient Servant

and Subjects,

H. SURREY.

JOHN BRYGGYS.

THOMAS WIATT.

THOMAS PALMER.

RAUF ELLERKER.

RICHARD WYNDEBANCK.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

LETTER XVIII.

FROM THE COUNCIL AT BOULOGNE TO THE KING.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 6.*]

PLEASETH YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY;

THAT whereas the service of the Colonel of th' Albanois, with his company here, is so painful and chargeable, both for loss of horse and dearth of all other things, that we can with much difficulty stay the soldiers here but that they go to Calais and Guisnes, where they are received of the Captains there, (as the soldier, your Majesty considereth, would avoid the service of pain, and seek where he may have his wages with ease :) we have thought it our duty to advertise your Highness, that whereas we hear the same hath licensed a Spaniard called Captain Charles, under Gambo to make a company of horsemen, that he seeketh by all means, and offers to embezzle the soldiers from the old Captains, whereby your Highness is here the worse served : and so the Colonel of the Albanois hath required us to advertize your Majesty.

And surely thus your Highness shall find, that by the new company of the Spaniards, and two other Captains of the Albanois that served in Scotland the last year, whom your Majesty hath commanded to be addressed unto us to be entertained here ; your Highness shall in effect have no horse the more, besides the great charge of the Captains and their officers : for if there were no mo' Captains than before, those few should have all the soldiers to serve your Majesty ; whereas now, your Highness's charge encreaseth, and not the number of horse. Assuring your Majesty that the discontentation among the Captains Albanois is

such, to see the Spaniard rob their soldiers from them, that we can no less of our duty but beseech your Majesty to set a certain order therein.

Further; whereas the Colonel hath desired us instantly to be humble suitors to your Majesty, that it would please the same of your princely liberality to reward in general the soldiers for the great number of horse that they have had slain in your Highness' service, which amounteth to three score and above; we thought it also our duty for th' encourage of the soldiers to beseech your Majesty to extend your natural liberality to them in that behalf. Assuring your Highness that the service here is more accident to losses, than in any other place where your Majesty is served. And thus we pray to God to preserve your most excellent Majesty. From your Highness's town of Boulogne, this 13th of February, 1546.

Your Majesty's most humble

and obedient Servants and Subjects,

H. SURREY.

JOHN BRYGGYS.

RAUF ELLERKER.

THOMAS PALMER.

A. F.

RICHARD CAVENDISHE.

RICHARD WYNDEBANCKE.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

LETTER XIX.

FROM THE COUNCIL AT BOULOGNE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 10.*]

It may like your good Lordships to be advertised; that whereas we understand the King's most excellent Majesty hath licenced all such as repair unto this town with victuals, for the better furnishing of his Highness's garrison here, to pass with the same without custom; yet notwithstanding for that, the poor men complain they are much exacted by the customers; we have thought meet to advertise your good Lordships thereof, to th' intent, if it shall so seem good unto the same, there may be redress had in that behalf accordingly.

Further; Whereas in this casual service men are divers ways accident unto death; for as much as we have no Commissary to approve the will of the dead, and to give order therein according to the spiritual law, wherein we have none here that hath any knowledge; we have also thought meet to signify the same unto your good Lordships, for that we see divers discouraged, to see the goods of the trespassed^a run to the common sack, and not to the heir.

For news, we understand this day by espial, that the fortress shall be revictualled in th' end of the next week by land and sea, with four hundred men at arms, and five thousand footmen by land; and eighteen ships of war, six galleys, and certain floynes^b of portage by sea; which finished, they will lay three bands of horsemen at Da-

^a The deceased. To pass, was a reverential mode formerly of expressing the death of a person.

———— e in quella forma

Passa la bella Donna, e par che dorma.

^b Floynes must be the same what Cotgrave describes under the word Floûin a bark of some forty or fifty ton, derived probably from the Basse Bretonne, Floja.

verne, Samur, and Estaples, till the camp^c come, which is looked for in the end of March; and that the Rhincroft^d is coming with six thousand Almaines.

Further; that the French King hath, by th' advice of two gentlemen of Hungary, very experient, made a great number of cannons of a greater calibre than ever hath been seen; and determineth and advaunteth to beat this town all to powder. These brags, albeit we esteem them for such, we have yet thought it meet to advertise. Monsieur de Vendosme is recovered, and shall return to his government shortly. Thus leaving to trouble your good Lordships, we pray to God to send you health. From Boulogne, this 20th of February, 1546.

Your good Lordships to command,

H. SURREY.

JOHN BRYGGYS.

HUGH POWLETT.

RAUF ELLERKAR.

RICHARD CAVENDISH.

A. F.

Beseeching your good Lordships we may be answered to the articles we sent to the Earl of Hartford, and the Lord Lysle.

Further; Whereas we have here no mass of money to pay the strangers at the next pay day, which is now at hand; it may like your good Lordships to consider the same, and to give order accordingly.

To the Right Honourable our very good
Lords and others of the King's Ma-
jesty's most Honourable Council at-
tending upon his Royal Person.

Haste! post haste. Haste! haste!
with diligence.

^c Camp, means an army. Half a camp, a body of men equal to the amount of half the army. It means more than a common detachment. The expression occurs before, at Letter XIV. p. 192.

^d The Rhincroft is the Rhingrave.

LETTER XX.
FROM THE COUNCIL OF BOULOGNE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 11.*]

It may like your good Lordships to be advertised; that this day arrived here a spy for us, that hath been long upon the frontier for that purpose, whose news be such.

That the victuals for this fortress set forth by sea tomorrow, if the wind will serve; and by land likewise; whereof we have advertised the Vice Admiral of his Majesty's fleet.

That the bruit is great in France of the descent of his Majesty's army here; wherefore the revictualment of this fortress, and of Ardres, is hastened the more.

That their army shall assemble about th' end of March; and that the Rhinecroft shall bring out of Almain twenty-four ensigns for the renforce of th' old bands; and six thousand Gascons to be new levied; and six thousand pioneers, besides four thousand Egyptians that shall serve for pioneers, whom it is thought the French King minding to avoid out of his realm, determineth before their departure to employ this year in that kind of service, and that by their help, before their dispatch, he hopeth with a tumbling trench to fill the dykes of this town.

That Monsieur De Biez shall repose this year, much blamed for his advice for the placing of the fortress.* That Mons. de Tayes shall have

* De Biez had promised that the fortress should be ready within a certain time. The Dauphin came expecting to have found it complete, and was disappointed. The blame was flung on the engineers: but further delay arising, the conduct of De Biez became suspicious. No imputation was ever

the charge of the army under the Duke of Vendome, during his sickness, by the name of his Lieutenant, who came from the Court within these four days in post, and returned so, and is looked for here shortly again.

That the navy by sea is prepared ready, saving men and victuals, to set forth when they shall be commanded.

That the French King intendeth to fortify at Estaples, and to make a mole there for his gallies, whereof Salcedo, the Captain of Hardelot, shall have the charge.

This news considered upon the mouth of a spy that hitherto hath not failed, albeit we give thereto no great trust, yet have we thought it our duty to advertise the same; to th' intent, order may be taken for the more speedy sending of the victuals, and fortifications of this town, which hitherto are surely raw and far from perfection.

And thus being bold to trouble your good Lordships with these occurrents and such like, we pray to God to send you health; trusting that within these few days your Lordships shall receive more certain advertisement from us. From Boulogne, this 21st February, 1545.

Your good Lordships unto commandment,

H. SURREY.

JOHN BRYGGYS.

THOMAS PALMER.

HGH POWLETT.

RICHARD CAUNDYSHE.

thrown upon either his courage or his integrity; but it was supposed that he somewhat protracted the operations, that he might be continued longer in the command of the army: in which not only the first nobility of France served as volunteers, but many of the Royal Family. To wish to retain command under such circumstances was natural: it pleaded with Francis, to a certain degree, De Biez's excuse. He was, however, brought to trial for his conduct, and was deprived of his command. He was afterwards restored to favour: but he felt the disgrace of the sentence passed upon him so severely, that he died ultimately of sorrow and distress of mind.

Postscript. It may like your good Lordships that we may know his Majesty's final resolution for th' entertainment of the two new Captains Albanois; wherein my Lord of Hertford promised us to move his Highness.

Further; whereas there is dispatched unto Calais a Captain, Italian, called Belazo, to make his company there; for as much as by the Colonels, (from whom your good Lordships shall herewith receive a letter of the like effect) we understand he doth rather embezzle the soldiers from hence, than seek for any new; by reason whereof his Majesty's charges do rather increase than the number of soldiers; we have thought meet also to signify the same unto your good Lordships, to th' intent his Majesty be not deceived in the number of the soldiers.

Further; your good Lordships shall understand that for such vessels as are arrived here with the King's Majesty's victuals, there hath been such diligence given thereabout, that by tomorrow at night they shall all be discharged and ready to depart.

To the Right Honourable our very good Lords,
and others of the King's Majesty's most Honour-
able Council attending upon his Royal Person.

In haste.

H. SURREY.

LETTER XXI.

THE EARL OF SURREY TO THE COUNCIL AT CALAIS.

[*Harleian MSS. No. 283.*]

MY VERY GOOD LORDS,

WITH my hearty commendations; you shall understand that I have received your letters: for answer whereunto you shall understand, that albeit I have received from his Majesty no letters of like effect as you have done, I could wish that after your proclamation made, ye would execute the same on your part, as I intend to do of mine; so that you would make a general redress for all such disorders past, or else it shall not lie in my power to let any Captain, English or stranger, to offer such measure as is offered them.* Wherefore, if it be your will by the redress of that is past, to come in, sending home again any such that have left this service to serve with you, and I shall do the like again.

You shall also understand that the French fleet lie here before our haven, whereof I have thought meet to advertise you. And thus I pray to God to send you your health. From Boulogne, this second of March.

Your assured loving Friend,

H. SURREY.

To my very good Lords, my Lord Cobham,
and my Lord Gray, and to other my loving
Friends of the King's Majesty's Council at
Calais, in haste. Haste post; haste post.

* The meaning must be, "it will not otherwise be in my power to prevent them from offering such injury to others as they receive themselves."

LETTER XXII.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF BOULOGNE TO THE KING.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 13.]

It may like your most excellent Majesty to be advertised; that whereas this bearer, Sir Richard Wingfield, was taken prisoner in the great service that was done unto your Majesty what time the Frenchmen were repulsed in their camisado out of Base Boulogne; and hath remained ever since in th' enemy's hands by the space of seventeen months; he is now returned ransomed so high, that scarce all that the poor Gentleman hath to be sold will suffice to redeem him. We are [therefore] so bold, trusting in the natural clemency of your Highness, most humbly to recommend his service unto your Majesty, [if] it may please the same to shew your most gracious favour towards him; which shall encourage all others your Highness's subjects to adventure their lives in the service of so noble and thankful a Prince, as never yet left acceptable service unrewarded. And thus we pray to God to preserve your most excellent Majesty. From your Highness' town of Boulogne, this 8th of March, 1545.

Your Majesty's most humble,

And obedient servants,

And subjects,

H. SURREY.

JOHN BRYGGYS.

HUGH POWLETT.

THOS. WYAT.

RYCHARD CAUNDYSCH.

RAUF ELLERKER.

THOMAS PALMER.

A F.

RYCHARD WYNDEBANCKE.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

LETTER XXIII.

SECRETARY PAGET TO THE EARL OF SURREY.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 15.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

WITH most hearty commendations; it may like you to understand that I have received your several letters, the one of the - - - of this present, the other of the - - - of the same, and have shewed to his Majesty the contents of them; who for answer hath willed me to signify to your Lordship, that as touching the entertainment of the Captains cassed, and their Lieutenants, his Highness thinketh that considering they serve without any charge, they ought to be content with that wages which his Highness offereth; and may, as occasion shall rise, and places fall void, be from time to time advanced further, according to their demerits.

And where your Lordship doubteth which of them shall be with your Lordship, and which with my Lord of Hertford; albeit it was written that such as were come over hither for their affairs licenced by your Lordship should return to that side again with my said Lord to serve under him; and that the rest being at Boulogne should remain with your Lordship; yet, for because it is uncertain to his Majesty which of them be here, and which there, his Highness mindeth that all should be there with your Lordship: and my Lord of Hertford at his coming over to appoint such of them to the places of rule which be, or shall be void, as shall be thought meetest to occupy the same.

As for your diet this Lent time, his Majesty permitteth to your Lordship's liberty: and thinketh not best now that time of service (which will bring some trouble and disquietness unmeet for women's

imbecilities) approacheth, that your Lordship should send for my Lady your wife.

As for money, I have sent for Mr. Godolphin this morning; who, if he be not already gone, shall bring some over with him for the relief of your men there. And as for men for the furniture of th' Old Man, it is now in devising whether you shall have them from hence, from the [] or from Guisnes; but shortly you shall have them, and money also, though Mr. Godolphyn for [this] time be gone; for it shall be sent immediately after.

As concerning my Lord Gray's offer of wages and th' allurement from thence unto him of the soldiers at Boulogne; his Majesty thinketh your Lordship hath been amiss informed; for my Lord Gray is appointed to make no men that we know of here, nor to levy any new bands; nor, I believe, for my part, (whatsoever untrue reports which any man, which travaileth by sinister means to set your two Lordships at variance, to the continual torment, if it so be, of yourselves and the dangerous hinderance of his Majesty's affairs doth tell your Lordship) my Lord Gray would not say that he had charge to levy new bands. True it is that now, at my Lord of Hertford going over, Francisco Agello (whom your Lordship did recommend to his Majesty for his experience of leading footmen, whereof he had a good charge, as your Lordship knoweth best, in France) made suit to serve under his Lordship with 400 Italians, and had grant of 200; and likewise did Amerigo Ansemori, and had grant of 200; and his Majesty's old approved servant Tyberio of 100; and these to be in the field, and therefore thought unmeet to be under the charge of Salerno, whom his Majesty appointeth to the guard of his town under your Lordship. And of any other new bands we know not here; nor mind not that those men should take any soldiers from thence; and therefore it was written twice by myself to Calais and Guisnes, more than ten days passed, that his Majesty would

it proclaimed, that whatsoever Captain now newly appointed to levy bands of Italians, shall admit wittingly any soldier whereof is already under any Captain, that both the new Captain shall be committed to ward and discharged of his Majesty's service; and also the soldier committed to ward, loss of a month's wages, and to be cased: and this was thought sufficient for that matter.

As for Salerno's desire to be Colonel General of the Italians, his Majesty meaneth so, for all at Boulogne in garrison there; but otherwise he neither can conveniently, nor indeed, (to tell it to your Lordship to be kept from him) [would] divers of the Italians, of whom some have been Colonels, and some Captains, serve under him who never was Colonel, nor yet before this time, as they say, had skant the charge of a Captain at any time: but this matter your Lordship may with wisdom stay well enough.

As touching the fortification and Rogers, his Majesty saith, at the beginning indeed he appointed your Lordship, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Rogers, to the order thereof; but since, upon further consideration of the uncertainty of your opinions touching that matter, both of your Lordship and of Sir Thomas Palmer, liking now one thing, and another time misliking the same, his Majesty debating with Rogers (whom he taketh for a man of skill [in] fortification) for the perfection of the said fortifications, [hath] conceived certain plats which he hath delivered unto the said Rogers, and committed unto him th' execution of the same; requiring your Lordship therefore, and Mr. Palmer, both to permit the order thereof to Rogers, who is fully instructed of his Majesty's mind in that behalf; and yet if you perceive any thing in the work which you think to be dangerous, to advertise his Highness of your opinions therein, with your consideration in that behalf; conceiving that opinion both of your Lordship and the said Sir Thomas Palmer, that neither of you will for this cause, or any other thing tending to

th' advancement of his Majesty's service or profit, bear the worse will to the said Rogers; but rather favour him and support him accordingly. Your Lordship knoweth the man is plain and blunt; which must be borne withall as long as he is well meaning, and mindeth the service of the King's Majesty, which your Lordship tendereth, I doubt not accordingly. And now having answered to all your things, I take my leave of you, and pray God to send you to do no worse than I do wish you. From Greenwich, the 8th of March, at dinner time, 1545.

Minute to the Earl of Surrey.

LETTER XXIV.

FROM THE COUNCIL AT BOULOGNE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

[*State Paper Records, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 16.*]

It may like your good Lordships to be advertised; that yesterday in the morning arrived here a great number of victuallers out of England; and the King's Majesty's ships also from the West shewed themselves on this shore; upon the sight whereof the camp of th' enemy dislodged, and lay the same night within a league of Montreuil: albeit it seemed they would not have done so, for that there were come four or five new bands to their renforce. Their horsemen are already returned to their garrisons, and their footmen also as we hear shall discover shortly.

At their being at Saumer, they did there square and stake out a fortress, in like sort as they did at Estaples; but it is thought the same to be done rather to make bruit thereof, than for any other intent.

Monsieur du Biez this day taketh his journey towards the Court. Assuring your good Lordships, that if their revictualment by sea had been empeched, according to our many advertisements, it would have troubled them to have made the same by land; and whilst they had intended that purpose, his Majesty might have had occasion to have done such enterprise, with other commodity, as should have seemed good unto the same: Thus leaving to trouble your good Lordships, we pray to God to send you health. From Boulogne, this 9th of March, 1545.

There are arrived here, and coming as we hear say, a thousand pioneers, which, if they tarry here, will consume a great number of victuals; and we, having none advertisement from your good Lordships thereof, know not how to use the same.

Your good Lordships to command,

H. SURREY.

JOHN BRYGGYS.

HUGH POWLETT.

RALPH ELLARKER.

RICHARD CAVENDISSHE.

HENRY PALMER.

To the Right Honourable our very good Lords, and others of the King's Majesty's most Honourable Council attending on his Royal Person. In haste; haste, post haste; haste, haste with diligence.

LETTER XXV.

FROM THE EARL OF SURREY TO LORD COBHAM.

[Harleian MSS. No. 283.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

AFTER my hearty commendations; whereas there is a great mass of victual arrived here, and that my Lord Great Master hath sent for Mr. Rochester to Dover, to talk with him for sundry causes of his Majesty's for this town; it may like your good Lordship to declare the same to Mr. Munday, and addressing him hither out of hand, to take with him the same waggons that were here at the last discharge of victuals; for, as your Lordship may consider, that else having so great a mass thereof, and no help of carriages to convey the same from the water side, it will be long before it can be discharged.

Further; whereas his Majesty hath already sent a great number of pioneers hither, and that we daily look for more; it may also like you, that I have thought it my duty towards his Majesty's service, to desire you to take order with my Lord Gray, and the Captain of Newnham bridge, that none of them come by you without passport; and, if they do, that from time to time they may be taken and punished to the example of all others; or else returned to me for that intent.

Thus fare your good Lordship most heartily well. From Boulogne, this 10th of March, 1545.

Your loving Cousin,

H. SURREY.

And my Lord, for the herring, me seemeth that it may as well serve for the provision of this town as Calais, if you would let it pass.

To my very good Lord, my Lord Cobham,
Deputy of Calais.

In haste; haste, post haste; haste, haste,
haste, haste, haste.

LETTER XXVI.

THE EARL OF SURREY TO MR. SECRETARY PAGET.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 18.*]

It may like you to understand; that I have received your letters of the thirteenth of this present, wherein you require to know our numbers, and what supplement of men of war we desire; wherein I cannot speak unless I touch Rogers' charge; that is to say, the strength of the pieces.

At such time as there was hope of the reforming of the Castle Brays, at the first reducing of the Base Town into a Citadel, in respect only of landing of the victuals, when it was concluded to finish the Young Man^a to be a cavalier over the same, there was a plat devised by me and penned by Mr. Southwell, for the winter garrison in such season as th' enemy could not keep the field, to th' intent his Majesty's charges might be aleived, and the victual spared until the year should open: at which time it was thought his Majesty would resolve with what numbers his pieces might be defended. According to the said plat, I and Mr. Southwell, by th' authority of our commission, in the month of January (for sooner we could not cass the rest for lack of money) established in the High Town and Castle five ensigns of three hundred men a piece; whereof four ordinary, and one extraordinary; in the Citadel three ensigns; and in th' Old Man three: which could never

^a The Young Man was a small fortification between the Old Man and the lower town, to preserve the communication between them, and to protect the ships that came there to unload. It is marked in the plan of Boulogne which accompanies the memoirs. The Castle Brays seem to have been some advanced part of the works of the castle; probably like the Barbican commanding the entrance. In Cotgrave the word is noted thus: "Faulse Braye. A false-bray, or outwall in a fortress." Perhaps the Brayes are the same with the Brage, mentioned in the note at page 188.

yet amount unto the number of five hundred; not only for lack of men (for many come over hither daily) but for lack of lodging. Wherein how often I have desired Rogers' help, who hath th' only charge of all his Majesty's fortifications, works, and reparations here, I have good witness; and yet nothing redressed, save that th' expectation of the summer maketh the soldiers the better content them with their misery. And for th' extraordinary ensign within the High Town, it was reserved, upon a letter that I have to shew from my Lords of the Council, that I should cass no able men strangers, or English, for the better furniture also of the Castle Bray, yet unfurnished; and to supply the wants of th' Old Man, for any sudden attempt as occasion should serve, albeit the fortress were not able to lodge them.

And now, Mr. Secretary, as one that neither dare keep silence, nor meddle in those things that are excluded out of my charge, I can do yet no less in discharge of my duty but revoke my consent from the plat of this garrison devised by me; considering that the Young Man is dampned; and in place thereof another work devised of more travail and charge, and as me seemeth of more danger, and less defence. Most humbly now referring unto his Majesty what numbers shall suffice for the surety of the pieces in all seasons; whereas I durst not take upon me to speak for the summer garrison, so the fortifications being now altered, I cannot think the winter garrison by me devised meet. Be-seeching you to think that if the zeal that I bear to his Majesty's service did not touch me, I would be loth to speak like an ignorant fool in things that are before weighed and considered by men of more experience.

And for th' Old Base Town, methinketh it were good his Majesty resolved whether the same should be kept, or rased. If to be kept, the strangers that now only lodge in the same, as I told my Lord of Hertford and my Lord Admiral, being so few, and the place so large,

are rather a prey to provoke th' enemy, and to put the citadel in danger, than for the surety of the same. If to be rased, to be then considered by his Majesty, whether the citadel may stand by itself: and if so, then the charge of the strangers to be alieved. I desired Rogers also at his last being with his Majesty, to move the same for a trench to be drawn for the Town Guyet^a to the bulwark of the citadel next the town. So to reduce th' old Base Town into a less room, for that so few men cannot suffice to keep the whole. For answer whereunto he declared to me at his return, that albeit his Majesty's pleasure was the strangers should be lodged there, there should yet be no such trench drawn.

And now touching Base Boulogne, I have not only declared my fantasy but the mind of Mr. Wyatt also, whom next to me the matter importeth most, as it shall appear by his letters sent unto you. And herewith you shall receive the whole numbers of the garrison of this town, which it shall please his Majesty to supply, as soon and in such sort as the same shall think good: mistrusting not but his Highness most prudently considereth that it were not meet the state of this jewel should depend upon the success of any other enterprize; but to be furnished of men and victuals of himself: which, how time, th' enemy, and the visitation of God may waste, the year past may serve you for a precedent: and to consider, that his Majesty's army at Ambleuse, which only I hear of [by] Rogers, six miles distant from us, and divided by two rivers, can hardly prevent a puissant enemy (that hath his country at his back) to follow such attempts as he hath determined against this town. And if he begin now to assemble his army, as I hear, to fortify at Estaples, by likelihood he mindeth to lose

^a Guyet, seems to mean a public place of passage. It is the same word, I apprehend, as gate, which in some counties is still used for street. See Skinner.

nothing by prevention: assuring you, that by that I can gather by all intelligences he mindeth this year to shew his puissance.

This day we had with them of the fortress a great skirmish, if I shall call it so, but rather a charge; and now I see that the Frenchmen can run as fast away up the hill, as the Englishmen not long ago ran down.^a The leaders of the footmen was Salerne and Captain Arden, whose wise and hardy service, with the circumstance of the rest, I refer to the credit of this bearer, Sir Andrew Flammock; beseeching you that the two Colonels may, to encourage them, receive their thanks accordingly: and at the writing hereof, I wished that at your being here, when you desired to see a skirmish, I could have shewed you the like.

There was taken a vessel laden with spades and shovels; but all the pioneers embarked are arrived here without any letter of direction. Salerne most humbly contenteth himself with his Majesty's order, and desireth only his Majesty's letters to recover such soldiers as are embezzled hence by the new Captains.

I rejoice with you the taking of Courteney, and in the grace that God hath given our master, in that never yet attempt of treason against his Royal person took effect.^b

Finally, I recommend unto you poor Sir Andrew Flammock; whose service, as I observed in the town and field, hath been always

^a This perhaps alludes to the precipitate retreat of the English from the Hill at St. Etienne, whence they were driven in the engagement on the 8th of January. The frequent allusion made by Surrey to that engagement, proves the defeat to have made a deep impression on his mind.

^b It is a remarkable circumstance, that when Thirlby, then resident as Ambassador with the Emperor, received the official notice of Surrey's impeachment for high treason, in replying to it, he makes the same observation in nearly similar terms. See State Trials, Vol. XI. The letter sent to Thirlby, which must have been written even before the depositions against Surrey were taken, proves the determination there was, at all events, to destroy him.

of such sort, as me thinketh he hath well deserved to be defended from poverty now in his old days.

There shall come shortly to Daverne, Saumer, and Hardelet, as I hear, fifty horse to every place, which — — — — Arbinoy keep good rule.

And thus wishing you that, your gentle heart most desireth, I bid you heartily well to fare. From Boulogne, this 15th of March, 1545.

Your assured loving friend,

H. SURREY.

LETTER XXVII.

FROM MR. SECRETARY PAGET TO THE EARL OF SURREY.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 9.*]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

With most hearty commendations, it may like you to understand that I have received your letter of the sixteenth of this present, and communicated the same to the King's Majesty for answer; whereunto his Highness requireth your Lordship to depeche from thence all such captains with their officers as you wrote be cassed: for his Majesty knoweth not how to employ the same. Nevertheless, if there be any captain of the cassed which is a special man of service, his Majesty would, ere your Lordship discharge him, be advertised of him; to th' intent further order may be given for him, as his Majesty shall think good. As touching the want in th' Old Man, [it] shall be supplied as soon as may be conveniently.

My Lord, the latter part of your letter, touching th' intended enterprize of th' enemy, giveth me occasion to write unto you frankly my poor opinion; trusting your Lordship will take the same in no worse part than I mean it. As your Lordship wisheth, so his Majesty mindeth to do somewhat for the endommaging of the enemy: and for that purpose hath appointed to send an army over shortly, and that my Lord of Hertford shall be his Highness's Lieutenant General at his being in Boulonnois. Whereby I fear your authority of Lieutenant shall be touched: for I believe that the later ordering of a Lieutenant taketh away the commission of him that was there before.

Now, my Lord, because you have been pleased I should write mine advice to your Lordship in things concerning your honour and benefit, I could no less do than put you in remembrance how much in mine opinion this shall touch your honour, if you should pass the thing over in silence until the very time of my Lord of Hertford's coming over thither; for so should both your authority be taken away, as I fear is Boulonnois, and also it should fortune ye to come abroad without any place of estimation in the field; which the world would much muse at, and, though there be no such matter, think you were rejected upon occasion of some either negligence, inexperience, or such other like fault; for so many heads so many judgments. Wherefore, my Lord, in my opinion, you should do well to make sure by times to his Majesty to appoint you to some place of service in th' army; as to the captainship of the Foreward, or Rearward; or to such other place of honour as should be meet for you; for so should you be where knowledge and experience may be gotten. Whereby you should the better be able hereafter to serve, and also to have peradventure occasion to do some notable service in revenge of your men, at the last encounter with

th' enemies, which should be to your reputation in the world.^a Whereas, being hitherto noted as you are a man of a noble courage, and of a desire to shew the same to the face of your enemies; if you should now tarry at home within a wall, having I doubt a shew of your authority touched, it would be thought abroad I fear, that either you were desirous to tarry in a sure place of rest, or else that the credit of your courage and forwardness to serve were diminished; and that you were taken here for a man of [little] activity or service.

Wherefore, in my opinion, you shall do well, and provide wisely for the conservation of your reputation, to sue to his Majesty for a place of service in the field. Wherein if it shall please you to use me as a mean to his Majesty, I trust so to set forth the matter to his Majesty, as he shall take the same in gracious part, and be content to appoint you to such a place as may best stand with your honour. And this counsel I write unto you as one that would you well; trusting that your Lordship will even so interpret the same, and let me know your mind herein betimes.^b

^a It is difficult to refer this expression to the engagement in January, in which Surrey sustained a partial defeat: see Letter XVI. The length of time that had intervened would not warrant Paget's calling this Surrey's last encounter; especially as we have accounts of engagements in the interval, in which Surrey had been successful: see Letter XXVI. I suspect some engagement is alluded to of which no mention has been made in our historians. It might have been that engagement which Du Bellay says took place about the beginning of April, wherein he says the English lost from an hundred to an hundred and twenty men; and seventy five prisoners: *touts ayant la casaque de veloux pour filé d'or et argent*. The action is described as having been warmly contested; the Rhingrave was unhorsed and wounded: the Marshal of Calais, who is said to have been Chef de l' enterprise, is stated to have been killed. Surrey's name is not mentioned. *Memoires de Du Bellay* as before quoted, Vol. 21. p. 267.

^b The whole of this passage proves that Surrey could not have been at this time in any disgrace with the King. Paget speaks with confidence of his obtaining any place in the Army, however honourable, for which he would apply. In the first Armament against Boulogne, the Duke of Norfolk had the Command of the Foreward, Lord Russel of the Rearward.

Whereas your Lordship, with the rest of the Council there, wrote in the favour of Croft to be Lieutenant of th' Old Man, it may like you t' understand that his Highness had before appointed Thomas Awdley to have the place; the same being indeed a very meet man t' occupy the same, as your Lordship knoweth right well. And also hath appointed Adrian Poynings to be Lieutenant to Mr. Wyatt in the citadel; whereof his Majesty hath willed me to advertise your Lordship; for the same shall resort thither to their charge shortly.

Finally, I shall desire your Lordship to send unto me the testament of Mr. Rous, with his seal, his keys, and such books of reckonings or accounts as he hath there: until which time such as he hath ordained, his executors wot not how to procede in his things.

To the Right Honourable and my special
good Lord th' Earl of Surrey, the King's
Majesty's Lieutenant General of Bou-
logne and county of Boullonoys.

LETTER XXVIII.

FROM THE COUNCIL TO THE EARL OF SURREY.

[*State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. vi. No. 21.*]

AFTER our right hearty commendations; the King's Majesty, as well upon consideration of such letters as have been written from thence, and also of such information as by your Lordship, my Lord of Surrey, hath been given unto his Highness by mouth here,^a touching

^a From this expression it might be inferred that Surrey had paid a short visit to England to confer with the King personally on the subject of the defence of Boulogne.

the fortifications there, noting some danger to be thought imminent by you in works appointed to be done there: and considering that you cannot be so well able in writing to express your mind in these matters to the understanding of his Majesty, as if you were here present to say, and hear again what can be said in that behalf; hath thought most convenient to require your Lordship to confer immediately thereupon with such as your Lordship supposeth hath best knowledge therein, and forthwith to repair yourself hither, in diligence to make report of your's and their opinions in the same: requiring your Lordship to leave the chief charge of directing of all things within the places under your rule, for the time of your absence, unto the Marshall; which, his Majesty prayeth you, Mr. Marshall, specially to take upon you, and in all your doings and proceedings to use the advice of the rest of his Highness's Council there. And for because our very good Lord th' Earl of Hertford, who repaireth over at this present with his Majesty's army, is appointed to be his Highness's Lieutenant-General in all places on that side; his Highness requireth you Mr. Marshall, and all you the rest of the Council there, to be unto the said Earl obeying, aiding, and assisting in all things concerning the execution of his said office accordingly. And for as much as his Majesty hath now of fresh advertisements again of treasons that are conspired, specially touching the victuals, and munition of these pieces; his Majesty prayeth you all to have a marvellous diligent regard thereto, and every one of you in special so to look to his particular charge as no traiterous enterpise be unforeseen, whereby should ensue any danger to any his Highness's said pieces. And whereas we signified unto you by our letters yesterday, that his Majesty minding to employ Sir Andrew Flammock on his Highness's service on this side the seas, hath appointed you Sir Richard Wynnebank to be Knight Porter of the High

Town, whereby the room of Under-Marshall is now void, his Majesty, considering the good service which Mr. Croft hath been lately recommended by you all to have done unto his Highness, and upon hope of continuance of his good endeavour to serve his Majesty well, hath ordained him to be Under-Marshall,^a praying you to give order for the placing of him therein accordingly.

LETTER XXIX.

FROM THE EARL OF SURREY TO MR. SECRETARY PAGET.

[*Cotton MSS. Titus B. ii. 58.*]

To the Right Worshipful Sir William Paget, Kt.

one of his Majesty's Principle Secretaries ;

It may like you, with my hearty commendations ; that whereas yesternight I perceived by you, that the King's Majesty thinketh his liberality sufficiently extended towards the strangers that have served him, I have with fair words done my best so to satisfy them accordingly ; assuring you on my faith, that their necessity seemed to me such, as it cost me an hundred ducats of mine own purse, and somewhat else : so that now there resteth nothing to be done but their passports and ready dispatch from you, wherein it may please you to consider their great charges here.

And now you shall give me leave to come to mine own matters.

^a Mr. Croft, as well as Sir Andrew Flammock, had been recommended by Surrey for promotion. The appointments which they both obtained form an additional proof that Surrey did not labour under the King's personal displeasure at the time of his quitting Boulogne.

Coming from Boulogne in such sort as you know, I left only two of my servants behind me; John Rosington, and Thomas Copeland. To the said John, for his notable service, I gave the advantage of the play in Boulogne; to Thomas, the prefect of the passage: whom my Lord Gray put immediately out of service after my departure, notwithstanding the letter I obtained from you to him in their favour. Upon a better consideration, John occupieth his room; and my Lord to his own use occupieth th' other's office of the passage; saying, "That I, and my predecessors there should use the same to our gain;" (which I assure you is untrue) and that it should be parcel of the entertainment of the Deputy; which in Calais was never used, and is, me seemeth, too near for a Deputy to grate; unless it were for some displeasure borne me.

Finally, Mr. Secretary, this is th' only suit that I have made you for any thing touching Boulogne sith my departure; wherefore it may please you, that if my Lord Gray will needs be passager, and that the office was no less worth to the said Thomas than fifty pounds a year, being placed there by a King's Lieutenant, (which me thinketh a great disorder that a Captain of Boulogne should displace for any private gain,) yet at the least it may please you to request my Lord Gray to recompense him with a sum of money in recompense of that, that he hath lost, and purchased so dearly with so many dangers of life; which my said Lord of his liberality cannot refrain to do.

And for answer, that my said Lord chargeth me to have returned the same to my private profect, in his so saying he can have none honour. For there be in Boulogne too many witnesses that Henry of Surrey was never for singular profect corrupted; nor never yet bribe closed his hand: which lesson I learned of my Father; and wish to succeed him therein as in the rest.^a

^a This is a very generous sentiment, and perfectly characteristic of Surrey's independent and honourable turn of mind. The reader cannot but be struck with the resemblance it bears to the thought in

Further; whereas the said Copeland was placed there for his merits by Mr. Southwell, and me, of the guard; and that my said Lord Gray detaineth from him his wages, it may please you, at my hearty request, to grant him your letters for th' obtaining thereof; and of the rest, and to pardon my frankness, for that you know it is my natural, to use it with [such as I do hold my friends.] And thus wishing you [to continue ever more] my friend, till I deserve of [any fault of mine the con]trary, I pray to God send you [what ever good your own] heart desireth. From — — — — 14th July, 1546.^a

Your assured loving Friend,

H. SURREY.

the following passage of one of our early ballads. Norton's eldest son refusing to go with his father, to assist the Earl of Northumberland, that faithful adherent to his Lord thus upbraids his son

Now fye upon thee, coward Francis,

Thou never learned this of me!

When thou wert young and tender of age,

Why did I make so much of thee.

Percy's Reliques, Vol. 1. p. 291.

^a It is to be regretted that the name of the place is obliterated, whence this Letter was written. For it could not have been written many days before Surrey's confinement in Windsor Castle. The date of the Duke of Norfolk's Letter, if we may trust Herbert, in which he adverts to that event as being in contemplation, is dated the 15th of July.



ADVERTISEMENT.

AS Gawin Douglas's Translation of the Æneid is scarce, and as it is therefore probable that few readers will have an opportunity of comparing it with Surrey's, I have brought together all the parallel passages of both translations. By this means the extent of Surrey's obligation to Douglas will be easily ascertained. Besides the entire passages here cited, a few expressions and single words have been adopted by Surrey from the Scottish Translator, which it would have swelled the extracts too much to have given; nor indeed were they of sufficient importance to be detailed.

The Edition of Gawin Douglas's Translation referred to, is Ruddiman's Folio Edition of 1710.

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SURREY'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

The Greeks' chieftains all irked with the war
And oft repuls'd by fatal destiny
A huge horse made high raised like an hill.

line 18.

Troia discharg'd her long continued dole.
The gates cast up we issued out to play
The Greekish camp desirous to behold
And places void.

l. 36.

Astonnied some the scatheful gift beheld.

l. 42.

Will'd it to drown, or underset with flame
The suspect present of the Greeks' deceit.

l. 50.

Therewith behold! whereas the Phrygian herds
Brought to the King with clamour all unknown
A young man, bound his hands behind his back,
Who willingly had yielden prisoner.

l. 74.

With this regrete our hearts from rancour moved.

l. 93.

O King I shall whatever me betide
Say but the truth.

l. 97.

—— though Fortune hath made
Sinon a wretch, she cannot make him false.
If ever came unto your ears the fame,
Nobled by fame of the sage Palamede.

l. 99.

That if my chance were ever to return
Victor to Arge.

l. 117.

—— Ulysses ever sith
With new found crimes began me to affray.

l. 120.

With blood, O Greeks, and slaughter of a maid
Ye 'peased the winds.

l. 146.

DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

The Grekis chiftanis irkit of the were
And oft rebukit by fatal destiny
Ane huge hors like ane grete hill in hy
Craftely thay wrocht.

page 39. line 4.

—— thaym of Troy, blyth as they mocht
Thare langsum dule & murnying dyd away
Kest up the portis & ischit out to play
The Grekis tentis desiris for to se
And vode placis.

ib. l. 27.

And sum wounding the skaithful gift behelde.

ib. l. 37.

Bad cast or drown into the see anone
That suspect presand of the Grekis dissait.

ib. 47.

Lo!——unto the king
Troiane hirdis with gret clamour did bring
Ane zoung man, baith his handis behind his back
Hard bundin, that wilfully for to be tak
Rendrit himself.

p. 40. l. 33.

With this regret our hartis sterit to piete.

p. 41. l. 4.

Forsoith Schir King I sall quhat ever betyde
Grant to the all the verite.

ib. l. 12.

Thocht thrawart fortoun miserabil and bare of gud
Has made Sinone sche sall not mak him als
Quhat ever he sais nowther lear nor fals.
Gif evir unto zour eris come the name
Of Palamedes.

ib. l. 17.

Gif evir I happynnyt my time for till espy
And victoure have renornit into Arge.

ib. l. 39.

From thens fordwarte Ulixes mare and mare
With new crimes begouth to affray me sare.

ib. l. 44.

With blude and by the slaughter of ane maid
Grekis ye mesit the wyndis first.

p. 42. l. 27.

SURREY'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

The chilling cold did over-run their bones
To whom that fate was shap'd.

l. 152.

Then some gan deem to me
The cruel wreak of him that fram'd the craft.

l. 156.

Now rests no hope my native land to see.

l. 174.

O King thereby rue on my travail great,
Pity a wretch that guiltless suffereth wrong.
Life to these tears with pardon eke we grant.

l. 181.

Ye everlasting lamps I testify
Whose power divine may not be violate,
Th' altar and sword quoth he that I have scap'd.

l. 193.

So be it Troy thou saved by me from scathe
Keep faith with me.

l. 202.

And slew the watches of the chiefest tower.

l. 212.

By such like wiles of Sinon the forsworn.

l. 247.

— that troubled our unarmed breasts.

l. 253.

Their grisly backs were linked manyfold.

l. 263.

We fled away : our face the blood forsook.

l. 267.

Under the feet of the which Goddess stern,
Hidden behind her target's boss they crept.

l. 216.

— Lacon's deserts had dearly bought
His heinous deed.

l. 289.

This fatal gin thus overclamb our walls
Stuff'd with arm'd men, about the which there ran
Children and maids that holy carrols sang,
And well were they whose hands might touch the

[cords.

l. 208.

With this the sky gan whirl about the sphere:
The cloudy night gan thicken from the sea.

l. 316.

By friendly silence of the silent moon.

l. 324.

DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

The cald drede ran in throw thare banis
For fere quhom to was schaip this destany.

p. 42. l. 34.

Than mony ane demyt to me ful richt
The cruell wraik of that dissaitful wicht.

ib. l. 41.

Now restis thar na hope, alace fell me
My native cuntre sall I never se.

p. 43. l. 12.

Apoun my wrechit saule have sum mercy
That geltles sufferis sic deseisis wranguslye.
Pardoun and life to thir teris gif we.

ib. l. 24.

O ze quod he everlesting lampes bright
And zour divyne power and zour gret mycht
That aucht not bene forsworne I testifye
And you altaris and cruel swerdis quham I
Am eschapit.

ib. l. 48.

So mot thou Troye quham I sall saif fra skaith
Keep me thy promys.

p. 44. l. 5.

And sla the wachis of the cheif castell.

ib. l. 17.

Be sic wilis and slichtis mony one
Of fals contrivit and manesworn Synone.

p. 45. l. 16.

— trublit mony unwarnit breist.

ib. l. 30.

With grisly bodyis lynkit mony fald.

ib. l. 42.

We fled away al bludles for effere.

ib. l. 48.

And crap in under the feit of the Goddes
Hid thaym behind the bois of her bukler.

p. 46. l. 20.

Has dere bocht his wikkit and schrewit dede.

ib. l. 25.

This fatail monstoure clam over the wallis then
Grete wamyt and stuffit full of armyt men
And thareabout ran childer and madynnys zing
Singand carrellis and dansand in ane ring
Full well was thame and glaid wasevery wicht
That with thare handisanis twiche the cordis mycht.

ib. l. 39.

With this the hevin so quhirllit about his spere
Out of the sey the dym nycht can appere.

p. 47. l. 18.

Still under freyndlie silence of the mone.

ib. l. 28.

SURREY'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

Sinon preserv'd by froward destiny.

l. 226.

Drawn at a cart as he of late had be
Distained with bloody dust, whose feet were bowln
With the strait cords wherewith they haled him.
Aye me what one!

l. 345.

What sorry chance hath stain'd thy lively face,
Or why see I these wounds, alas, so wide?

l. 363.

And Troia town now falleth from the top.

l. 370.

Up sprang the cry of men and trumpets blast.

l. 399.

Toward the tower our hearts brent with desire.

l. 403.

— brought in hand
The sacred reliques, and the vanquish'd Gods;
And in his hand his little nephew led.

l. 407.

And scarce the watches of the gate begin
Them to defend.

l. 427.

Amid the flame and arms ran I in press.

l. 430.

Unhappy he that would no credit give
Unto his spouse's words of prophecy.

l. 440.

What cruel fortune hath bedid ye see;
The Gods out of the temples all are fled,
Through whose might long this empire was main-
tain'd.

Their altars eke are left both waste and void;
But if your will be bent with me to prove
That uttermost that now may us befall.

l. 447.

To vanquish'd folk despair is only hope.
With this the young men's courage did increase,
And through the dark like to the ravening wolves
Whom raging fury of their empty maws
Drives from their den—

l. 444.

Who can express the slaughter of that night.

l. 463.

DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

Of the Gooddis be frawart destany
Sinon preservit

p. 47. l. 32.

As he umquile after the cart was rent
With barknyt blude and powder O God quhat skaith
Boldnyt ful gret war feit and lymmes baith
By bandis of the cordis quhilkis thame dreuch
Ha weil away! quhat harme and wo ynouch
Quhat ane was he!

p. 48. l. 2.

Quhat hard mischance filit so thy pleasand face,
Or quhy se I thay fell woundis, alace.

ib. l. 29.

Troy from the top down fallis, and all is gane.

ib. l. 38.

Up sprang the cry of men and trumpettis blast.

p. 49. l. 34.

To se the castell our hartis birnit for desire.

ib. l. 40.

The haly relikis of the sanctuary
And eik our vincust Goddis by and by
With him bering, and in his hand also
Harling him efter his littill nevo.

ib. l. 48.

Skarslye the wachis of the portis twa
Begouth defence.

p. 50. l. 20.

Amyd the flammes and armour in I preist,
Ruschand.

ib. l. 24.

Unhappye he was wald nocht beleif fermly,
His sayd spouses command and prophecy.

ib. l. 37.

The Goddis all ar fled out of this stede,
Throw quhais micht stude our empire mony day;
Now all thare tempillis and altaris waist lief they.
Bot gif your desire be sa fermly prest
To follow me, dar tak the uttermost
Quhat fortoun is betid, all thinges ye se.

ib. l. 46.

To vincust folkis is ane comfort and bute,
Nane hope of helpe to beleif or reskew,
So with thir wourdis the young mennis curage
grew.

That in the dirk like rauynis wolfis in rawis,
Quham the blynd furie of thare empty mawis
Drivis furth of thare den to seik thare pray.

p. 50. l. 54.

Quha sall the harmes of that wofull nycht
Expreme.

p. 51. l. 14.

SURREY'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

The ancient famous city falleth down
That many years did hold such seignory.

l. 466.

Finding himself chanced amid his foes.

l. 484.

Our first labour thus lucked well with us,
——— Hold forth the way of health,

My feres — —

l. 494.

And with that word Androgeus' crested helm.

l. 501.

And some there were of shameful cowardry
Clamb up again into the hugy horse,
And did them hide in his well-knownen womb.

l. 511.

The fell Ajax, and either Atrides,
And the great band cleped the Dolopes.

l. 529.

Nor thee, Panthus, when thou wast overthrown
Pity nor zeal of good devotion
Nor habit yet of Phœbus hid from scathe.

l. 551.

And if the fates would I had fallen in fight
That with my hand I did deserve it well.

l. 557.

Iphytus weak and feeble all for age.

l. 561.

Here was the fight right hideous to behold
As though there had no battle been but there.

l. 564.

With such weapons they shope them to defend—
The gilt spars and the beams then threw they down
Of old fathers the proud and royal works.

l. 578.

Our sprites restor'd to rescue the King's house.

l. 584.

——the wretched Trojans did throw down
Darts spent in waste: unto a turret then
We stept——

Where we were wont all Troia to behold
The Greekish navy and their tents also.

With instruments of iron gan we pick
To seek where we might find the joining shrunk.

l. 594.

gave forthwith a rushing sound
And large in breadth on Greekish routs it light.
But soon another sort stept in their stead.

l. 604.

with forked tongue
And raised breast lift up against the sun.

l. 612.

DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

The anciant wourthy ciete downe is fall,
That mony yeris held hie seneory.

ib. l. 19.

He felt himselfe happynnyt amynd his fon.

ib. l. 43.

The first laubour thus lukkit wele with us,
O ze feris hald furth this way quod he.

p. 52. l. 1.

And sayand thus Androgeus crestit helme.

ib. l. 11.

Sum part also for schameful cowardice,
Clame up againe in the grete hors mawe,
And hid thame in that belly, weill beknaw.

ib. l. 26.

The felloun Ajax, and athir Atrides,
And all the routis clepit Dolopes.

ib. l. 51.

Nor zet the Panthus, quhen that thou fell down,
The grete piete and godlie religioun,
Nor habit of Apollo hid from skaith.

p. 53. l. 23.

For gif fatis wald I had fallin in fycht
Thare with my handes wrocht I worth my dede.

ib. l. 31.

For age Hiphitus waik and febyle was.

ib. l. 35.

Thare was ane hidduous battall for to sene
As thare nane uthir bargane are had bene.

ib. l. 44.

With syc wappinis thay schupe thame to defend
The gilt sparris and geistis gold begane
Down on thame sling thay and mony coistly stane
The proud and rial werkis of faderis auld.

p. 54. l. 4.

Our spretis war restorit and curage grew
The Kingis palice to succoure and reskew.

ib. l. 11.

Upwent quhare wrechit Troyanis as thai nicht
Threw down dartis thocht all was but waist
We sterte untyl ane hie turret in haist
Quharon we wount ware ale Troy for to se
The Grekis schippis and thare tentis eik
With instrumentis of irn we pyke and seik
Round al about quhare the joningis war worne.

ib. l. 23.

Ane felloun rusche it maid and sound withall
And large on brede over Grekis routis did fal
But sone ane uthir sort stert in thare stedis.

ib. l. 36.

Hie up her nek strekand forgane the son
With forkit toung.

ib. l. 48.

SURREY'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

Of Priamus and ancient Kings of Troy. *l. 625.*
 The clamour strake up to the golden stars. *l. 630.*
 Whom the closures ne keepers might hold out. *l. 634.*
 By force they made the way and th' entry brake. *l. 637.*
 Not so fiercely doth overflow the fields
 The foamy flood — *l. 640.*
 When of his taken town he saw the chance,
 And the gates of his palace beaten down,
 His foes amid his secret chambers eke,
 Th' old man in vain did on his shoulders then,
 Trembling for age, his cuirass long disused;
 His bootless sword he girded him about,
 And ran amid his foes ready to die.
 Amid the court, under the heaven, all bare
 A great altar there stood, by which there grew
 An old laurel tree, bowing thereunto,
 Which with his shadow did embrace the Gods. *l. 656.*
 But when she saw Priam had taken there
 His armour, like as though he had been young,
 What furious thought my wretched spouse quoth
 she
 Did move thee now such weapons for to wield!
 Why hastest thou! *l. 671.*
 — and set
 The aged man down in the holy seat.
 But lo! Polites one of Priam's sons
 Escaped from the slaughter of Pyrrhus
 Comes fleeing through the weapons of his foes. *l. 680.*
 Priamus then although he were half dead
 Might not contain his wrath nor yet his words
 But crieth out —
 If in the heavens any justice be
 That of such things takes any care or keep. *l. 692.*
 And with his blood defile the Father's face.
 But he, by whom thou feign'st thyself begot
 Achilles was to Priam not so stern. *l. 700.*
 Now shalt thou die, quoth he; and with that word *l. 715.*

DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

Of Priamus and ancient Kingis of Troy. *p. 55. l. 10.*
 The clamour upstert to the sternes then. *ib. l. 17.*
 That nothir closouris nor barrit zettis stout
 Nor zet the keparys may hald tham langar out. *ib. l. 24.*
 The way is mayd be force and the entre brokyn. *ib. l. 28.*
 Not so fiersly the fomy river or flude. *ib. l. 32.*
 Quhen he the ciete saw takin and doun bet
 And of his palice broken every zet
 Amyd the secrete closettis eik his fais
 The auld gray all for nocht to him tais
 His hawbrek quhilk was lang out of usage,
 Set on his schulderis trymbing than for age,
 Ane swerd but help about him beltis he,
 And ran towart his fais reddy to de;
 Amid the clois undar the hevin all bare,
 Stude there that time ane mekle fare altare,
 Nere quham thare grew an ycht auld laurer tre
 Bowand toward the altere ane litill we
 That with his schadow the Goddis did over heild. *p. 56. l. 6.*
 Bot quhen she saw how Priamus has tane
 His armour so as thought he had been zing,
 Quhat fuliche thocht my wretchit spous and Kinge
 Movis the now sic wappynnis for to weild
 Quhiddel hastis thou! *ib. l. 24.*
 And set the auld down in the haly sette
 But lo! Polites ane of Priamus sonnys,
 Quhilk from the slauchter of Pirrus-away runnis,
 Throw wappynnis fleing and his innemis all. *ib. l. 38.*
 Priamus then thought he was half dele dede
 Mycht not contene his ire nor wourdis of fede
 But cries furth
 Gif thare be piete in the hevin above
 Quhilk takis hede to this that thou has done. *ib. l. 51.*
 And wyth hys blude filid the faderis face
 Bot he quham by thou fenys thyself begette
 Achill was not to Priame so harde sette. *p. 57. l. 5.*
 Now sall thou de, and with that word in tene *ib. l. 21.*

SURREY'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

Of Priamus this was the fatal fine. *l. 721.*
 A body now without renown and fame. *l. 729.*
 Then first in me enter'd the grisly fear. *l. 730.*
 But wearied they had left me all alone.
 Some to the ground were lopen from above,
 Some in the flame their irked bodies cast;
 There was no mo' but I left of them all. *l. 740.*
 The common bane of Troy and eke of Greece. *l. 752*
 Thought I, Shall she pass to the land of Spart
 All safe? and see Mycene her native land. *l. 767*
 My right hand then she took and held it fast
 And with her rosy lips thus did she say. *l. 780*
 Stone bet from stone, smoke rising mixt with dust. *l. 799*
 and therewith gan she hide
 Herself in shadow of the close night.
 Then dreadful figures gan appear to me
 And great Gods eke aggrieved with our town;
 I saw Troia fall down in burning gledes
 Neptunus town clean raised from the soil. *l. 818*
 Their weapons and the fire eke gave me place *l. 831*
 For I my years disdainful to the Gods
 Have lingred forth unable to all needs
 Since that the Sire of Gods and King of Men
 Strake me with thunder and with levening blast. *l. 850*
 Driven I was to harness once again. *l. 861*
 That gored the son before the father's face,
 And slew the Father at the altar eke. *l. 872*
 That I might in my secret chamber see
 Mine enemies. *l. 876*
 The latter day us vanquished doth call!
 Render me now to the Greek's sight again
 And let me see the fight begun of new!
 We shall not all unwroken die this day!
 About me then I girt my sword again. *l. 880*

DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

Of Priamus this was the finale fate. *ib. l. 28.*
 Ane corps but lyfe renown or uthir fame. *ib. l. 36.*
 First than the grislie dede about me stert. *ib. l. 41.*
 All war thay fled full wery left me allone
 Sum to the end loppin from the hie touris of stone
 Sum in the fyre thayr irked bodyes let fall
 Thare was na ma but I left of them all. *ib. 52.*
 And eke the common fatale fury of Troy. *p. 58. l. 11.*
 Thocht I sal scho pas to the realme of Spert
 Hale skarth, and se Mycene hir natyve land. *ib. l. 18.*
 Me by the rycht hand hint sche and held fast
 And wyth her rosy lyppes thus sayd at last. *ib. l. 47.*
 And stane fra stane down bet and reik upryse. *p. 59. l. 18.*
 This sayand scho hir hid in the clois nyght
 Than terribil figuris apperis to my sight
 Of grete goddis semand with Troy aggrevit
 And tho beheld I—
 Fare Ilioun all fall in the gledis down
 And from the sole grete Troy Neptunus toun
 Over tumblit. *ib. l. 40.*
 The fyre and wappinnis gaif me place and fled *p. 60. l. 2.*
 Hatit of the Goddis to all nedis unable
 Thir mony zeris I left unproffitable
 Ay sen the fader of Goddis and King of men
 With thunder blast me smate as that ye ken. *ib. l. 27.*
 To stert to harnes I am compellit agane *ib. l. 22.*
 Quhilk vaucys the son before the faderis face
 And gorris the fader at the altere but grace. *p. 61. l. 4.*
 That I behald within my chalmer secrete
 My inemyis. *ib. l. 8.*
 The lattir end thus vincust and undone
 Callis us againe to battel and assay;
 Have done, cum on, thys is the lattir day
 Render me to the Grekis, or suffer me
 The bargane begyn that I may se
 This day unwroken we sal never al be slane
 About me then my swerde I belt againe. *ib. l. 13.]*

SURREY'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

But as expert if thou in arms have set
Yet any hope.

l. 892.

If by prayer, almighty Jupiter
Inclined thou mayst be.

l. 909.

My father vanquish'd then beheld the skies,
Spake to the Gods, and th' holy star adored :
Now now, quoth he, no longer I abide,
Follow I shall where ye me guide at hand,
O native Gods ! your family defend.

l. 922.

whereso that thou go
Refuse I not, my son, to be thy fere.

l. 929.

And more and more the burning heat drew near ;
Why then have done my Father dear quoth I.

l. 933.

Ne shall this labour do me any dere.

l. 937.

Young Iulus shall bear me company.

l. 940.

Till I be washed in the running flood.

l. 953.

Nor press of Argive routs could make amazed.

l. 963.

My father then gazing throughout the dark
Cried on me, flee son.

l. 971.

Ascanius to my feres I then betook
With Anchises and eke thee Trojan Gods
And left them hid within a valley deep.

l. 992.

And yield my head to perils once again.

l. 998.

In every place the ugly sights I saw,
The silence self of night aghast my sprite.

l. 1003.

The riches here were set rest from the brent
Samples of Troy, the tables of the Gods.

l. 1016.

Abashed then I woxe ; therewith my hair
Gan start right up.

l. 1028.

What helps to yield unto such furious rage
Sweet spouse quoth she.

l. 1031.

DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK II.

Bot gif thou traistis as expert in thy dedis.

ib. l. 26.

O thou almichty Jupiter quod he
With ony prayeris inclinith gif thou may be.

ib. l. 52.

With that my fader vincust stert on fute
The haly sterne adorith he rycht thare.
Now now quod he I tary no langare
I follow and quhidder ze gide me sall I wend.
O native Goddis zour awin kinrent defend.

p. 62. l. 15.

My dere son quhidder ever thou wend will
I sall na mare refuse to be thy fere.

ib. l. 24.

— the reird of fyris grew
Ay mare and mare, and the hete nerrer drew
Have done quod I, Fader—

ib. l. 27.

Nor this labour sall do to me no dere.

ib. l. 32.

Littil Iulus sal bere me cumpany.

ib. l. 35.

Quhil I be weschin into sum rynnand flude.

ib. l. 50.

No preis of Grekis routis maid agast.

p. 63. l. 5.

My fader than lukand furth throw the sky
Cryis on me fast fle son.

ib. l. 12.

Ascanus tho, and my fader Anchises
Unto my feris betaucht I for to keip
And hid thaym derne within ane waley depe.

ib. l. 36.

And eik my hede agane in perrel set.

ib. l. 44.

The ugsumnes and silence of the nycht
In every place my sprete made sare agast.

ib. l. 49.

Rest from all partis and of the tempillis brynt
Of massy gold the veschell war furth hynt
From the Goddis, and gold in tabillis al.

p. 64. l. 15.

Abasit I wox, and widdersynnys stert my hare.

ib. l. 32.

O my sueit spous into sa furious rage
Quhat helpis thus thy selvyn to torment.

ib. l. 36.

SURREY'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK IV.

Sith my first love me left by death dissever'd.
l. 23.
 Which bath in care the bands of marriage.
l. 75.
 Lawful be it to serve a Trojan spouse,
 And Tyrians yield to thy right hand in dower.
l. 129.
 Pass on before, and follow thee I shall.
l. 143.
 Tomorn, as soon as Titan shall ascend.
l. 150.
 While that he walks upon Mount Cynthus' top.
l. 189.
 So fresh and lusty did Eneas seem.
l. 193.
 In tail thereof a mingled show'r with hail.
l. 207.
 Nor museth now to frame her love by stealth:
 Wedlock she calls it; under the pretence
 Of which fair name she cloaketh now her fault.
l. 220.
 By night she flies amid the cloudy sky.
l. 237.
 To whom we gave the strond for to manure.
l. 273.
 Slide with thy plumes and till the Trojan prince
 Swift through the skies see thou these words convey.
l. 285.
 Bid him make sail; have here the sum and end.
l. 305.
 And then with him his wand he took, whereby
 He calls from hell pale ghosts, and other some.
l. 311.
 Here Mercury with equal shining wings.
l. 325.
 Like to the fowl that endlong the coasts & stronds.
l. 328.
 ——— rageth she
 And whisketh through the town like Bacchus nun.
l. 388.
 Or thing of mine were ever to thee leif.
l. 409.
 I thee beseech to do away this mind.
l. 412.
 ——— until my brother Pigmalion
 Beat down my wall?
l. 421.

DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK IV.

sen my first love is gone
 By deith disseverit. *p. 99. l. 49.*
 Quhilk haith in cure the band of mariage.
p. 101. l. 36.
 So that it lesum be Dido remane
 In spousage bound and serf ane Lord Troiane
 And suffir Tyrianis and all Liby land
 Be gif in drowry to thy son in hand.
p. 103. l. 18.
 Pas on before I follow the perfay.
ib. l. 39.
 To morrow als fast as Titan dois ascend.
ib. l. 47.
 Apoun the top of mont Cynthus walkis he.
p. 104. l. 52.
 Als fresche als lusty did Eneas ryde.
p. 105. l. 3.
 Ane bub of weddir followit in the taill
 Thik schour of rane mydlit full of hail.
ib. l. 26.
 Ne from thens furthwart Dido any more
 Musis on love secrete as of before
 Bot clepit it spousage, and with that fare name
 Clokit and valit hir cryme and opyn schame.
ib. l. 48.
 Be nycht scho fleis amynd the hevin thareout.
p. 106. l. 19.
 and quham to we
 For to manure gaif the strand of the se.
p. 107. l. 14.
 Slide with thy fedderame to zone Troyane prince
 Do bere my message swiftlye throw the skyes.
ib. l. 36.
 Bid hym make sail; this is all in effect.
p. 108. l. 5.
 Syne tuke his wand quhare with as that thai tel
 The pail saulis he cauchis out of hell
 And uther sum—
ib. l. 13.
 Here first Mercure with evenly schinand wingis.
ib. l. 32.
 Lyke till ane foule that endlang the coist syde.
ib. l. 35.
 Sche wiskis wyld throw the toun of Cartage
 Sic wise as quhen the nunnys of Bachus.
p. 110. l. 10.
 Or ocht of myne to the was leif quod sche.
ib. l. 42.
 This fremmyt mynd I pray zou do away.
ib. l. 45.
 And quhil mi awin brothir Pigmalioun
 Bet down the wallis.
p. 111. l. 4.

SURREY'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK IV.

But now Apollo called Grineus. *l. 449.*
 Sent down from Jove, I swear by either head. *l. 466.*
 Another while the messenger of Gods,
 He says, sent down from mighty Jove himself
 The dreadful charge amid the skies hath brought. *l. 494.*
 And to her chamber bore of marble stone
 And laid her on her bed with tapets spread. *l. 516.*
 — now fletes the tallowed keel. *l. 525.*
 O witless love! what thing is that to do
 A mortal mind thou canst not force thereto. *l. 540.*
 Yet nathëless this for me wretched wight
 Anne shalt thou do. *l. 552.*
 Which Anne reports and answer brings again. *l. 578.*
 Upon the altars burning full of 'cense. *l. 598.*
 Presenting hope under a semblant glad. *l. 632.*
 Under thy feet the earth thou shalt behold
 Tremble and roar. *l. 652.*
 Right secretly within our inner court. *l. 657.*
 Nor in her breast such fury did conceive. *l. 669.*
 And springing herbs reap'd up with brasen scythes
 Were sought after the right course of the moon. *l. 689.*
 The lump of flesh 'tween the new born foal's eyen. *l. 692.*
 The woods, the raging seas were fall'n to rest. *l. 704.*
 Right well doth sit the passed thankful deed.
 Who would me suffer! admit this were my will. *l. 725.*
 What then! alone on merry mariners
 Shall I await! or board them with my power
 Of Tyrians, assembled me about. *l. 730.*
 But rather die, even as thou hast deserved. *l. 735.*

DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK IV.

Bot sen Apollo clepit Gryneus. *ib. l. 42.*
 Be athir of our hedis this I swere. *p. 112. l. 11.*
 And quhilis fra Jupiter sent down alsua
 The messingere of Goddis bryngis throw the skyis
 Sa fereful charge and command on thys wise. *p. 113. l. 1.*
 Quhilk was of marbil wrocht and in her bed
 Laid soiftlie doun apoun riche tapettis spred. *ib. l. 30.*
 Now fletis the meikle hulk with tallouit keile. *ib. l. 43.*
 O wiles luf quhat may be thoct or do
 That thou constrenis not mortal myndis therto. *p. 114. l. 17.*
 And nevertheless for me unhappy wicht
 Do this ane thing Anna. *ib. l. 33.*
 Reportis hir syster and answer brocht agane. *p. 115. l. 14.*
 As on the altaris birnand full of sence. *ib. l. 48.*
 Schawing by hyr chere gude hope and glaid sem-
 blant. *p. 116. l. 42.*
 Under thy feit the erd rair and trymbil
 Thou moist se throw hir incantatioun. *p. 117. l. 15.*
 Rycht secretely into our inner clois. *ib. l. 22.*
 Nor that sic fury war in hir breist consavit. *ib. l. 38.*
 Springand herbis eftir the cours of the mone
 War socht, and with brasin hukis cuttit sone. *p. 118. l. 6.*
 The lomp betuix the new born follis ene. *ib. l. 11.*
 Woddis and rageand seis war at rest. *ib. l. 29.*
 Weil is remembrit the auld thankful dede!
 But thoct in cais to do this war my wil
 Quha wald me suffir. *p. 119. l. 4.*
 Ane Quene allane to steil away thus, lo!
 Accompanied bot with mery marineris
 Or than with all my Tyrianis as efferis
 And all my power assemblit me about
 On schyp burd entyr. *ib. l. 12.*
 Na, rather de as thou deservit has *ib. l. 20.*

SURREY'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK IV.

This said, in the dark night he gan him hide.

l. 763.

Address the stars with prosperous influence.

l. 773.

What said I! or where am I! what phrensy
Alters thy mind!

l. 792.

would God it were assay'd!

Whom should I fear, sith I myself must die.

l. 805.

—— upon whom folk do use
To howl, and call in forked ways by night.

l. 813.

Yet at the least assailed might he be.

l. 824.

Her bloodshot eyes rolling within her head,
Her quivering cheeks flecked with deadly stain,
Both pale and wan to think on death to come.

l. 861.

Into the inner wards of her palace.

l. 864.

Weeping awhile in study gan she stay
Fell on the bed, and these last words she said.

l. 869.

Why then, quoth she, unwroken shall we die!
But let us die—

l. 879.

Her sister Anne spriteless for dread to hear.

l. 896.

What shall I first complain forsaken wight!

l. 902.

Deep in her breast that fixed wound doth gape.

l. 917.

Almighty Juno having ruth by this
Of her long pains
From heav'n she sent the Goddess Iris down
The throeing sprite, and jointed limbs to loose.

l. 924.

Nor yet by kindly death she perished.

l. 929.

This hair quoth she to Pluto consecrate
Commanded I reave,—

l. 938.

And therewithall the kindly heat gan quench.

l. 942.

DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION.

BOOK IV.

And sayand thus into the dirk nycht
He gan him hide.

p. 120. l. 8.

with prosper influence

The hevin and sternes dres our vayage hens.

ib. l. 22.

Quhat said I, or quhare am I now! thus ravis

Quhat wodnes, fey Dido movis thy mynd.

ib. l. 55.

wald God it war assale

Quham sall I drede now reddy for to de

p. 121. l. 18.

and zellit loude by nycht

In forkit wayis.

ib. l. 31.

Zit at the least thare mot he be assale.

ib. l. 45.

The bludy ene rolling in her hede,
Wan and full pale for fere of the nere dede,
With chekis frekkit and all with teris bysprent.

ib. l. 45.

Into the inner wardis of hir place.

ib. l. 49.

—— ane quhile weping

Stude musing in hir mynd, and syne but bade,
Fel in the bed and thir last wordis said.

ib. l. 54.

—— unwrokin sall we de?

De us behuffis, scho said.

p. 123. l. 17.

Hir Sister An, spretles almaist for drede.

ib. l. 42.

Quhat sall I first compleyne now desolate wicht.

ib. l. 53.

for the grislye wound

Deip in hir breist gapis wide and unsound.

p. 124. l. 23.

Almyghty Juno havand reuth by this

Of hir lang sorrow——

Hir maide Iris from the hevin has send

The thrawand saul to lous.

ib. l. 31.

Nor zit be naturale dede perischit sche.

ib. l. 37.

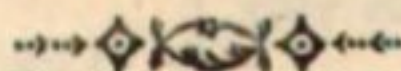
I am commandit said scho, and I man

Unde this hare to Pluto consecrate.

ib. l. 48.

And thare with all the naturale hete out quent.

ib. l. 53.



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TO

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Al though I had a check	32	✓
As oft as I behold, and see	7	✓
Brittle beauty, that Nature made so frail	20	✓
Divers thy death do diversely bemoan	46	✓
Each beast can choose his fere"	26	✓
From Tuscan came my Lady's worthy race	3	✓
Girt in my guiltless gown"	31	✓
Give place, ye lovers, here before	4	✓
Good ladies! you that have	14	✓
I never saw my Lady lay apart	17	✓
If care do cause men cry"	9	✓
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In Cyprus springs, whereas dame Venus dwelt	18	✓
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In winter's just return"	34	✓
Laid in my quiet bed"	41	✓
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Martial, the things that do attain	43	✓
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Set me whereas the sun doth parch the green	15 ✓
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E R R A T A.

IN THE MEMOIRS.

P. xxix. l. 20, for *of attaining*; read, *of obtaining*. P. lxii. l. 15, for *mater's*; read, *master's*. P. lxxxii. l. 3, for *at Boulogne*; read, *from Boulogne*; p. xcix. l. 21, for *no farther*; read, *no further*. P. civ. l. 25, for MDXIV; read, MDCXIV.

IN THE DISSERTATION.

P. cxcii. for *the wordès descriptores*; read, *the worldès descriptores*. P. cxcv. l. 24, for *imported*; read, *imparted*. P. cxvii. l. 19, for *had not one*; read, *had not won*. P. cc. l. 3, for *specimens*; read, *specimen*. P. ccv. l. 18, for *breath*; read, *breadth*. P. clv. l. 9, for *crotchets*; read, *crockets*. P. cclxxix. l. 30, for *in great measure*; read, *in a great measure*.

IN THE POEMS.

P. 49. l. 26, for *availed*; read, *avaled*. P. 55. l. 9, for *now arning*; read, *no warning*. P. 62. l. 17, for *bidden aye*; read, *biden aye*. P. 64. l. 6, for *care me*; read, *care for me*. P. 75. l. 15, for *I reode*; read, *I rede*. P. 80. l. 18, for *in quit*; read, *in quiet*. P. 96. l. 202, for *saued*; read, *saved*. P. 119. l. 888, for *For eagainst*; read, *Fore-gainst*. P. 127. l. 2, for *nourised*; read, *nourisheth*. P. 137. l. 286, for *and tell*; read, *and 'till*. P. 153. l. 765, for *sleep up in haste*; read, *sleep in haste*. P. 159. l. 937, for *a light*; read, *alight*.

IN THE LETTERS.

P. 172. l. 2, for *facili*; read, *facile*. P. 174. l. 2, for *p. 68*; read, *p. 86*. P. 196. l. 12, for 1545; read, 1546; and again, at P. 217. l. 8. P. 218. l. 9. P. 219. l. 21. P. 224. l. 7.

IN THE NOTES TO THE MEMOIRS.

P. viii. Note a, for *No. xxiv.*; read, *xxix.* Ibid. note c, for *Nos. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. and xxx.*; read, *xxvii. xxviii. xxx, and xxxi.* P. xiii. note a, for *No. iii.*; read, *Nos. iii. and iv.* P. xx. note b, for *No. iv.*; read, *No. v.* P. xxix. note a, for *No. iv.*; read, *No. vi.* P. xxx. note a, for *No. xxxiv.*; read, *xxxv.* P. xxxiii.; for *Appendix xxxvii.*; read, *Appendix xxxviii.* P. lxxiii. note a, after *English army* insert, *App. No. xix.* P. lxxviii. note a, for *No. ix.*; read, *No. viii.* P. lxxx. note c, for *No. xv.*; read, *xiii.* P. lxxxii. note a, for *No. xvi.*; read, *No. xiv.* P. lxxxvi. note b, for *No. xxix.*; read, *xxxviii.* P. lxxxvii. note a, for *No. xxvii.*; read *No. xxviii.* Ibid. note b, for *No. xxii.*; read, *No. xxiii.* Ibid. note c, for *No. xxx.*; read, *No. xxix.* P. xciv. note l. 5, for *Patrone*; read, *Patrono.* Ibid. note a, *dele* *xxvi.* P. cxxx. note, l. 10, for *No. xlviii.*; read, *xl.* P. cxxxiii. note b, for *No. xlix.*; read, *No. xlviii.*

FOR LONGMAN, HURST, RESS, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

THE WORKS

ADVERTISEMENT.

OF

HENRY HOWARD

EARL OF SURREY.

EDITED BY

GEO. FRED. NOTT, D.D. F.S.A.

LATE FELLOW OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE
OXFORD.

VOL. I. PART II.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY T. BENSLEY,

Bolt Court, Fleet Street;

FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
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MDCCCXV.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

As it may be found convenient perhaps to bind the first Volume of this work in two parts, putting the Memoirs, the Dissertation, the Poems, and Letters, in the one, and reserving the Notes and all the explanatory matter for the other, I have directed a second Title page to be printed. The necessary instructions to the binder will be found subjoined to this advertisement.

I avail myself of this opportunity to correct an error I have been led into from the imperfect manner in which Clerc's works have been described, as well by Tanner, as by Wood.

Clerc's Dedication of his "*De Mortuorum Resurrectione*" to Surrey, has been mentioned as Tanner's authority for asserting that Surrey translated as well from the Spanish, as from the French and the Italian writers. *Dissertation*, p. ccxlvii. His words are as follows. "In dedicatione Johannis Clerc ad hunc Henricum Howard, eum laudat ob translationes quam plurimas ex Latino, Italico, Hispanico, Gallico, [sermone]." *Bibliotheca*, p. 416. ed. 1747. It is not specified to what work this dedication was prefixed. Wood mentions only the "*De Mortuorum Resurrectione*" as dedicated to Surrey; thence I inferred that to have been the work in question. I have since been favoured with a sight of that work, two copies of which are preserved in the Public Library at Cambridge. It is dedicated to Surrey, but the dedication makes no mention whatever of his translations from the Spanish. It remains therefore yet to be discovered what was the source of Tanner's information. It might seem that Clerc wrote yet another work besides those which are enumerated at page xviii. of the Memoirs, beginning "*L'Amant mal traité de sa Mie*;" and that this was also dedicated to Surrey. If so, that may be the work Tanner referred to; but his description of it is so very imperfect, that it does not appear whether it was in French or in English, or whether it was a work of itself, or formed part only of the *Treatise of Nobility*.

As the Tract, *De Mortuorum Resurrectione*, is extremely scarce, I will subjoin the Title and Dedication, and a small extract from it. I trust the reader will not be displeased to see a specimen of Clerc's skill in composition in four languages. We should always bear in mind that it is not impossible but he may have had some part in Surrey's education. Certainly he was esteemed one of the best scholars of his time.

Opusculum plane divinum de Mortuorum Resurrectione, et Extremo Judicio.

In quatuor linguis succincte conscriptum.

Authore Joanne Clerco.

Latin, English, Italian, French.

Je m'en vais

Au tres illustre Seigneur Henry Comte

de Surrey, vaillant Chevalier de

l'Ordre tres honorable

du Jartierre.

Celui qui me composa, tres honore Seigneur, est Clerc, à votre commandement; qui m'a controuvé si compendieusement que lui fut possible, et m'a baillé titre de la Resurrection des Morts et du Dernier Jugement. Maintenant m'envoye à votre presence, tres humblement à decouvrir mon message; souhaitant que je sois reçu de bon visage. *

Johannes Clericus Lectori. S.

Hæc in publicum edidi peregrinis eloquiis, eâ gratiâ quo vulgarior daretur legendi occasio, et crebrâ deinceps lectione τόκος ὁ πνευματικός in compluribus citius perglisceret. Si quid ad stomachum non faciat, meam candidus accipe vivâ voce sententiam ulteriorem. Ego quidem à peritioribus nequaquam renitar instrui.

Quanquam assiduus Deitatis conspectus minime concessit ut anima sanctissima nostri Servatoris et Messiae veri, a carnei sui corporis conceptu gloriâ cælesti ali-

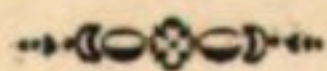
* This dedication, it should be noticed, occurs only in the first edition, that of 1545. In the edition of 1547 it is omitted, and its place supplied by a verse from the Book of Ecclesiasticus. Surrey was then dead; and Clerc was fearful, perhaps, of offending the reigning faction, who we may suspect were hostile even to Surrey's reputation.

quatenus distitueretur; tamen, corpus suum à gustu illius sic penitus abstraxit divina voluntas ut pro commissis humanis sponte factus hostia sævam in cruce optierit mortem; patibilis carne, impatibilis Deitate; verus Deus, et verus homo; in utrâque Naturâ et sub unicâ personâ perfectissimus. Quemadmodum solus Deus ille obire non potuerit, ita nec solus homo resurgere. Viva æternaque Divinitas mortuam humanitatem excitavit.

Albeit the continual sight of the Godhead permitted not that the most holy soul of our Saviour and very Messiah should be, from the time of his conception of his carnal body, in any wise destitute of the celestial glory; yet, nevertheless, the Divine Will so totally deprived his body from the taste thereof, as being himself willingly made a sacrifice for man's offences, he suffered cruel death on the cross; passible in flesh, impassible in Deity: very God, and very man in either nature and under one only person most perfect. As being only God, he could not die; so being only man he could not rise again. The lively and eternal Divinity did suscite the dead humanity.

Quantunque la continua vista de la Deità non permise che l'anima santissima di Salvatore nostro e vero Messia del tempo di concettione del corpo suo carnale per alcuno modo sarebbe lasciata della gloria celeste, nondimeno, la volontà Divina così totalmente tirò il corpo suo dal gusto d'essa gloria, come quello essendo fatto spontaneamente una hostia per i peccati humani, patì morte crudele nella croce: passibile in carne, impassibile in Deità: vero Iddio, vero uomo nel una e l'altra natura, e sotto unica persona perfettissimo. Come quello essendo solo Iddio non potette morire, così ancora essendo solo uomo non potette levarsi. La viva e l'eterna divinità suscitò humanità morta.

Jacoit que la continuelle vue de la Deité ne permit point que la très sainte ame de notre Sauveur et vrai Messias depuis le tems de la conception de son charnel corps seroit aucunement abandonée de la celeste gloire; toutefois, la divine volonté si totalement delivra son corps du gout de celle gloire; comme lui étant fait volontierment un sacrifice pour pechês humaines, souffrit cruelle mort à la croix: passible en chair; impassible en Deité: vrai Dieu, et vrai homme en l'une et l'autre nature et sous unique personne très parfait. Comme lui étant seul Dieu, ne sceut mourir, aussi étant seul homme ne se sceut relever. La vive, et l'éternelle Deité éveilla la morte humanité.



DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

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NOTES.

The first letter brought forth the second page. P. 1.

This piece is MS. 1017, MS. and in all the printed copies except the first of Bury's poems. It is probably one of his earliest compositions, or at least it is the first which he wrote on the subject of his journey to the East Indies. We may conjecture therefore that it was written about the year 1611, when Bury was about four or five and twenty years old.

These verses at first were printed without any such division and property, and have since a style, which I have taken from the original manuscript, in a correspondence with the style of the author's other poems, and the manner of his composition.

NOTES,

&c.

The manuscript is a copy of the original, and is in a very good state of preservation. The paper is of a fine quality, and the ink is of a deep black. The handwriting is in a clear, elegant hand, and is well adapted for the purpose of a manuscript. The paper is of a fine quality, and the ink is of a deep black. The handwriting is in a clear, elegant hand, and is well adapted for the purpose of a manuscript.

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NOTES

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NOTES.

The Sun hath twice brought forth the tender green. P. 1.

THIS piece in Mr. Hill's MS. and in all the printed copies, stands the first of Surrey's poems. It is probably one of his earliest compositions: at all events it is the first which he wrote on the subject of his passion for the Fair Geraldine. We may conjecture therefore that it was written about the year 1541, when Surrey was about four or five and twenty years old.

That Surrey at that early period should have written with so much elegance and propriety; and have formed a style, which left little room for subsequent improvement, is a circumstance which leads us to admire equally his judgment and his taste. His versification indeed in some of his later poems is more correct and polished than in this. In this however it is remarkable for both its sweetness and its variety. The sentiments are uniformly delicate and natural: are justly conceived, and feelingly expressed. The style and turn of thought which reigns throughout the whole piece, bears so great a resemblance to that of the Italian poets, that we might almost suspect it to be a translation; especially as we find in many passages a good deal of the Italian idiom. Nevertheless, I apprehend that it is an original composition; although Surrey had evidently two Canzoni of Petrarch in view when he wrote it. The one beginning "A qualunque animale alberga in terra." *Canzone* 3. and the other, "Di pensier' in pensier, di monte in monte." *Canzone* 30. but there is no single line in either of those odes which Surrey can be said to have borrowed. He has contented himself with imitating generally, and transfusing into his own poem the spirit, and the character of his masters.

The measure adopted is, what the Italians call, Terza Rima; their favourite measure, of which Dante is generally considered to have been the inventor. Not only Surrey and Wyatt, but many of our early writers, and Milton himself, attempted, though without success, to introduce it into our language. The piece is now first printed in the form which the Terza Rima ought to bear. It occurs in Mr. Hill's MS. In the Harington MS. only the first nine and the last fourteen lines are preserved. The leaf containing the other part of the poem has been destroyed.

DIRECTIONS TO THE READER.

STUDENT'S WORK.

NOTES.

&c.

A. General Index.

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Note 1, page 1, line 6. *Recover healthfulness, &c.*]

The opening to this poem is pleasing from its very minuteness. By fixing the precise period from which his attachment was to be dated, Surrey gives that air of truth and reality to the subsequent description of his feelings, which a more general declaration could not have given. It may be doubted whether the turn of thought adopted was suggested by the Italian writers, or by Chaucer. Instances of similar periphrasis may be found in both.

Già quattro, e dieci volti, a' i fiumi il freno
Ha posto il freddo Verno; e i dì migliori,
Con l' erbe verdi, e co novelli fiori,
Portat' ha Flora nel suo vago seno:
Poi che l' incauto cor' di speme pieno
Nel bosco entrò de gli amorosi errori.—

Gli Amori di Bernardo Tasso. Lib. III. Son. 1.

And thus Chaucer:

The golden tressed Phœbus, high on loft
Thrice had alle with his beamès clear
The snowès molt; and Zephirus as oft
Y- brought again the tender leavès green,
Since that the son of Hecuba, the Queen,
Began to love her first.—

Troilus and Cressida. B. V. ver. 8.

The word "despoiled" in the third line is used frequently by our early poets. It corresponds with the word spogliato, in Italian: "stripped of its covering." Thus Ugolino's children, when they saw him bite his hands from agony of mind, thinking that he did it from hunger, exclaimed

——— Padre! assai ci fia men doglia
Se tu mangi di noi; tu ne vestisti
Queste misere carni, e tu le spoglia!

"Thou gavest us this covering of flesh, do thou *despoil* us of it." *Dante Inferno, Canto XXXIII. L. 61.* See a further note at page 49, to line 9.

Note 2, page 1, line 7.—*recovers with the warm.*]

This is not a licence for the sake of the rhyme, peculiar to Surrey. The same word occurs so used in many of our early poets; in whose writings it is common to find substantives with the termination of adjectives. Thus, *dark*, occurs for darkness, *pale* for paleness, and many similar.

Note 3, page 1, line 10.—*that mine inflame hath made.*]

Mr. Hill's MS. and all the octavo editions, read "inflame," as one word; the participle for "inflamed." All the quartos read "*in flame*." The sense in either reading is the same: but it is probable that Surrey wrote "*inflame*," as it was com-

mon with the poets of his time so to abbreviate participles. Thus Sackville in his Induction—

The sturdy trees so shattered with the showers
The fields so *fade*, that flourished so beforme.

And again:

———— there fell before my face
A piteous wight, whom woe had all *for-wast*
Forth on her eyes the crystal tears out brast,
And sighing sore her hands she wrung and *fold*.

Mirroure for Magistrates, fol. 206, ed. 1587.

In these passages *fade*, *for-wast*, and *fold*, are put for *faded*, *for-wasted*, *folded*. Thus *shake*, *take*, *fall*, perpetually occur for *shaken*, *taken*, *fallen*.

The Italian poets in a similar manner contract their participles: *trapunto*, *cerco*, *tronco*; are used for *trapuntato*, *cercato*, *troncato*.

Note 4, page 1, line 12. *My fresh green years.*]

Green and *greenness* applied to age, conveys at present the idea of inexperience. In Surrey's time those words answered to "viridis" in Latin: and were descriptive as well of the vigour as of the bloom of youth—

There saw I May, of mirthful moneths Queen,
Betwixt April and June, her Sisters sheen,
Within the garden walking up and down,
She was full tender in her *yeares green*.

Dunbar's Golden Targe. St. 10.

They sung ballads of love, as was their guise,
With amorous notes most lovely to devise,
As they that had love in their *heartes green*.

Ibid. St. 12.

When applied to the countenance, it was descriptive of youth and beauty:

—— Methought Aurora, with her chrystal eyen,
In at the Window looked by the Day
And halsed me with visage pale and *green*.

Dunbar's Thistle and Rose, St. 2.

Gascoigne has borrowed, in his *Divorce of a Lover*, both the thought and expression used by Surrey in the text. *Ed. 1810, p. 483.*

Note 5, page 1, line 14. *But time sometime reduceth, &c.*]

The reading in the text is given from Mr. Hill's MS. All the printed editions read "But time in time." This play on words is not in Surrey's manner. *Reduceth*; *bringeth* back, from the Latin "*reducere*," occurs in Sackville: and might easily be supported by other authorities.

The sudden sight *reduced* to my mind
The sundry changes that on Earth we find.

Mir. for Mag. Induction, fol. 206.

Note 6, page 1, line 15. *Yet time my hurt, &c.]*

All the printed editions, except the octavos of 1567 and 1574, read, "In time my *harm* increaseth more and more." The two editions above-mentioned, read "In time my *hart* increaseth," &c.; evidently an error of the press for "hurt;" it is therefore admitted into the text. The line proceeding, "Alas I see nothing hath *hurt* us sore," requires the emendation.

Note 7, page 2, line 1. *And seems to have my cure, &c.]*

Cure, here probably means *care*, a sense in which the word was used frequently by Surrey and the older poets.

And were they not defended by my *cure*

Flame had them raught and en'mies sword ere this. *2 Book Æneid, l. 787.*

See also Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*, *B. I. l. 370*: and again *Book III. l. 283*. His *Legend of Good Women*, *l. 153*, and Dunbar's *Golden Targe*, *St. 26*. *Cure*, in this sense seems to have been derived to us immediately from the French.

Amour retient, et toujours dure ;

Amour met en aimer sa *cure*.

Amour leal, et amour sure

Sert, et de service n'a *cure*.

Roman de la Rose, V. 4314.

The word requires to be thus understood. "To have the healing of a wound in scorn" is an expression for which I know no precedent. To have one's pain in "scorn," is a natural mode of speech, and agrees with the general idiom of our language—

The Italian scholar will not fail of remarking how closely Surrey follows the Italian construction. With hardly any variation the verse might be rendered thus:

E sembra la mia cura avere in scorno.

Note 8, page 2, line 2. ——— *in life that I do try.]*

To try, must here signify to experience: the meaning of the line is, How contradictory are the sufferings which I am doomed in this life to experience! Turberville, in a passage imitated from this, uses the word in the same sense—

Thus day and night I live ;" thus night and day I die ;

In death I feel no smart at all ;" in life great woe I try.

Geo. Turberville's Epitaphs, Epigrams, Songs and Sonnets.

Eng. Poets, Vol. II. Ed. 1810, p. 615.

Note 9, page 2, line 3. *At hand to melt, &c.]*

A line suggested evidently by the following from Petrarch:

— da lunge me struggo, e da press' ardo—

Son. 161. Parte I.

Note 10, page 2, line 5. *Each place my comfort clean refuse.]*

“ In like manner as time refuses to give me comfort, so does each place refuse to afford me relief.”

Note 11, page 2, line 12. *Hathe eke the dark opprest.]*

This is one of the many expressions which Sackville, who formed his style on Surrey's, has copied in his Induction.

Beholding dark oppressing day so near.

Mir. for Mag. fol. 206.

The word *dark* for *darkness*, occurs sometimes in the plural; but it produces then a very unpleasing effect.

Methought by night a griesly ghost in darks I saw. *Mir. for Mag. fol. 36.*

Note 12, page 2, line 15. —that hath the light in hate.]

An expression borrowed from Petrarch—

Se non se alquanti c'hanno in odio il Sole.

Canz. 3, l. 2, Parte I.

The picture here drawn of that restless state of mind which sorrow too often occasions, is perfectly natural, and is beautifully expressed. It suggested evidently the following highly finished lines, which form the opening to the Tragedy of *Ferrex and Porrex*: where Videna describing her anxiety says;

The silent night, that brings the quiet pause
From painful travails of the weary day,
Prolongs my careful thoughts, and makes me blame
The slow Aurore, that so, for love, or shame,
Doth long delay to shew her blushing face:
And now, the day renews my grievful plaint.

Hawkins' Origin of Eng. Dra. V. II. p. 293.

Note 13, page 2, line 18. *Lest by my chere my chance, &c.]*

This thought was probably suggested by the following lines of Petrarch:

Solo, e pensoso i più deserti campi

Vo misurando a passi tardi, e lenti;

Altro schermo non trovo che mi scampi

Dal manifesto accorger delle genti;

Perchè negli atti d' allegrezza spenti

Di fuor si legge com' io dentro avvampi.

Son. 29, Parte Prima.

Chere means the outward expression of the countenance. See the note on line 15, page 49, where the use of the word is more fully explained.

Note 14, page 2, line 20. — *where I myself had lost.*]

An expression borrowed evidently from Petrarch:

— Mi vene innanzi il tempo, e' l loco
Ov' io perdei mi stesso; e'l caro nodo
Ond' Amor di sua man m' avvinse in modo
Ch l' amar' mi fè dolce, è l pianger gioco. *Son. 142. Parte Prima.*

Note 15, page 2, line 21. — *that I was tangled in the lace.*]

Lace, or as it was spelt indifferently, "las," was used by Surrey and our early poets in an elegant and poetic sense. So Chaucer:

And therefore since I know of Lovè's pain,
And wote how sore it can a man distraïn,
As he that oft hath been caught in his las
I you forgive all wholly this trepas. *Knight's Tale, l. 1819.*

It answered to the "*laccio*" of the Italians, and to the "*las*" of the French poets.

Tra le chiome dell' or nascose il laccio
Al qual mi strinse Amore—*Petrarch. Canz. 14, Parte I.*
— le chiome bionde, e' l cresco laccio,
Che sì soavemente lega e stringe
L' Alma—— *Ibid. Son. 164.*

Par moi constraint, dit Amour, ne seras ;
Mais de ceans jamais ne partiras
Que ne soyez en *las amoureux* pris.

Poesies de Charles d' Orleans, p. 10. Ed. 1809.

In its more common signification the word meant "a braid, or cord." See *Cant. Tales, l. 394*, A *las* of hair, was a gift frequently bestowed by the Fair of former days, upon their favoured knights. In the Chronicle of Raoul de Coucy; "*La Belle Gabrielle*," quand elle sceut que Raoul 's' en devoit aller, elle fit un *laqs de soye* moult bel et bien fait: il y avoit de ses cheveux œuvrès parmi la soye; dont l' œuvre sembloit moult belle et riche; dont il lioit un bourrelet moult riche, par dessus son heaume (son casque a visiere) et y avoit longs pendans par-deviere, à gros boutons de perles.—It was this *las de ses cheveux*, that led to the discovery of Gabrielle's attachment, and produced the mournful catastrophe which terminated the romantic history of those memorable lovers.—See *Memoirs Historiques sur Raoul di Coucy, Vol. I. p. 104.*

It may not be improper to add that the *Bourrelet* mentioned above in the quotation, is that ligature, which passing under the chin, was used formerly to keep the

hat on the head. The pin which served to fasten the bourrelet was often, with those at least who studied dress, very costly; and considered to be a circumstance of much elegance and taste. Chaucer, describing the worldly minded epicurean monk, whose character is drawn with strokes of inimitable humour, says

—— to fasten his hood under his chin,
He had of gold y-wrought a curious pin;
A love-knot in the greater end there was.—*Prol. to Cant. Tales*, l. 195.

Note 16, page 2, line 28. —as *anchord fast*.]

This thought, which in Surrey is not pleasing, as it descends to a minuteness which destroys the effect of poetical allusion, has been imitated and rendered still more objectionable by Turberville—

You eyes! that wonted were "light loving looks to cast,"
I give commandment on her hue "that ye be anchord fast."

See Turberville's *Poems*, ut supra, p. 586.

Note 17, page 2, line 30. *To stand at gaze and suck in, &c.*]

This line, as it stands in all the printed editions, is nearly unintelligible. They read,
To stand *agazed* and *sink in* more and more."

Both the Harington and Mr. Hill's MSS. concur in giving the reading in the text. The word "suck," as here used, has an unpleasing effect; and would hardly be tolerated in poetic language now. Among our early writers however it is of frequent occurrence. With Surrey it derived authority, no doubt, from Petrarch.—

Così gli afflitti e stanchi spirti miei

A pocò a poco consumando *sugge*.—*Parte I. Son.* 218.

E sì le vene, e'l cor m'asciuga e *sugge*.—*Ibid Son.* 169.

The meaning of the whole passage is somewhat obscure. "If sometimes I obtain, what I have long desired, a sight of my mistress' eyes, which I hoped would guide me, as stars do the mariner, to the harbour of my wishes: I lose suddenly all power of expression, and like a vessel at anchor, I advance nothing: my soul is in my eyes: I stand gazing upon her, and draw in more and more that fatal passion which proves my destruction: she mean while makes a jest of my sufferings."

Note 18, page 3, line 6. —some *parcel of my will*.]

All the printed copies read—

"Print in your heart some parcel of my *tene*,"

which word is manifestly corrupt: the Terza Rima requiring a word that should rhyme with *will*, and *still*.

Both the Harington MS. and Mr. Hill's read the line as given in the text. The meaning is, "impress your heart with some portion of feeling that corresponds to my wishes"—"*Parcel*," for some portion, or part of a thing, was formerly neither an uncommon, nor an inelegant expression.

So in Sir Thomas More in his "Address to them that seek Fortune:"

But for all that, she keepeth ever in store
From every man some *parcel of his will*
That he may pray therefore and serve her still. *Works, fol. Ed.*

Turberville, who abounds with imitations of Surrey, uses the same expression in a poem taken in great measure from this before us.

I would thou wist what torments I sustain
For lack of her that should my woe redress,
And that you knew some *parcel of my pain*. *Poems, fol. 29.*

Note 19, page 3, line 6. —*feel the wound but green.*]

I feel the wound yet *fresh*, as if but newly made. Sackville uses the word in this signification:

Like to the deer, that stricken with the dart
Withdraws himself into some secret place,
And feeling *green* the wound about his heart
Startles with pangs, till he falls on the grass.

Comp. of D. of Buckingham. Mir. for Mag. fol. 217.

From Tuscany came my Lady's noble race, &c.] P. 3.

THIS is that well known Sonnet, which has been so often quoted, and commented upon, wherein Surrey describes the name, the family, and the person of the Lady to whom he was attached; and details the leading circumstances connected with the rise and growth of his romantic passion. It has been considered at length in the Memoirs of Surrey's Life, prefixed to this volume. The reader may consult *Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, V. III. p. 4*; and *Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors. Park's Ed. V. I. p. 262*.

Note 1, Page 3, line 11.—*From Tuscany came.]*

All the printed Editions read,

"From Tuscan came my Lady's noble race."

But Tuscan, for Tuscany, is a licence, as far as I know, unauthorised, and certainly unnecessary.

The final *e*, in the uncertain orthography of those days, was frequently substituted for the *y*. Thus *pity* in Chaucer is almost always spelt, *pite* or *pyte*. In the complaint "how *Pyte* is dede and beried in gentyle herte," we read;

My purpose was to *pite* to complain, l. 5.

To *pite*, ran I all besprent with tears. l. 10.

Instances of similar orthography occur in almost every page of our old writers. The circumstance of a redundant foot thus introduced into the verse, instead of militating against the emendation, serves rather to confirm it. Surrey seems to have affected a redundant syllable, in proper names, when they could be brought to the measure of a Dactyl, an Anapæst, or a Tribrachys.

“The great, *Măcċdōn*, that out of Persia chased
Dărrūs; of whose huge power all Asia rong.”

See line 20 at page 44, and the note upon it.

For what has been said of the descent of the Fitz-Gerald family, from the Gerald of Florence, see the Memoirs of Surrey, page cxvii.

Note 2, page 3, line 12. ——— *her antient seat.*]

Her, or as it is sometimes, written *hir*, or *hire* and *here*, was the Saxon possessive Pronoun, which continued to be used by our best writers, to a late date. Tyrwhitt observes; “that it is very difficult to say from whence, or why the Pronouns, *They*, *Them*, and *Their*; were introduced into our language. The Saxon Pronouns, *Hi*, *Him*, *Hir*; seem to have been in constant use in the time of Robert of Gloucester. Sir John Mandeville, and Chaucer use *They*, for *Hi*; but never as I remember (in MSS. of authority) *Them* or *Their*.”—See Essay on Language and Versification of Chaucer prefixed to Cant. Tales, Note 28, p. 22, 4to. Ed. Vol. I.

Not knowing, or not attending to this meaning of the word, Nash in his Romance of Jack Wilton tells us, as he imagined on Surrey’s authority, that the Fair Geraldine herself was actually born in Florence; and describes the very character which he says was “illuminatively honoured with her radiant conception.” See the whole extract in the Appendix, No. VIII. Drayton, though he copied in his Heroical Epistle, Nash’s other errors, was too much of a scholar to follow him in this.

Note 3, page 3, line 14. *Wild Camber’s cliffs.*]

I am not aware that Camber, for Cambria, is supported by any authority. Drayton, in his Polyolbion, constantly writes the word Cambria; I apprehend that we ought to read,

Wild Cambria’s cliffs, did give her lively heat.

Note 4, page 3, line 18. ——— *who tasteth ghostly food.*]

There is great variation in the printed copies in this passage. Mr. Malone’s and Sir W. W. Wynne’s read, as in the text: all the other editions read,

From tender years in Britain *she doth rest*

With a King’s child, where *she tasted costly food.*

It is difficult to say which is the best reading. “To taste ghostly food” may

be thought perhaps preferable, as descriptive of education; especially if religious education were intended. I have therefore introduced it into the text.

Note 5, page 3, line 19. *Hunsdon did first present, &c.*]

Hunsdon became the residence of the Princess Mary about the year 1536. The Lady Elizabeth Fitz-Gerald was then living with her, as a child. See the Memoirs, page cxix. It has been mentioned that Hunsdon belonged originally to the Dukes of Norfolk, and that Surrey as a boy lived there part of every year. The house was built in the reign of Henry VI. by Sir William Oldhall, at the expense of 7000 marks. The description of it given by William of Worcester, in his Itinerary, is curious, as it exhibits a picture of the architecture, and taste of those times.

“Manerium de Hownesdon, Wilelmi Oldhall, Chevalier; primum edificari incipit circa xxvi^m annum, Regis Henerici VI.

“Turris manerii de Howndesdon per iiii miliaria de Waar villa, cum aliis edificationibus ac cum stabulis de *bryke* factis, longitudinis circa Lxxx *steppys*, sive gradibus meis mensuratis: per relationem Humfridi Parys de officio *garderobe* Wilelmi Oldhale, *Chevalier*. Constabat in edificatione VII. M. marcarum, viii. s. ii. d. ob.

“Item, latitudo cujuslibet lateris dictæ turris Lxxx. pedes.

“Item in quolibet latere dictæ turris sunt vii. *botrasses*, magnæ latitudinis.

“Item altitudo dictæ turris cum le *ovyrstorye* vocat. *an oryel* cum fenestris et *vanys* deauratis, est, ut dicitur, à fundamento dictæ turris ultra c. pedes.

“Item, longitudo aulæ principalis dictæ turris continet Lxxx pedes.

“Item, continet in latitudine xxiiii pedes!”

Itinerarium; sive liber rerum memorabilium Willelmi Botoner dict. de Worcestre. pub. by J. Nasmith Cambridge, 1788, p. 88.

Note on line 20, page 3. *Geraldine she hight.*]

The Fitz-Geralds were called equally Garrats and Geraldines. The latter therefore was not, as has been generally supposed, a poetical appellation. See Memoirs, page cxvii, and the note upon the passage; and

Note 6, page 3, line 22. *Windsor alas! doth chase, &c.*]

These words have been interpreted to signify that Surrey was compelled to reside at Windsor, which prevented his enjoying the society of the Fair Geraldine then

living at Hunsdon. But the meaning of these words is general. They may imply that the Fair Geraldine herself was then living at Windsor, while Surrey was compelled to be absent in some other place. Drayton so understood the passage; though he is evidently wrong in his supposition respecting Queen Katharine. Speaking of Hampton Court and Windsor, he says, "That Surrey enjoyed the presence of his fair and virtuous Mistress at those two places, by reason of Queen Katharine's usual abode there (on whom this Lady Geraldine was attending) I prove by these verses of his:

" Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine ;
Windsor (alas !) doth chase me from her sight."

Works, fol. Ed. p. 130.

Note 7, page 3, line 23. *Her beauty of kind, &c.]*

There would be an impropriety in saying that Geraldine's beauty was a gift from nature: and her virtues a gift from heaven. I conceive we are to understand the poet as saying that his Mistress's beauties were all natural; that she owed nothing to the embellishments of art.

As the word *kind* is of frequent occurrence in Surrey, and all our early writers, it will be proper to remark here, once for all, that, *kind*, meant Nature, in all the significations of that word.

Thus Alanus's Book, "De Planctu Naturæ," is translated by Chaucer. "The Complaint of Kind."—See *Chaucer's Assembly of Fowles*, p. 316. *Urry's Ed. p. 418.*

In Peirs Plowman's Visions, the word is found with a variety of meaning which is very remarkable, and is well worthy notice.

Peirs Plowman being told that "Kind" should come, or send and save the "Lady Anima" for ever; immediately asks,

What kin's thing is Kind? canst thou me tell?

To which Wit, or Understanding answers:

Kind, is a Creator, of all kinnis things ;
Father, and former of all that was ever maked ;
And that is The Great God, that 'ginning had never,
Lord of Light and of Life.

Passus Nonus, Ed. 1813, p. 173.

In this place, "Kind," is applied to the Almighty, as the Author of Nature, the Father and Creator of all things. The same word is used afterwards to describe the Supreme Being under his awful character of Judge of the Universe. The whole passage is conceived with great strength of thought, and wants only the ornaments of modern language to be strikingly sublime.

The Almighty is represented as sending forth his plagues at the solicitation of Conscience, to scourge impenitent sinners.

Kind Conscience then heard and came out of the planets,
 And send forth his forayers; fevers, and fluxes,
 Coughs and cardiacles, cramps ———
 Boils and botches, and brenning agues,
 Phrenesis, and foul evil, forayers of Kind.
 There was; Haro! and help! here cometh Kind;
 “With death that is dreadful, to undone us all.
 Age the hoar, he was in the vay-ward
 And bare the banner before Death; by right he it claimed.
 Kind came after with many keen sores,
 As “plagues,” and pestilences; and much people shent.
 Death came driving after, and all to dust pashed
 Kings, and Kaysers.

All creatures sink in dismay beneath the fury of divine w^rath, upon which Conscience beseeches KIND;

To cease and suffer and see wher’ they would
 Leave pride, and be perfect Christian
 And KIND ceased so.

Piers Plowman, ut sup. Passus Vicessimus, p. 396.

The use of the word Kind, in the above sense, is not frequent. Its most common acceptation is, “Nature.” Thus Turberville, or rather Gascoigne, “So great is the courtesy of *Kind* as she ever seeketh to recompense any defect of hers, with some better benefit.” *Book of Falconry, p. 127, ed. 1575.* The adjectives *kind* and *unkind*, with the adverbs *kindly* and *unkindly*, were also used for *natural* and *unnatural*; *naturally* and *unnaturally*. These words are never properly employed but in this signification.

Give place, you Lovers, here before. Pag. 4.

THIS beautiful little ode is well known, having been often quoted, as an happy specimen of Surrey’s manner. Warton speaks of it as “possessing almost the ease and gallantry of Waller.” He says, “that the leading compliment which has been much used, is in the spirit of an Italian fiction: that it is very ingenious, and handled with an high degree of elegance.” *Hist. of Poetry, Vol. iii. p. 16.*

This commendation is just, but too general. The merit of the piece does not consist so much in the thought itself, as in the very lively and dramatic manner of detailing it.

Surrey’s intimation that he knew, if he would declare it, the whole of Nature’s grief, and all she said, when she had lost the mould in which the Fair Geraldine was

made; the attitude in which Nature is drawn, and the unexpected declaration at last

That this was chiefly all her pain;

"She could not make the like again;"

all conspire to give a degree of life and action to the Poem, which I know not to have ever seen surpassed in any piece of a similar nature extant. "The versification," Warton adds, "is correct: the language polished: and the modulation musical." If we are to consider the thought as derived from the Italian school, we may regard it (as a Friend has suggested, in whom an elegant taste for Italian literature ranks as a subordinate merit only) as an improvement upon a line in Ariosto, where Zerbino's beauty having been described, it is added,

Natura il fece, e poi ruppe la stampa. *Orl. Fur. Can. X. St. 84.*

As it has been said, that Surrey imitated the Spanish as well as from the Italian Poets, I am tempted to add the following passage from Juan de Mena. I think the resemblance is not such as will justify our believing it to be the original which Surrey copied. I give it however; for it is the only passage in any Spanish Poet of those times I am acquainted with, which reminds me of any thing in Surrey.

"Las damas que vos otean,

"Reclaman todas de Dios;

"Porque piden, y dessean

"A si mismas que se vean

"Hechas tales como vos.

"Mas dudo si el Soberano,

"Se pusiesse con su mano,

"Conquanto poder alcança,

"En este siglo mundano,

"Hazer vuestra semejanza."

*See Obras de Juan du Mena in the Cancionero
General, Antwerp, 1557, fol. 47.*

The fact is that the thought, though elegant, is so obvious, that perhaps there is no language in which it may not be found. The classic reader will pardon me, I am persuaded, for adducing the following Epitaph in which it occurs, from Reinesius' Monumental Inscriptions.

D. · M.

INJICE · SI · PIETAS · UNQUAM · EST · SUSPIRIA · ET · IMPLE

MECUM · HOSPES · LACRIMIS · MARMORIS · HOC · VACUUM

NAM · FORMÆ · EXEMPLUM · PERIIT · CUM · OBIIT · MEA · LYDA

QUAM · PERIERE · HOMINES · QUAM · PERIERE · DEI.

Cl. XIV. n. 105. et Fabrettus II. p. 64.

The "marmoris vacuum," in the second line, is that excavation so frequent on ancient tombs, which was made for the purpose of receiving the tears of such as came to mourn over the deceased.

It is probable therefore, that the thought was original with Surrey. I will but add, that there is an air of such ease, and cheerfulness reigning throughout the whole piece, as will warrant our supposing it to have been written at a very early part of Surrey's attachment to the Fair Geraldine; before he had experienced any of that duplicity and unkindness, which gave a character of sorrow and despondency to his subsequent writings.

Note 1, page 4, line 6. *Or brightest day, &c.*

Puttenham quotes these lines as an instance in which, "if we fall to praising, specially our mistresses virtue, beauty, or other good parts, we may be allowed now and then to over-reach a little by way of comparisons." *Art of Eng. Poetry, Book iii. ch. 10, p. 160.*

Say'n, for say in this passage is not a licentious, or an inelegant mode of speech. It occurs in the best writers. So Sir Walter Raleigh,

"What is Love, good Shepherd, *say'n*?"

It is a sunshine mixed with rain:

It is a toothache, or like pain;

It is a game, where none doth gain.

The lass saith "No," and would full fain,

And this is Love, as I hear *say'n*."

Poems, p. 26. Ed. 1814.

Note 2, page 4, line 10. *As it by writing sealed were.*

This thought is simple and elegant. That Surrey should select as the subject of praise in his Mistress, in preference to superficial accomplishments that "Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas," that reverential love and regard for truth, which gives to the ingenuous avowal of affection, and to the simple promise of fidelity, all the sacredness of formal obligation, speaks more in her favour than any other compliment could have done. Shakespeare has the same thought: nor is it improbable that he had this passage of Surrey in his mind. Julia, describing the confidence she placed in the promises of her lover Proteus, says

His words are bonds.

Two Gent. of Verona, Act II. sc. 7.

Perhaps the thought originated with Chaucer.

———— In all mine age

Heard I never so cunningly

Man speak, ne half so faithfully.

For every thing he said there

Seemed as it ensealed were.

Chaucer's Dream, l. 1013. Urry's Ed. p. 579.

Note 3. *Could not paint.*

This is not a vague expression used for the sake of the rhyme only. "*To paint*," in Surrey's age, meant to mould, to form, or fashion as the sculptor does. In like manner the word "*picture*," was not confined to imitation in colours, but signified the complete form; a carved image. In the *Ortus Vocabularum*, *Cœlamen* is thus rendered; *Sculptura, pictura*. *Anglice*, a painting or carving. *Cœlatura*, a painting. *Cœlatus*, painted. *Cœlator*, a painter. For the use of the word *picture*, see Surrey's Translation of the Fourth Book of Virgil, line 6, page 127, and the note on the passage. For the word "*paint*," see Chaucer's *Romant of the Rose*, where speaking of the figures which were carved over the entrance to the Garden of Love, having described Villany, he says,

Well could *he paint*, I undertake

That such an *image* could y-make. *Romaunt of Rose*, l. 178.

It is particularly said in the beginning of the description that the ornaments were of carved word :

Enclos d'un haut mur, richement

Dehors *entaillè* vivement.

Entailler, graver; sculpter; former en taillant: *Roquefort. Gloss. de la Lang. Rom.* It is observable, that in the *Roman de la Rose*, *entailler* and *peindre* are used indifferently. Turberville also uses the word in the same sense with Surrey:

For Nature when she *made* her did intend

To *paint* a piece that no man might amend.

See *Eng. Poets*, Vol. II. p. 586.

Note on line 1, p. 5. *And this was chiefly, &c.]*

This line, in its construction, strongly resembles the following from Chaucer:

And this was yet the worst of all her pain,

There was no wight to whom she could complain.

Troi. and Cres. B. VIII, l. 727.

Note 4, page 5, line 2. *She could not make the like again.*

Surrey seems to have been pleased with this thought, as he repeats it on several occasions. See p. 35, l. 20; and again, p. 46, l. 16. The thought once introduced into our language found many imitators. See Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, ed. 1814, p. 315. See also Turberville, *Eng. Poets*, vol. ii. p. 649, and his praise of the Countess of Warwick, p. 584; the whole of which piece is an imitation of this of Surrey's. The following imitation from Watson's *Passionate Century of Love* is quoted, as it affords a good specimen of that writer's versification :

Ye stately Dames, whose beauties far excel,

Of courtesy confess, at my request ;

Doth not my love among you bear the bell,
 As Phœbus' golden rays obscure the rest
 Of planet stars, and dimmeth every light
 That shines in heaven or earth, by day or night?
 Take wisely heed in viewing her sweet face,
 Where Nature hath exprest whate'er she could
 Either for beauties blaze, or comely grace;
 Since when, to prize her work, she broke the mould. Son. 34.

If he that erst the form so lively drew. Page 5.

This elegant little stanza is given from Mr. Hill's MS. The compliment is fancifully conceived, and prettily expressed. Compare it with the following lines from Skelton, and we shall be struck with the ease with which Surrey manages his classical allusions. They never wear the appearance of study: they never are pedantic.

Zeuxes, that enpictured fair Helen the Queen,
 You to devise, his craft were to seek:
 And if Apelles your countenance had seen,
 Of pourtraiture that was the famous Greek,
 He could not devise the least point of your cheek.
 Princess of Youth, and flow'r of goodly port,
 Virtue, cunning, solace, pleasure, comfort.

Crown of Laurel. Skelton's Poems, Ed. 1810. p. 244.

Note 1, page 5, line 12. *By whom a living Goddess, &c.]*

The reading given in Mr. Hill's MS. is

By whose pencil a Goddess made thou art.

I apprehend the reading given in the text will be deemed far preferable.

When raging love with extreme pain. Page 5.

Puttenham has twice this poem; once to give an instance of the octo-syllabic measure, with the cæsura falling in its proper place, the middle of the verse; and once to praise its versification as being "passing sweet and harmonical, and having all the feet iambic." See *Art of Eng. Poesie*, p. 60 & 110. The versification of this

little ode is unquestionably fluent and pleasing; the thoughts and sentiments simple and just; and the allusion to the story of Helen very artificially introduced, so as not to wear the appearance of pedantry or affectation.

Note 1, page 6, line 2. *brought to Troia town.*]

In all the printed copies we read "Troye town." The metre requires Troye should be pronounced as a dissyllable, as in the following passage from Turberville :

As Menelaus did lament
When Helena to Troyè went. *Eng. Poets, Vol. II. p. 639.*

The *y* was formerly pronounced as in the Italian, *j*; and the *è*, as it is in French or Italian, like the *a* in *hate*. Troja and Troyè therefore gave the same sound, and the spelling was indifferent; of which examples might be easily accumulated. The following may suffice :

The valiant Greeks that unto Troja gave
The ten years siege that left but their name behind.
Tancred and Gismunda, Act. I. Dodsley's Old Plays, Vol. I. p. 175.

Musing on these things I call to mind
In histories what I of Troja read. *Mir. for Mag. fol. 9.*

That Troy was spelt without the final *e*, when used as a monosyllable, is clear from the following passages in Surrey's Translation of the 2d Book of Virgil :

The Phrygian wealth and woeful realm of Troy. *l. 6.*
Whose engines might not break the walls of Troy. *l. 226.*
Your feres now sack, and spoil the burning Troy. *l. 481.*
The common bane of Troy, and eke of Greece. *l. 573.*

When a dissyllable was intended, the final *è* was added :

Of our mishaps and Troyè's last decay. *l. 15.*
From Troyè town, with long wars all y-tired. *l. 137.*
If force might serve to succour Troyè town. *l. 372.*
But Troyè now comendeth to thy charge. *l. 375.*

This distinction of the word, sometimes as a monosyllable, sometimes as a dissyllable, is by no means peculiar to Surrey. The practice was common with Chaucer, and I doubt not with all our early writers. So in Troilus and Cressida, when Cachas had learnt from the oracle,

That Grekès shoulde such a people bring
Thorough the which that Troy must be for-do
He cast anon out of the town to go,
For well he wist by sort, that Troyè should
Destroyed be. *Book I. ver. 78.*

The orthography introduced into the text of, *Troia*, instead of, *Troja*, has been adopted as the most accurate mode of conveying the sound intended to be expressed. The same orthography will be observed throughout the Translation of the two Books of the *Æneid*, where the word frequently occurs.

Note 2, page 6, line 11. *Good knight over-run.*]

To over-run meant formerly to depress or destroy generally, and was applied to persons as well as to countries.

Such is thy wont that still when any knight
Is weaken'd, then thou dost him *overrun* :
So hast thou to thyself false honour often won.

Fairy Queen, B. IV. C. 1. S. 44.

Note 3, page 6, line 22 :—*straight draweth in ure.*]

It is difficult to give this passage a definite meaning consistently with the common acceptation of the word “*ure*.” *Ure* means fortune, chance :

Or why that he so piteously gan cry
On his fortune, and on *Ure* also.

Chaucer Compl. of Black Knights, ver. 152.

And God of kind, so hath set my *Ure*
My livè foe, to have my wound in *cure*.

Ibid. v. 483.

In this sense it was derived probably from the “*heur*” of the old French, which was taken absolutely sometimes for *bonheur*, sometimes for *malheur*.

It sometimes signifies “*use*” or employment :

And put in *ure* thy worthy virtues all.

Pinkerton's Scottish Poems, Vol. II. p. 267.

It often signifies *practice* or *effect* :

Wherefore
She put her will in *ure*.

4th Book of Virgil, line 672.

In this sense of the word, by a licence common with all poets, the passage may mean, “the Spring draweth into effect” begins to shew itself. The word seems always to have borne a vague and indefinite signification. In *Ferrex and Porrex* it implies, subjection :

Which peril shall be past, if in your life
Their temp' red youth with aged fathers awe
Be brought in *ure* of skilful stayedness.

Act. I. S. 2. Dodsley, Vol. I. p. 116.

In the following passage it occurs as a verb :

—— Forget thy study and thy books
And *ure* thy shoulders to an armours weight.

Edward III. Act I. S. 1.

See also Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, Ed. 1814, p. 195. Gascoigne's Poems, Eng. Poet. Vol. II. p. 488. Turberville, *ibid.* p. 641.

As oft as I behold and see. Page 7.

This piece is here printed from the *Nugæ Antiquæ*. It contains three stanzas more than are to be found in Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p. 29, *ed.* 1814. I do not think the amplification an improvement. The similes added, though just, give an air of study to the poem, which is not consistent with feeling.

Among the Harleian MSS. is a poem, entitled "Sir Thomas Wyatt of Love;" bearing a close resemblance to this before us: indeed, in many places whole lines are the same. As Surrey and Wyatt were intimate friends, had the same tastes, and admired the same authors, it is very probable that they pursued their poetical studies together; and that the two poems were written as a trial of skill between them; being either a translation of some piece from the Italian; or, what seems more likely, a selection of several passages from Petrarch, their favourite poet, which they wrought into the form of an Ode. It was in this spirit of friendly competition, that they both translated the Sonnet, 'Amor che nel mio cor,' &c. as we hereafter shall have occasion to notice. I subjoin Wyatt's Poem, that the reader may observe the difference of style in Surrey and his Friend.

WYATT OF LOVE.

Like as the wind with raging blast,
Doth cause the tree to bow and bend;
Even so do I spend my time in waste,
My life consuming unto an end.

For as the flame by force doth quench the fire,
And running streams consume the rain;
Even so do I myself desire
To augment my grief, and deadly pain.

Whereas I find that whot is whot,
And cold is cold by course of kind;
So shall I knit an endless knot:
Such fruit in love, alas! I find.

When I forsook those christal streams
 Whose beauty doth cause my mortal wound;
 I little thought within those beams,
 So sweet a venom to have found

I feel and see my own decay,
 As one that beareth flame in his breast:
 Forgetful thought to put away
 The thing that breedeth my unrest.

Like as the fly doth seek the flame,
 And afterward playeth in the fire:
 Who findeth her woe, and seeketh her game,
 Whose grief doth grow of her own desire.

Like as the spider doth draw her line;
 As labour lost, so is my suit.
 The gain is hers, the loss is mine;
 Of evil sown seed, such is the fruit.

Harleian MSS. No. 78.

Note 1, page 7, line 5. *As flame doth quench, &c.*

"It is impossible that fire added to flame should quench it; or that rain falling into a river should diminish its stream; but it is not less impossible, that my sufferings should be abated by the sight of her who is the cause of them."

The idea is borrowed from Petrarch.

Se mai foco per foco non si spense,

Ne fiume fu giammai secco per pioggia, &c.

Son. 100. Par. 12.

Note 2, page 7, line 15. *Those crystal streams.*

There is no expression more common among our early poets than "streams" for eyes. The origin of the phrase is evident. The streams of the sun, even in prose, were used for the rays, or beams of the sun; and as rays of light often appear to the eye to be drawn out into a continual flow, or stream of light, the word stream was soon substituted for "ray." See *Chaucer's Conclusions of the Astrolabe*. Urry's ed. p. 441. By a natural metaphor, the same word was come to be applied to the eye.

Lo! he that (deem'd) himselfen so cunning
 And scorned them that Love's paines drien (*suffer*)
 Was full unaware that Love had his dwelling
 Within the subtle streames of her eyen.

Troil. and Cres. B I. line 302.

And thus Lydgate in his *Fall of Princes*.

Mine eyes also be blinded with darkness,
Only for shame to lift up their sight;
Other *their streames or beames* up dress,
Of the clear heaven to look upon the light.

Lydgate, Fall of Princes, fol. 73.

See also Sackville's *Induction in the Mirror for Magistrates*, 206.

It is in the same manner that the Italians use the word "*rai*," without any adjunct for eyes. Thus Bembo:

Sospirando asciugava i dolci rai.

See note 3, page 9, line 10.

Note 3, page 7, line 16. *So sweet a venom to have found.]*

This is inaccurate. A beam can be supposed to convey poison by baneful influence only; venom is poison under some material and substantial form.

Note 4, page 7, line 19—*take in worth.]*

To take any thing in worth, is to take it patiently. As if the infliction was one which we were worthy, that is, had deserved to suffer. It was sometimes written *a worth*; *a*, being the familiar corruption of the prefix *of*; which among our early writers was very frequently used for the preposition *in*.

Farewell, Madam, my Lord's worthy mother,
Comfort your son and be ye of good chere;
Take all *a-worth*, for it will be no other.

*Sir Thos. More's Ruful Lamentation on the Death of
Qu. Elizabeth, Mother to Henry VIII.*

And so *a-worth* he taketh his penance. *King's Quair, Can. I. St. 6.*

The expression sometimes means, to take in *good part*, to receive kindly.

And when she saw by proof "the path of my good will,
She took *in worth* this simple song."

Gascoigne's Poems. Eng. Poets, Vol. ii. p. 571. Ed. 1810.

The meaning of the line itself, and that following it, is this. "I was of necessity compelled to bear my sorrow patiently: and I permitted hope, though I knew all hope was vain, to hide from me the harm I was incurring."

Note 5, page 8, line 3. *And eke the spur, &c.]*

A thought suggested probably by the following lines from Petrarch:

Quando 'l voler che con due sproni ardenti
E con un due fren, mi mena, e regge,
Trapassa ad or' ad or' l' usata legge
Per far in parte i miei spirti contenti, &c.

Son. 115. Parte Prima.

Since fortune envieth the wealth. Page 8.

This piece was written by Surrey evidently on the occasion of his quitting the Fair Geraldine: but as he wishes her not to grieve immoderately, and complains only of fortune as the cause of the separation, we must consider it to have been written previous to that fatal discovery of his Mistress's indifference, which gave him afterwards so much sorrow. The promise that the waves of the salt flood should not extinguish the flame of his attachment, proves that he was preparing to quit England: the expression, "And now though on the sun I drive," means that he was going southward. But this, with a little poetic amplification, may refer to a journey into France. Certainly we cannot conclude from those words, or from any thing in the whole piece, that Surrey is here speaking with reference to his supposed tour into Italy. That tour, if it ever took place, was undertaken by Surrey of his own free choice, and was a matter of triumph; consequently could not be imputed to the malice of fortune. See this point fully considered in the *Memoirs*, p. xli.

The sentiments contained in this poem are just and natural: but they are sometimes expressed in a forced, and an affected manner; in imitation of some conceits in Petrarch. The versification is often particularly melodious. Warton has justly remarked the beauty of the second stanza. *Hist. of Eng. Poet. V. III. Chap. i.*

Note 1, page 8, line 17. ——— *envieth the wealth.*]

Wealth means that state of happiness and enjoyment to which Surrey had attained by living in the society of his Mistress. The declaration that "he fed his eyes by stealth," seems to intimate, that though the Fair Geraldine was aware of his sentiments, and even approved of them, he had not yet obtained leave to make an open avowal of his passion. Wealth, in the sense here used by Surrey, occurs as frequently in his own writings, as in those of our early poets.

Note 2, page 9, line 6. *When others froze, &c.*]

Though all the printed copies read "when others freze," in the present, the sense requires the verb should be in the past tense. The expression at the close of the line is one which no good author would now venture to use; but as it occurs often in our best early Poets, Surrey in particular cannot be charged with want of taste in having adopted it. Perhaps the word might have meant nothing more "than the experiencing warmth;" as in the following passage.

The greater is my fire " the lesser is your heat,

The more that I desire " the less you seem to sweat.

Turberville, Eng. Poets, Vol. II. p. 631.

Note 3, page 9, line 10. *Your sweet golden rays.*]

An expression derived perhaps originally from the Italian writers, and common to all our early poets. See Note 2, page 7, line 15.

Fuggir vorrei; ma gli amorosi rai
Che dì, e notte nella mente stanno,
Risplendon sì, ch' al quintodecim' anno
M' abbaglian più, ch' 'l primo giorno assai.

Petrarca, Son. 84, Par. I.

Gascoigne has borrowed the expression from Surrey:

And now with care I can record those days
And call to mind the quiet life I led
Before I first beheld thy golden rays. *Poems, Vol. II. Eng. Poets, p. 504.*

And again:

For when she espied my Ladies golden rays,
Into the clouds,
Her head she shrouds,
And shamed to shine where she her beams displays. *Ibid. p. 571.*

Note 4, page 9, line 11. ——— *his heat remove.*]

The printed copies read "this heat; but as the sun is the object spoken of; and "his beams" are particularly mentioned in the line just above, the alteration introduced into the text seems necessary to the sense. "Frozen thoughts" in the line following, if it be really the right reading, is not only an unpleasing conceit, but in contradiction to the whole sentiment of the piece. The thoughts of the less susceptible Geraldine might be said to be frozen: those of Surrey were such as bespoke a warm and an impassioned lover.

Note 5, page 9, line 16. ——— *their hot desire.*]

The sense seems to require the alteration introduced into the text. The common reading is—

That did relieve *the* hot desire.

If care do cause men any, " why do not I complain. Page 9.

Several expressions in this poem lead us to conclude that it was written not long after that which immediately precedes it; when Surrey had actually undertaken the journey, he then contemplated; and "the earth had far divided him," from the object of his affections, (*Line 37—8.*) The sentiments expressed are natural, the description of the conflicting emotions in the lover's breast, lively, and affecting; the language simple; and the flow of versification easy. We may con-

stantly observe, that when Surrey employs the ballad measure, the construction of the periods is less involved, and the style more unadorned, than in the heroic verse. This was the effect of design; and the result of good taste. This piece ought to be compared throughout with the larger poem written by Surrey on the same occasion, at page 56, entitled, "A Description of the restless State of the Lover."

Note 1, page 10, line 1. *For all things having life, &c.]*

These lines have been imitated in the "Songs and Sonnets."

I see there is no sort of things " that live in grief
Which at sometimes may not resort " whereas they have relief.

See p. 200, Ed. 1814.

Turberville has imitated the same lines, and indeed the whole poem, in a piece beginning

What so the golden sun " beholds with blazing light
When pain is past hath time to take, " his comfort and delight.

Eng. Poet. Vol. II. p. 601.

but he falls much below his original. Surrey himself had evidently in view his own poem, which stands the first in this collection; and these lines of Petrarch

A qualunque animale alberga in terra,
Se non se alquanti c'hanno in odio il sole,
Tempo da travagliare è quanto è'l giorno;
Ma poi, ch'il ciel accende le sue stelle,
Qual torna a casa; e quel s' annida in selva,
Per aver posa almeno infin 'all 'alba.

Canz. III. p. 14.

Compare also the ninth Canzone " Nella stagion"—

Note 2, page 10, line 5. *Save I alas, &c.]*

Surrey has employed the same transition before. See the first poem, line 24.

All thing alive that seeth the heaven with eye
With cloke of night may cover and excuse
Themselves from travail of the days unrest:
Save I alas!

The thought however is beautifully varied. In this poem the gradation

From pensiveness to plaint; " from plaint to bitter tears;
with the return,

From tears to painful plaint again."

is happily imagined and feelingly expressed.

Note 3, page 10, line 17. *And as the stricken deer, &c.*]

This is a very natural thought; it is the nature of the deer "when from the hunters aim he hath ta'en an hurt," to seek some sequestered place wherein to languish. Sackville has borrowed the simile in his Complaint of the Duke of Buckingham; but the application of it is not as just as in Surrey, and consequently not as pleasing.

Like to the deer that stricken with the dart

Withdraws himself into some secret place,

And feeling green the wound about his heart,

Startles with pangs, &c.

Mirror for Mag. fol. 117.

Note 4, page 10, line 20. *The streams of those two wells, &c.*

The play on words in this line is wholly unworthy of Surrey's pen, and is not in his general manner. The thought in the following lines, where love is compared to an ague, is unpleasing in itself; and is not well expressed. It must be remembered, however, that when in the infancy of poetry, similes were used, the accuracy, and not the elegance of the illustration was the thing attended to.

To select such illustrations as present the things compared in those points only where the resemblance is pleasing, has always been the effect of time, and gradual refinement; it is sufficient for Surrey's excuse to say that the comparison of love, in its doubts and fears, and all its alternations of hope and despair, to a fit of ague, was used by the best writers of the times in which Surrey lived. Painter, in his Palace of Pleasure, thus expresses himself; "Gentlemen may learn by the success of this discourse what torments be in love; what travails in the pursuit; what passions, like ague fits; what inconveniences, &c." See *Novel 46, of the Countess of Salisbury, Vol. I. p. 531, Ed. 1813.* See also Note 2, on the piece immediately preceding this.

Note 5, page 10, line 26. ——— *my sorrow's leech.*]

"Her who cures my sorrow:" Leach or Leche, is a Physician: whence Leche-craft; skill in healing.

Thus in the Knight's Tale, Arcite being mortally hurt, the malady increaseth "for any leche-craft" that would be applied, l. 2747. *Ox. Ed.*

In Horeb mount, or he had any speech

With the high God that is our soules leech

He fasted long.—*Chaucer's Sompner's Tale, 628.*

Both words were long retained in use by our best early writers. See Spenser's *Fairy Qu. B. III. C. III. St. 17*, and his fiftieth Sonnet; wherein, addressing himself to his Mistress, his "*Life's Leach*," he beseeches her to shew him some compassion: that being the only cure for his indisposition; which his *Leach*, his Physician had in vain endeavoured to remove by the usual remedies of art.

Note 6, page 10, line 23. *And in my thoughts I roll, &c.*]

An expression by no means uncommon with Surrey, and borrowed evidently from the Latin. It occurs frequently: See page 152, line 716. It has been adopted by Sackville, and Turberville, and the other imitators of Surrey. See Sackville, *Mir. for Mag. Induc. fol.* 208. and *Turberville Eng. Poet. V. II.* Before him we find it used by James I. of Scotland:

And down I lay bot (*without*) any tarrying
This matter new in my mind rolling. *King's Quair. C. 1. St. 8.*

Note 7, page 11, line 1. *When I sued her servant for to be.*]

These words convey to us now an indefinite and a general idea only; at the time when written they bore a definite and a particular meaning. In the days of chivalry a person who had for a sufficient time professed attachment to any lady, and had approved himself worthy of being received as her lover openly, was recognized formally as such under the name of her *Servant*, her *Servant d'Amour*. This distinction was one eagerly sought for. The lover dated his happiness from the moment it was conferred upon him. He was then permitted to wear his Mistress's colours; to maintain her honour, and proclaim her beauty in tilts and tournaments; and received at the same time a kiss, which was granted with much solemnity, generally in the presence of mutual friends and confidants as witnesses; and sometimes publicly at tournaments, when the lover may be supposed to have distinguished himself. The kiss thus given was designed as a seal of fidelity on the part of the lady; and bound the *Servant d'Amour* to her for ever. It was commonly accompanied with some gift, such as of a sleeve or a lock of hair, as the proof of present, and an earnest of future favour. See *St. Palaye Memoirs sur la Chevalerie, Vol. I. p. 157, and 159.* Note 62 and 65.

When Surrey therefore sued to the Fair Geraldine to be her *Servant*, he must be considered as suing for permission to be her acknowledged admirer; and to be considered from that time as the guardian of her honour, and the champion of her beauty. The "strangeness" she is said to have expressed, means that modest reluctance, and timidity, (for such is the force of the word) which a well regulated female mind always feels when any favour is granted that can be regarded as an avowal of attachment. For the use of the word *strange*, in this sense, see *Turberville, Eng. Poets, Vol. II. p. 593.*

Note 8, page 11, line 4. *Lest absence cause forgetfulness.*]

Compare this passage with one at page 61, beginning at line 11. The thought is precisely the same; the only variation is in the expression, arising out of the difference of style in which the two pieces are written.

Note 9, page 11, line 8. *So sad a wight.*]

Sad, means sober, serious, grave, reserved. *Sadness* expresses that composedness and decency of behaviour, which is the direct opposite to *levity*, and forms one of the loveliest ornaments of the female character. It seems to have included the further idea of gentleness and patience. In the story of Griseldis, the Marquis of Saluces is said

To tempt his wife, her *sadness* for to know.

Chaucer's Clerk's Tale, Urry's Ed. p. 100, l. 1482.

Unsad, means *light, variable*. *Ibid. p. 104, line 2016.*

Note 10, page 11, line 11. *So in despair and hope, &c.*]

"I am plunged up and down by despair, and hope, so, (in like manner) as the ship is tossed up and down by the winds and waves, when the Ocean is in a storm."

This passage is imitated by *Gascoigne, Eng. Poets, V. II. p. 530.*

Note 11, page 11, line 13. *But as the watry showers.*]

Thus Sackville, in his Induction, having described Sorrow as giving way to a violent passion of tears, says, that it

————— eased the dolor of her mind,
As rage of rain doth swage the stormy wind.

Mirror for ag. fol. 207

Note 12, page 11, line 14. *So doth Good-hope.*

The printed editions read, *good hope*, as two words. I have printed them as one. *Good-hope* was formerly so written: and stood in opposition to *Wan-hope*, or it was the *Bonne Esperance* of the ancient French writers.

But as the way is uncouth unto thee
There as her dwelling is, and her sojourn,
I will that *Good-hope* servant to thee be. *King's Quair, C. III. St. 40.*

The lover then takes his leave, and departing from the sphere of Venus, "*Good-hope*" leads him to the Palace of Minerva. *Canto IV. S. 1 and 3.* He is afterwards conducted to the Palace of Fortune; and *Good-hope* was still his guide. *Canto V. S. 7.*

Note 13, page 11, line 18. *For those that care do know, &c.*]

This is an obvious thought; but the manner of expressing it here, reminds us of these lines of Haweis in his *Pastime of Pleasure*:

Who knoweth pain " and hath been in trouble
After his woe " his joy is to him double. *Fol. x. 1. Ed. 1554.*

Note 14, page 11, line 20. ——— *to make it seem the sweeter.*]

The repetition of the prefix "to" in this passage is unnecessary, and produces an unpleasing effect. I should propose reading,

——— *and make it seem the sweeter,*"

were it not that instances of somewhat similar repetition occur in other parts of Surrey's writings.

Note 15, page 11, line 21. ——— *serve until my breath.*]

I am not aware that the expression "until my breath," was ever used to signify, "Until my latest breath." It is probable therefore that we ought to read, "Until my death."

Note 16, page 11, line ult. *I do bequeath my wearied ghost.*]

This thought, as it stands here expressed, might have been borrowed immediately from Chaucer:

Who now shall given comfort to thy pain?
Alas! no wight. But when my heart y-dieth
My spirit, which that so unto thee hieth,
Receive in grè; for that shall aye thee serve.
Forthy, no force is, though the body sterve.

Troil. and Cress. B. iv. l. 318.

"Therefore it matters not though the body die." Thus also in the Knight's Tale, Arcite dying makes Emily the same bequest made by Surrey to the Fair Geraldine:

Nought may the woeful spirit in mine heart
Declare, o' point of all my sorrow's smart.
To you my Lady, that I love most:
But, I bequeath the service of my ghost
To you aboven every creature
Sin that my life may no longer dure.

Oxford Ed. line 2770.

This conceit is entirely in the spirit of Petrarch and the Italian school, whence it was derived to Chaucer. The idea itself is one of those extravagant refinements which grew out of the Platonic system of love, and was a point of real belief with those who adopted that fanciful hypothesis. According to the Platonic system, true love was independent of external circumstances, or any modification of matter. It was purely spiritual: and originated in a certain supposed affinity, or resemblance in the spirits themselves, which animated the bodies of individuals; whence, whenever they chanced to meet, they were attracted of natural necessity each to the other. Of this attraction, love was the unavoidable consequence. Pursuing this idea, death could not be an obstacle to the continuation of love: for the departed spirit surviving the death of the body, and retaining consciousness, would be able still to hold inter-

course with its congenial spirit, so long as it should continue to inhabit that frail, earthly form, to which by the laws of nature it was attached. The spirit, therefore, which had been so fortunate as to gain its liberty, instead of deserting, would with increased anxiety attend upon and hover round its companion; and endeavour, by all permitted means, to guard it against contracting stain, by the commission of any immoral action, which would prove an obstacle to their reunion in a future state. These fanciful notions explain many passages in those Odes and Sonnets of Petrarch, which were written after the death of his beloved Laura, and account for that intercourse which he says took place between himself and her beatified spirit. See the beautiful Sonnet,

Alma felice ! che sovente torni
A consolar le mie notti dolenti ;

where he tells us that Laura had the power of representing herself to him under the same form she had borne when living :

— Quando torni, ti cannosco, e'ntendo
A l'andar, a la voce, al volto, a panni. *Son. 241, P. II.*

In his 47th Canzone, Petrarch narrates, in a wild strain of beautiful poetry, an imaginary conversation with the spirit of his departed Mistress; who told him she had permission to appear to him, that she might enable him to support his sorrows becomingly, and thus ensure to themselves a blissful reunion. A pleasing, and an amiable idea, which Petrarch in another place sweetly expresses under the figure of Laura's turning round, when taken up into the mansions of the blessed, to see whether her faithful Lover was following :

Ella contenta haver cangiato albergo
Si paragona pur, co i piu perfetti ;
E parte adhor, ad hor si volge a tergo
Mirando s' io la seguo ; e par ch' aspetti. *Son. 302. II^a Parte.*

These ideas, which, when nourished in such a mind as Petrarch's, produced some of the most lovely touches of poetry to be found in the Italian, or perhaps in any language; created in less elevated minds the most ridiculous superstitions. I have read of a lover who promised his Mistress, that should he die before her he would appear to her in the form of a serpent. He was faithful to his promise: but not content with shewing himself to his Mistress, he continued to follow her wherever she went until the day of her death; invisible to every eye but her own. A similar account is given of a lady, who gave after death an equal proof of spiritual attachment to a young man with whom she was in love: but the appearance she assumed was not I should think particularly inviting. She followed him in the form of a skeleton. See the curious book, containing an History of the Ridiculous Extravagancies of a "Mons. Oufle."

O! happy Dames that may embrace. Page 12.

Formerly, when the name of poet was rarer, or at least not so prostituted as at present, it was not uncommon for established writers to make copies of verses at the request of their friends, descriptive of the feelings experienced by them, whether of love or of sorrow. Perhaps it was in consequence of some such application that Surrey wrote the present poem. We may believe that he undertook the task without reluctance; as it enabled him to express what he himself had felt at the time of his being separated from the Fair Geraldine. The piece itself, with the exception of the second stanza, which turns on a conceit borrowed from Petrarch, is one of considerable merit. The contending emotions are naturally described, the points of feeling well selected; and the whole expressed in that lively and dramatic manner which instantly lays hold upon the attention, and engages it unto the end. The concluding lines in the last stanza are particularly feeling and animated: the picture given in the 4th is beautifully drawn: it is a picture of genuine nature and real feeling.

Note 1, page 12, line 7. *Help to fill my mourning voice.*]

Selden proposes to read:

Good Ladies! help to *still* my mourning voice.

The correction is unnecessary. Surrey's meaning is: "Join with me in my lamentations; bear a part with me, in my song of woe; swell the measure."

The expression in the second line, "To embrace the fruit of your delight," is new; and the idea which it was designed to convey, is complicated. The meaning is, "O! ye fortunate Ladies, who are permitted to enjoy the happiness of your husbands' society; and may embrace them, from whom all your enjoyments, the fruit of your union, proceed; assist me to lament my unhappy lot."

Note on line 8, page 12. *In ship freight with remembrance.*]

The conceit on which this stanza turns, was taken probably from Petrarch:

Passa la Nave mia, colma d'oblio.

The "scalding sighs, for lack of gale," is evidently,

La vela rompe un vento umido, e rio

Di sospir. —————

Son. 156. Par. I^a

Note 2, page 12, line 14: *port of his avail.*]

The uncertainty of the old spelling renders it doubtful whether we ought to un-

derstand by the "*port of his avail*," the port where the ship was to anchor and lower its sails, or the harbour where his comfort would be found. The word "avail," may be found used in both these senses. "And where I am so fortunate as to make my first arrival in this most famous stream of honour, and port most renowned, called the Realm of England, I have *availed my sails*, determined here to abide."

Harl. MSS. No. 69. fol. 2.

See also Surrey's IVth Book of the *Æneid*, V. 38.

Fame reported, how to flight
Was armed the fleet, all ready to avale.

So in the other sense of the word.

The welkin weeps and helps me to bewail,
With gushing showers the loss of *mine avail*.

Turberville. Eng. Poets, Vol. II. p. 617.

And say an Austen Friar
Would with him speak;
And matters break,
For his certain *avail*.

Sir T. More's Gest of a Serjeant.

The following passage from Petrarch leads me to think that the latter of the above meanings was intended:

Morte puo chiuder sola a mici pensieri
L'amoroso cammin che li conduce
Al dolce porto della lor salute.

Canz. II. ver. 5.

Note 3, page 13, line 2. [*In arms across.*]

This was a very usual expression with Surrey. The meaning as it stands in the passage before us is this.

"When other Ladies encircling their husbands in their arms, enjoy that wherein their chief delight consists." The verb *rejoice*, in the active sense which it bears in this passage, occurs frequently in Surrey. See line 6, of the present Poem, and page 70, line 10; and page 72, line ult.

Note, page 13, line 8. [*And in green waves, &c.*]

"And when by rage or violence of the wind, the salt flood doth rise in green waves." This involution is quite in Surrey's style.

Note 4, page 13, line 12: *drencheth my sweet foe.*]

An expression borrowed perhaps immediately from Chaucer:

O heart mine! Cressida, *my sweet foe*. *Troil. and Cress. B. V. l. 228.*

To drench occurs equally as an active, and a neuter passive verb, either as to drown, or to be drowned:

————— “ In less than half an hour
Shall all be *dreent*, so hideous is the shower :
So shall mankind *drench*.”

Chaucer's Miller's Tale, Urry's Ed. p. 27. l. 413.

————— “ Him thinketh verily that he may see
Noah's flood comen, wal'wing in the sea,
To *drenchen* Alison, his honey dear.

1 C. p. 28. l. 509.

Note 5. *This is my wealth.*]

Wealth is used in the same sense as at page 8, line 17. “ *Fortune envieth my wealth.*” It means happiness by the attainment of what we wish for. These three last stanzas are admirably descriptive of that state of tremulous anxiety in which the mind is occupied in creating sorrow to itself. The troubled appearance of the sky, and the actual rise of the storm, are naturally the occasion of distress: but, the calm at length succeeds, and all is peace! No; even here another cause for fear arises. “ He is in safety! but will he avail himself of the calm to return to me?” This opens a new source of anxiety: every situation supplies some ground for doubt and distrust. This is conceived in perfect knowledge of the human heart.

Good Ladies! ye that have your pleasure in exile. Page 14.

This poem was composed on the same occasion as that preceding. It occurs in the Harington MS. with many variations; one of which proves the piece to have been written, not as an exercise of fancy, but for some existing person. *See line 22.*

The versification throughout is easy and melodious, and the succession of images and sentiments, lively and natural. The description of the different impressions made by the different dreams, is finely wrought. It shews a great fertility of imagination in Surrey, that he could write two poems on the same subject with so much diversity of thought. The first lines of both, indeed, turns on the same idea; but even that idea is differently expressed. With the exception of the opening, however, there is no other point of similarity.

Note 1, page 14, line 2. *Step in your foot.*]

The “foot of a Song” was what we call the burthen, or chorus. Thus in an interlude quoted by Ritson: “Moros entereth, counterfeiting a vain gesture, and a foolish countenance, singing *the foot* of many songs, as fools were wont.” *Ritson's Ancient Songs, preface, p. 60.*

To “bear a foot,” was to sing the chorus. So in the Interlude just quoted, Idleness says to Moros:

Thou hast songs, good store ; sing one,
And we three *the foot will bear*.

Ibid. p. 62.

"We three will join in chorus, will bear the burthen," or, as it was formerly and more properly written, *burdoun*, from the French "*bourdonner*;" to make that sort of sound which is produced by voices, singing the under parts. Chaucer thus writes the word, in his humorous description of the Pardoner's singing, and the Sompner's joining in chorus :

Full loud he sang, "Come hither, love, to me,"

This Sompner bare to him, a stiff *bourdoun*;

Was never trump of half so great a sown. *Cant. Tales*, ver. 675

"Step in your foot," therefore, in this verse, and "set your foot by mine," at line 7, mean the same with what was more elegantly expressed in the piece preceding by, "Help to fill my mourning voice."

Note 2, page 14, line 4. *It skills them not, &c.*]

Not to skill, is not to regard ; to be indifferent about any object. The phrase, though disused in writing, is preserved in some counties still in conversation. *What chance comes on the dice*, means, "whatever event may happen." Of this expression frequent examples may be found in our old writers.

Note 3, page 14, line 6. *None other would require.*]

The meaning seems to be : "Whose good qualities are such, that you could not require to have any other person for your choice."

Note 4, page 14, line 16. *Whose absence yet although, &c.*]

These two lines, which it will be proper to observe are wanting in the Harington MS. are evidently corrupt. Selden perceived that some alteration was necessary, and proposed reading :

Whose absence yet, although my hope doth tell me plain

His short return shall recompence, yet ceaseth not my pain.

This is taking too great a liberty with the text, and hardly removes the difficulty, which consists chiefly in the repetition of the word "yet." Perhaps, "yet," in the first line, is to be understood adjectively, for "long continued." In which case, "whose absence yet," might mean, "whose long continued absence." The latter part of the second line, with a slight alteration, may be thus emended :

Whose absence yet (although my hope doth tell me plain

With short return he comes anon) *encreaseth now* my pain. i. e.

"Whose long continued absence, (though hope comforts me with the thought of his approaching return,) is now the cause of fresh sorrow." Many more pleasing emendations might be offered : but it is a duty to adhere to the words found in the text as closely as possible. It is more probable that printers or transcribers should have

altered a few letters, through inadvertency, than that they should have substituted entire words.

Note 5, page 14, line 18. *If they be true or no.*]

By an error of the press, the text has been altered: the proper reading is, "*Wher*' they be true or no."

The contraction of "*whether*" to *wher*' will seem harsh perhaps to the generality of modern readers. But that, and many other similar contractions, appeared no harsher formerly than those do now, to which our ears are accustomed. Contractions of every sort were much more frequent in the works of our elder writers, both in prose and verse, than they are at present. *Nar'we*, *arw'e*, *mor'we*, *yelw'e*, are often to be found for *narrow*, *arrow*, *morrow*, *yellow*.

Note 6, page 14, line 21: *the same doth.*]

This is inaccurately expressed. "The same" must refer to the "dreams," at verse 17. The nominative being plural we ought at least to read, "the same do." But the dreams there referred to, were "*fearful*," because they represented the husband as drowning; the dreams described here are joyful; inasmuch as they represent him returned in safety. The word "same," therefore, involves a seeming inconsistency. Perhaps Surrey wrote—

Another time *my dreams*" do tell me he is come.

This is not the only passage in this piece which is evidently corrupt.

Note 7, page 15, line 3. *Salueth me again.*]

"Saluteth." The word is to be found frequently in our old poets:

This strange Knight, that came thus suddenly

All armed, save his head full richly,

Salueth King, and Queen.

Chaucer's Squire's Tale, V. 10404. Ox. Ed.

The busy lark, the messenger of day,

Salueth with her song the morrow gray. *Knight Tale*, ib. l. 1493.

Note 8, page 15, line 6. *Wherewith the heavy cares, &c.*]

This thought, which Surrey repeats again with little variation, at p. 51, line 6, was borrowed originally from Chaucer:

— This woeful man

Upon his beddes side adown him set

Full like a dead image both pale and wan;

And in his breast *the heaped woe* began

Out burst.

Troil. and Cress. B. IV. l. 233.

From Surrey the thought was derived to Sackville :

Such heaps of harms up harboured in his breast.

Compl. of D. of Buckingham Mir. for Mag. fol. 219.

Note 9, page 15, line 8. *Beginneth more extreme.*]

This expression is inaccurate; perhaps the line itself is corrupt. The meaning of the passage is; "The anguish I felt before, being renewed by this fresh accession of woe, so torments me that I am brought to the very extremity of suffering."

Note 10, page 15, line 10. *Some hidden place.*]

Some is here used for "any." Surrey, in another of his poems, employs the word in the same signification :

—— I that on the noble voyage go
To succour Truth, and Falsehood to assail,
Constrained am to bear my sails full low,
And never could attain *some* pleasant gale.

See p. 80, l. 6.

Note 11, page 15, line 13. *Save when I think.*]

The use of the word "Save," in this place, is neither common nor pleasing; perhaps it ought to change place with the word "*but*," in the line immediately preceding. The whole passage would be considerably improved by the transposition :

And for my wound no cure I find," *save* hope of good return ;
But when I think by sour," how sweet is felt the more
It doth abate some of my pains.

Note 12, page 15, line 16. *But little while.*]

"My joy, on our re-union shall be so great, that the sorrow I now endure, long as it has been, shall then seem to have lasted but a little while." Such must be the meaning of the passage; but the construction of the sentence, as it stands in the text, is so forced, that I apprehend it is corrupt, and would propose the following emendation :

And *thus* unto myself I say;" When we shall meet

But little *then* shall seem this pain;" my joy shall be so great.

"Set me whereas the Sun doth parch the green." Page 15.

Puttenham ascribes this Sonnet to Wyatt, *Art of Eng. Poesie*, p. 186, but does not mention any authority for doing so. It is a translation of the following Sonnet by Petrarch:

Pommi ove 'l Sol occide i fiori e l' erba;
 O dove vince lui 'l ghiaccio e la neve :
 Pommi ov' è 'l carro suo temprato e leve;
 Ed ov' è chi cel rende, o chi cel serba :
 Pomm' in umil fortuna, od in superba ;
 Al dolce aere sereno, al fosco e greve :
 Pommi alla notte; al dì lungo, ed al breve;
 Alla matura etate, od all' acerba :
 Pomm' in cielo, od in terra, od in abisso,
 In alto poggio, in valle ima e palustre :
 Libero spirto, od a' suoi membri affisso :
 Pommi con fama oscura, o con illustre,
 Sarò qual fui : vivrò com' io son visso,
 Continuando il mio sospir trilustre. *Parte Prima, Son. 113.*

Petrarch borrowed the idea from these lines of Horace :

Pone me, pigris ubi nulla campis
 Arbor æstivâ recreatur aurâ :
 Quod latus mundi nebulæ, malusque
 Jupiter urget :
 Pone sub curru nimium propinqui
 Solis, in terrâ domibus negatâ :
 Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
 Dulce loquentem. *Lib. I. Ode 22.*

Note 1, page 15, line 23. *Where he is felt and seen.*]

There is an obscurity in this line, which I am not able to explain, or remove. The most obvious meaning of the passage is; "In those temperate climates, where the warmth of the sun is felt, but his splendor is not so great as to overpower the sight." To this it may be objected, that the sun is in no climate an object the eye can endure to look upon. Probably the ambiguity of the passage arises from the ambiguity of the word "*seen*;" the uncertain use of which has occasioned trouble to commentators. See note on Amiens' song in *As you like it*, Act II. Sce. 7.

I apprehend the word "*seen*," was employed formerly to denote the perception

of objects generally, and not solely that perception of them which is obtained through the medium of sight. Thus in the song in *Love's Labour's Lost*:

Through the velvet leaves the wind

All *unseen* 'gan passage find.

Act IV. sc. 3.

Where the meaning of the word evidently is "unperceived, imperceptibly." Yet this will hardly afford a satisfactory solution to the difficulty before us. "Felt, and perceived," is a tautology, not to be tolerated even in a writer less elegant and correct than Surrey. After all, perhaps, we are looking for precision of idea, where none was intended. A passage in Turberville will support the conjecture, that, "*to see, and feel*," were joined together in a sort of pleonasm, when no more was intended than simply "to perceive:"

Cause her that little sets by me,

Yet still to stand in awe of thee.

Let her perceive thy fervent fire;

And what thou art in raging ire.

Now shew thyself no man to be;

Let her a God, *both feel and see.*

To Cupid. Eng. Poets, Vol. II. p. 633.

Note 2, page 15, line 24. *In presence prest of people, &c.]*

As the meaning of "*prest*" is, I believe, uniformly, "ready, prompt," I know not how to understand the expression "*presence prest*." It can hardly be made to signify "a thick throng." If it could, or if we might read the line thus: "*In present press of people mad or wise*," (the use of which words could be easily supported) the sense of the passage would be obvious. Perhaps the line is corrupt. There is nothing that corresponds to it in the original. The line in Petrarch is,

Ed ov' è chi cel rende, o chi cel serba.

i. e. "Either in the West, where the sun on quitting us is lodged; or, in the East, whence he is restored to us again"

"Or where he sinks to rest, or whence doth rise."

Note 3, page 16, line 2. *In longest day. &c.]*

The printed copies read:

In longest day, or in the shortest night.

But Surrey means to say: "Whether in Summer, or in Winter." And the longest day, and the shortest night, instead of describing two distinct seasons, mark one and the same. The alteration introduced into the text was one proposed by Selden. It cannot boast of any elegance, though it certainly exhibits a clear meaning.

An anonymous author, in a Collection of Poems published in 1593, entitled, *The Phoenix Nest*, attempts to give the idea with more precision. The whole Sonnet deserves to be transcribed, as a studied, and not inelegant imitation of Surrey's.

Set me where Phœbus' heat the flowers slayeth;
 Or where continual snow withstands his forces:
 Set me where he his temperate rays displayeth;
 Or where he comes, or where he never courses.
 Set me in Fortune's grace, or else discharged;
 In sweet and pleasant air, or dark and glooming;
 Where days and nights are lesser or enlarged;
 In years of strength, in failing age, or blooming.
 Set me in heaven, or earth, or in the center;
 Low in a vale, or on a mountain placed:
 Set me to danger, peril, and adventure,
 Graced by fame, or infamy disgraced:
 Set me to these, or any other trial,
 Except my Mistress' anger, and denial.

Phoenix Nest. 82. 1593

Turberville, who imitates Surrey's poem, in the corresponding lines thus expresses himself generally:

In winter when the groves have lost their green,
 In summer when the longest days are seen.

See Eng. Poets. Vol. II. p. 619.

Note 4, page 16, line 8. *Hers will I be, &c.*]

Surrey, in these concluding lines, departs from the original. Petrarch's reference to a passion of fifteen years duration, would not have been applicable to Surrey's case. From variations such as these we collect, that Surrey's translations of Petrarch were not poetical exercises for the improvement of style, but such as originated in the genuine impulse of feeling; they are therefore to be considered as descriptive of real passion.

I never saw my Lady lay apart. Page 17.

This Sonnet is imitated from the following little Ode of Petrarch, wherein he expostulates with Laura for wearing a veil whenever he was present, which deprived him of the pleasure of contemplating her beauty :

Lassare il velo o per sole, o per ombra,
 Donna, non vi vid' io,
 Poi che'n me conosceste il gran desio
 Ch' ogni altra voglia dentr' al cor mi sgombra.
 Mentr' io portava i be' pensier celati,
 C' hanno la mente desiando morta,
 Vidivi di pietate ornare il volto:
 Ma poi ch' Amor di me vi fece accorta,
 Fur' i biondi capelli allor velati,
 E l' amoroso sguardo in sè raccolto.
 Quel che più desiava in voi' m' è tolto;
 Si mi governa il velo,
 Che per mia morte ed al caldo, ed al gielo,
 De' be' vostr' occhi il dolce lume adombra.

Canz. I. p. 8.

Surrey's poem is much inferior to his master's: it is indeed one of his least pleasing productions; the versification is harsh, the language inelegant, and so obscure, that some lines must be corrupt. Whereas we risk little in saying, that Petrarch's Ode ranks among his most beautiful compositions.

Ma poi, ch' Amor di me vi fece accorta,
 Fur' i biondi capelli allor velati,
 E l' amoroso sguardo in se raccolto.

is a passage containing such a nice selection and arrangement of words, united with such a delicate flow of harmony, that it would not be possible for any translation to do it justice.

Note 1, page 17, line 16. *Her cornet black.*]

It is difficult to say what was the precise form of the head-dress here mentioned. From Ducange we learn, that the cornet was of great antiquity: that it was used by men as well as women, and that it had attracted more than once the censures of the church, when worn by ecclesiastics; who seem to have been fond of wearing it, that they might appear more like "*seculares, et gallardi, quam presbyteri seu clerici.*" See Ducange on the word "*Corneta.*" The name was derived from the *horns*, or points, into which this head-dress was cut.

Mr. Douce, whose readiness to communicate the various and extensive information he possesses every person who has consulted must have had occasion to admire, has suggested, that the cornet alluded to by Surrey may be derived from *coronette*: and consequently may mean any head-dress whatever, with a hood or veil, or *wimple*, depending. He tells me also, that Sir Thomas Elliot mentions the "cornet" as that which "gentlewomen use on their heads:" but says that no further information is given concerning it, either in the passage quoted, or the glossaries of the times. Mr. Douce adds, that the head-dress itself, called cornet, is distinct from those ends of any hat or cap whatever, called equally cornets, which hung down on each side, for the purpose of fastening under the chin. In a whimsical book, entitled the Fop's Dictionary, 4to. 1690, these cornets are said to be "the upper pinner dangling about the cheeks, like hound ears."

Note 2, page 17, line 17. ——— *she knew my grief.*]

I apprehend we ought to read,

"Since first she knew my love was grown so great."

not only because the original so expresses it:

Poi che'n me conosceste il gran desio.

but because it is evident, that it was the discovery of Surrey's love, that occasioned the Fair Geraldine to wear her cornet, and not his grief; which did not arise till after the privation.

"Fancies," in the next line, means absolutely, "love;" the sense in which Shakespeare and our early writers used the word. It answers to the "ogni altra voglia" of Petrarch. This justifies the emendation proposed in the line preceding, and renders the sense of the whole passage clear.—"Since she knew my love was become so great, as to drive every other passion from my heart."

Note 3, page 18, line 1. ——— *I do the thought reserve.*]

"Thought" is to be understood here, as love or passion; a sense in which Surrey frequently uses the word.

"That" in the beginning of the line stands for "So that." The meaning of the whole passage is, "So that (i. e. in consequence of her unkindness) I am compelled to reserve, to keep to myself, that thought or passion which has wounded my unguarded heart."

Note 4, page 18, line 6. ——— *looks to hide thus ever more.*]

This and the lines preceding stand in the first 4to. thus:

But on her face mine eyes might never rest,

Yet since she knew I did her love and serve

Her golden tresses clad alway with black,

Her smiling looks that hid thus evermore.

I have followed in the text the reading which is given by the second and third quarto, and by all the octavo editions.

Note 5, page 18 line 7. ——— and that restrain.]

The printed copies all read :

“ And that restrains which I desire is sore.”

I apprehend this must be an error of the transcriber. The meaning evidently is : “ She wore her cornet to hide from me her smiling looks, and *restrain*, keep back from me that sight of her charms which I so eagerly covet to enjoy.”

Note 6, page 18, line 8. *So does this cornet govern me.*

This use of the word *govern* is not usual in our language. Surrey adopted it from the Italian, where it means *conciar male, to evil entreat*, as the old phrase expresses it.

E chi de' nostri duci, che 'n duro astro

Passar' l' Eufrate, fece 'l mal governo.

Petrarcha Trionfo della Fama, cap. 2, line 127.

“ And him who so *evilly entreated* our leaders, who, under an inauspicious star crossed the Euphrates.”

In like manner Dante!

Tu te ne porti di costui l'eterno,

Per una lagrimetta, che 'l mi toglie;

Ma i' farò dell' altro altro governo.

Purgat. Canto V. ver. 106.

“ Do thou,” says the Angel of Darkness, contending with a good Angel for the body of Jacobo del Cassero, “ Do thou take his eternal part; that is, his soul, which the tear of penitence he shed deprives me of; his other part, his body, shall receive from me a different sort of treatment.”

Note 7, page 18, line 9. *In summer sun.]*

A slight alteration would give an air of greater accuracy to this verse by making the form of speech in the beginning and in the latter part of it the same :

In *summer's* sun, in winter's breath of frost;

i. e. “ as well during the sunshine of summer as the frosty breath of winter.” But from a passage in Turberville it should almost seem that the reading in the text was the common language of the times.

As time doth shape and shew they say, “ so ought our stile to frame;

In summer sun we need no fire; “ yet winter asketh flame.

See Eng. Poets, Vol. II. p. 625.

Love that liveth, and reigneth in my thought. Page 16.

This Sonnet is a translation from Petrarch.

Amor, che nel pensier mio vive e regna,
 E 'l suo seggio maggior nel mio cor tene,
 Talor' armato nella fronte vene :
 Ivi si loca, ed ivi pon sua ingegna.
 Quella ch' amare, e sofferir ne 'nsegna,
 E vuol che 'l gran desio, 'l accessa spene,
 Ragion, vergogna, e reverenza affrene,
 Di nostro ardir fra se stessa si sdegna :
 Onde Amor paventoso fugge al core
 Lassando ogni sua impresa ; e piagne, e trema :
 Ivi s' asconde, e non appar più fore.
 Che poss' io far, temendo il mio signore,
 Se non star seco infin all' ora estrema ?
 Che bel fin fa chi ben' amando more.

Son. 109. Parte prima.

Wyatt has left us a translation of the same piece : see Vol. II. Son. 1. On comparison it will be found that Wyatt has rendered each particular line more faithfully than Surrey, but that his language is less elegant, and his versification less harmonious.

It is to be lamented that Surrey did not select a more pleasing sonnet. The only reason that can be assigned for his having chosen it was, probably, that it accorded with the particular circumstances under which he found himself placed.

Note 1, page 16, line 13. *Clad in the arms, &c.]*

I do not understand exactly what idea Surrey meant to convey by the circumstance of love being "Clad in the arms wherein he had fought with him." It is an addition to the original. The only explanation I can offer is one which may be deemed perhaps of too great a refinement. Surrey, unable from timidity to express himself by words, may be supposed to have felt his face covered with blushes. Upon this, the idea occurs to him that the blushes of Geraldine were what first made an impression upon his heart. He calls his blushes therefore the arms, wherewith Love had fought with him. Petrarch expresses himself more generally. The meaning of the sonnet is this. "My passion, which for the most part I conceal fearfully within my own bosom, sometimes compels me to assume the appearance of boldness ; and with all the expression of love in my countenance, I prepare to address my Mistress. But as it is her wish that I should love her in silence, she checks me, by manifesting anger in her looks : in consequence of which, I abandon my intention of declaring my feelings, and suppress them as before."

Note 2, page 16, line 19. *And coward love, &c.*]

The conjunction "and" here embarrasses the sense: which is complete at the end of the eighth line. The passage would be clearer if we might read;

Then coward love, unto the heart apace

Taketh his flight——

but we are not authorised to introduce this alteration into the text without the authority of some MS. Surrey is frequently careless in his mode of connecting sentences.

Note 3, page 16, line 20. *Whereas he lurks, &c.*]

"Where, in which place, he hides himself." *Whereas* is an adverb of place, and very frequently occurs in Surrey's writings, in the same sense as in this passage.

The golden gift that Nature did thee give. Page 17.

This Sonnet is of some importance in the history of Surrey's ill-fated passion. It is the only poem addressed by him to the Fair Geraldine by name, and tends, in a great measure, to remove the doubts which some writers have lately expressed as to the reality of his attachment. The piece turns entirely on the notion, so much insisted on by Platonic writers, that external beauty is nothing more than the expression of the internal beauty of the mind: whence it follows that in proportion as the countenance is lovely, the disposition must be amiable. The thought is managed with considerable address; and the Sonnet is, altogether, a pleasing composition.

Note 1, page 17, line 2. ——— *feed them at thy will.*]

If this be the genuine reading the thought is a singular one. Beauty certainly enables its possessor to obtain friends; but why it should be given "*to feed those friends at will,*" is not so evident: the meaning will be more obvious if we suppose Surrey to have written:

To fasten friends and lead them at thy will.

Note 2, page 17, line 4. ——— *to shew her greatest skill.*]

This thought was probably suggested by the following lines of Petrarch; which detail another leading doctrine of the Platonic school respecting the Idea, or original of beauty:

In qual parte, del Ciel', in quale Idea

Era l' esempio, onde Natura tolse

Quel bel viso leggiadro, in ch' Ella volse

Mostrar quaggiù, quanto lassù potea?

Son. 126, Parte prima.

See also the 210th Sonnet:

Chi vuol veder quantunque può Natura.

See also Chaucer, *Troil. and Cress. B. I. l. 102*, and again *B. V. l. 829*; and Lydgate *Fall of Princes*, fol. 60, where the same thought occurs variously expressed.

Note 3, page 17, line 6. ——— *but lively domes.*]

Dome, or *doom*, means judgment; "not only a decision made, but that operation of the mind which makes it." "There is to my *dome*, no man but he may by reading of this work get right great knowledge." *Caxton's Preface to Gower's Confessio Amantis*, Ed. 1582.

Lively domes means therefore persons of quick and lively judgment. The sense of the passage is this. "The hidden virtues of external beauty are so well known, that any one who sees you can form a just judgment, what the moral graces of your disposition must be."

Note 4, page 17, line 7. ——— *her perfect seed hath sown.*]

This thought, which possesses considerable merit, was perhaps taken from the Testament of Cressida.

The seed of love was sown on my face,

And aye grew green———

Urry's Chaucer, p. 334, l. 137.

The expression was afterwards adopted by Spenser:

Fit to receive the seed of virtue strewed.

Hymn in Honour of Beauty.

Note 5, page 17, line 8. *All other graces follow.*]

The printed editions all read,

[Of other graces follow needs there must.

Which may be understood as meaning "Some graces must needs follow." But the doctrine seems to be that not "some" only, but *all* the gentler affections of the mind are attendant upon beauty: which renders, I apprehend, the alteration in the text necessary. Surrey argues; "where beauty is perfect in the outward form, the soul is ever found to correspond in all the loveliness of goodness." A pleasing, but alas! how often fallacious idea borrowed from the Platonic school. The doctrines of that school, on the subject of love and beauty, were derived to us from the Italian writers. The general outline of those doctrines is given no where more elegantly than in the conclusion of Castiglione's *Courtier*; a work justly considered to be in its kind, the most perfect and pleasing ever written on the subject of manners.

There the nature of love being to be treated of with seriousness and dignity, the discourse is put with great propriety into the mouth of Bembo. He thus delivers himself upon it. "Dico che da Dio nasce la bellezza, ed è come circolo di cui la bontà è il centro: e però, come non può esser circolo senza centro, non può esser

bellezza senza bontà. Onde rare volte mala anima habita bel corpo; e perciò la bellezza estrinseca è vero segno della bontà intrinseca; e nei corpi è impressa quella grazia più e meno, quasi per un carattere dell' anima per lo quale essa estrinsecamente è conosciuta." *Il Cortegiano, Lib. IV. Vol. ii. p. 186. Ed. di Milan. 1803.* But why should we refer to Italian writers for information on this point? The whole system is explained with all the perspicuity which so wild a speculation will admit of, and adorned with all the charms of poetry, in Spenser's four Hymns on Love and Beauty. On the subject immediately under consideration, Spenser says,

— Every Spirit, as it is most pure,
And hath in it the more of heavenly light;
So it the fairer body doth procure
To habit in; and it more fairly dight
With chearful grace, and amiable sight.
For of the soul, the body form doth take;
For soul is form, and doth the body make.

Therefore, where-ever that thou dost behold
A comely corpse, with beauty fair endued,
Know this for certain, that the same doth hold
A beauteous Soul, with fair conditions thowed,
Fit to receive the seed of Virtue strewed.
For all that fair is, is by nature good:
That, is a sign to know the gentle blood.

Hymn in Honour of Beauty. Works, Vol. VIII. p. 213.

That these Hymns of Spenser, than which our language contains nothing more highly poetical, or more deserving admiration, should be so little read, and so seldom noticed, forms one of those many instances of neglect for which no adequate reason can be assigned; and which has at all times been to writers of real genius, a cause of melancholy animadversion and complaint.

Note 6, page 17, line 9. *Now certes Garret.*]

The first quarto and all the other editions, except the second and third quartos, read "Now certes Lady." Why the genuine reading given in the text should have ever been suppressed it is difficult to say. The Fitz-Gerald family almost always wrote their name Garret. The Fair Geraldine, when attending on the Princess Mary, was always called Garret: and she herself in her Will designates her sister, the Lady Margaret Fitz-Gerald, "The Lady Margaret Garret." Aubrey, in his History of Surrey, has preserved an Epitaph on a person of the name of Garrard, which he modestly desires might not be mistaken for "Garret," as his family had no pretensions to bear so distinguished an appellation. Vol. V.

Note 7, page 17, line 10. *Are thus elect.*]

Elect, is here employed in a manner for which I believe no authority can be adduced. We may understand, either that the gifts with which Geraldine was endowed, were expressly chosen for her by the favour of Heaven; or, that they were the choicest gifts of Heaven." In either sense the word *elect* is distorted from its proper meaning.

Note 8, page 17, line 13. *But mercy him thy friend.*]

"Since then, being so beautiful you must of necessity be amiable, how can you refuse to shew me mercy?" This is precisely the argument which was used by the Lover in Chaucer:

So at the last, sooth for to say'n
I bethought me that Dame Nature
Ne formed never in creature
So mochel beauty, truely
And bounty, withouten mercy.

The Dream of Chaucer, Urry's Ed. p. 412, l. 1194.

As for the word "mercy," in the line before us, it is there used as a verb active, and means "to shew mercy on." Our early poets previous to Surrey's time, and even long after, were fond of forming verbs from substantives and adjectives. So Wyatt:

That *bolded* straight the way then seek I how.

And thus Sackville,

Patient, your Grace; perhaps he liveth yet.

Ferrex and Porrex, Act IV. sc. 11.

And knows full well life doth but *length* his pain.

Sackville's Induction Mir. for Mag. fol. 210.

————— This so *darks*

In Philoten all graceful marks

That Cleon's wife, &c.

Per. Pr. of Tyre, Act V.

The use of this last word is sanctioned by Milton:

Th' earth cumber'd, and the wing'd air *dark'd* with plumes.

Comus, v. 730.

The following verbs occur in Chaucer: *to night*, *Troil and Cress. B. v. V. 515*: *to cold*, *ibid. v. 535*: *to fast*, (to fasten,) *ibid. v. 373*: *to false*, *ibid. B. iii. v. 785*: *to new*, *ibid. v. 356*. Most of the verbs of this sort have been deservedly abandoned; a few only remain sanctioned by custom.

In Cyprus springs whereas Dame Venus dwelt. Page 18.

This Sonnet has all the appearance of being a translation. If it is not a translation, Surrey must be allowed to have very successfully imitated the Italian manner. The fiction of the two fountains in Cyprus, was probably suggested by Ariosto's account of the two fountains in the forest of Ardenne, so famous in Italian Romance as the cause of suffering alternately to the brave Rinaldo, and the beautiful, but capricious Angelica.

E questo hanno causato due fontane,
Che di diverso effetto hanno liquore;
Ambe in Ardenna, e non sono lontane.
D'amoroso desio l'una empie il core;
Chi bee de l'altra senza amor rimane,
E volge tutto in ghiaccio il primo ardore.
Rinaldo gustò d'una, e amor lo strugge;
Angelica de l'altra, e l'odia e fugge. *Orl. Fur. Canto I. st. 78.*

Of this romantic fiction Boyardo is considered the inventor. He thus describes the fountain, and the manner in which it became enchanted:

Questa fontana tutta è lavorata
D'un alabastro candido e polito
E d'or sì riccamente era adornata
Che rendea lume nel prato fiorito.
Merlin fu quel che l'ebbe edificata
Perchè Tristano, il Cavalier ardito
Bevendo a quella lasci la Regina
Che fu cagion' al fin di sua roina.

Tristano isventurato per sciagura
A quella fonte mai non è arrivato;
Ben che piu volte andasse a la ventura,
E quel paese tutt' habbia cercato.
Questa fontana avea cotal natura,
Che ciascun cavaliere innamorato
Bevendo a quella, amor da se cacciava.
Havendo in odio quella ch' egli amava.

Orlando Inam. Lib. I. c. 3.

Whether Boyardo took his idea from some older Romance, or from Pagan Mythology, is uncertain; probably from the latter. The Greeks fancifully attributed the two contrary affections of Love and Hatred to the agency of Cupid, or Eros; and Anteros. See Tully, *De Natura Deorum*, lib. iii. sec. 23. This might have

formed the groundwork of the fiction. The idea of the fountains might have been suggested by the fabulous account either of the river Selemnus, said to have had the power of curing such as bathed in it, of love; or by that of a spring in Cilicia, which we are told produced a similar effect in those who drank its waters. See Porcacci; Annot. on Ariosto, at the passage referred to; and the *Variae Lectiones of Cælius Rhodiginus, lib. xvi. cap. 25.*

Note 1, page 18, line 14. *His breast with fired flame.]*

Some editions read, "fixed flame:" *fired flame* is certainly an unpleasing tautology: the other reading ought perhaps to be adopted, especially as it receives some confirmation from a similar expression in Gascoigne.

When I record within my musing mind
The noble names of wights bewitch'd in love;
Such solace for myself therein I find,
As nothing may my *fixed* fancy move.

Flowers, fol. 68. Ed. 1575.

The whole sentence is involved. The meaning is, "In Cyprus, where Dame Venus dwelt, there springs a fountain of such hot effect, that whoso tastes it, were his heart as hard as stone it should melt like thawing ice, and he himself find his bosom kindle into flame."

Note 2, page 19, line 1. *Spot of change, &c.]*

This thought recurs, with little variation, in another Sonnet:

Nor change of minds let not thy mind infect. *See p. 17. l. 12.*

It seems to have been a favourite idea with Surrey. He uses it in one of his letters: "Neither am I so wed to mine own will that I had rather with favourable surmises obstinately stand to the defence of my folly, than humbly to confess the same, infected with any such spot." *Letters, p. 169.*

The soote season that bud and bloom forth brings. Page 19.

This Sonnet has been often quoted and admired. It is perhaps the most beautiful specimen of descriptive poetry in our language. Warton observes of it, that "only a writer who viewed the beauties of Nature with poetic eyes, could have selected the vernal objects of which this exquisite Ode (as he calls) it is composed." *Hist. of Eng. Poet. Vol. iii. p. 19.* The observation is just: but by omitting to give the concluding lines, Warton has not done the composition justice. Surrey, at the beginning of Winter, had formed an hopeless attachment; every thing around him then wore an appearance of gloom which seemed to correspond with

the state of his feelings; so that he was not reminded of the wretchedness of his situation. The cheerless season wears away; spring returns; the whole face of nature is changed; every creature is animated with vernal delight and joy; and every bud and blossom is bursting out into beauty. Surrey turns his eyes on himself, and finds within him still dark and comfortless: no diminution of sorrow that might awaken all hope; no expansion of hope kindling into enjoyment. How obvious is the comparison! how affecting the simple language in which it is expressed!

And thus I see among these pleasant things

Each care decays; and yet my sorrow springs.

Petrarch has left us a Sonnet written under circumstances nearly similar, and expressive of the same sentiments:

Zefiro torna, e 'l bel tempo rimena.

Son. 269.

If Surrey had this Sonnet in view, he cannot be denied the praise of having far surpassed his master. In Surrey all is nature; in Petrarch much is study; and when he describes the return of spring, by telling us that "Progne is chattering, and Philomela weeping; and that Jove is rejoicing to behold his daughter,"

Giove s' allegrà di mirar sua figlia;

he speaks the language of pedantry rather than of feeling.

Note 1, page 19, line 4. *The soote season, &c.*]

Soote, or as it is sometimes spelt *sote*, means *sweet* from the Saxon *swote*; whence, with little variation, our present word *sweet* is derived. *Sote* was continued in use long after the word, *sweet*, which was to be substituted in its place, was introduced into our language. Sackville employs it, having evidently this passage of Surrey in his eye:

The soil that erst so seemly was to seen

Was all despoiled of her beauty's hue;

And *soote* fresh flowers, wherewith the summer's green

Had clad the earth, now Boreas blasts down blew.

Induc. Mir. for Mag. fol. 205.

The word is most commonly used to describe what was agreeable and pleasing to the senses generally: it very rarely means that which is sweet to the taste.

Note 2, page 19, line 7. *The turtle to her make.*]

Make, was synonymous with *mate*, and meant a companion or partner, generally;

it described equally an husband, or a wife. Chaucer employs it to signify a person opposed, or matched with another in fight :

And if so fall, the chieftian betake,
On either side, or elles sle'th his make,
No longer shall the journeying y-last. *Knight's Tale*, l. 2558. *Oxf. Ed.*

The first mentioned meaning, however, was the common one :

And ye Fair Ladies, that your kingdoms make
In th' hearts of men, them govern wisely well;
And of fair Britomart ensample take
That was so true in love as turtle to her mate.
Spen. Fairy Queen, B. III. Can. xi. st. 2.

Note 3, page 19, line 8. *Summer is come, &c.*]

Summer here, as in page 21, line 11, means the Spring. It would be easy to enumerate instances in which it is used to describe those early months which we now call Spring exclusively. Chaucer, in his *Assembly of Fowls*, having described the birds as choosing their mates on Valentine's day, that is, at the close of February, concludes with saying :

Now welcome *Summer* with thy sunnès soft,
Thou hast this winter's weather overtake.
Saint Valentine ! thou art full high on-loft
Which drivest away the long nightes black.
Line 680, Urry's Ed. p. 418.

Thus too in the *King's Quair*, *Summer* and *May* are used indifferently ;

Worship ye, that lovers been this May !
For of your bliss the Calends are begun ;
And sing with us, " Away ! Winter, away,
Come, *Summer*, come, the sweet season and sun. *Canto II. st. 15.*

See also Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, l. 142 and 170, *Urry's Ed. p. 339.*

The following quotation, to confirm the use of the word, cannot be deemed necessary : but it will not be unpleasing to compare perhaps the earliest attempt at descriptive poetry in our language, with Surrey's more polished composition :

Summier is a-coming in,
Loud sing cuckow.
Groweth seed,
And bloweth mead,
And springeth the wood new.
Ewe bleateth after lamb,
Loweth after calf cow,

Bullock sterteth,
 Buck verteth,
 Merry sing cuckow.
 Well sing'st thou cuckow,
 Ne swik thu, naver nu.
*Hawkins's Hist. of Music. Vol. II. p. 94. and Ritson's
 Ant. Songs, p. 8.*

Note 4, page 19, line 9. *The hart hath hung, &c.]*

Thus Edwards in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, ed. 1600, p. 82.

In May the buck his horned tops " doth hang upon the pale.

Edwards' poem, from whence that line is quoted, is written in imitation of the Sonnet before us. Turberville has likewise borrowed the same image :

"The buck doth hang his head on pale" to live another day.
Epitaphs and Epigrams, fol. 33. Ed. 1567.

The circumstance alluded to by Surrey is constantly remarked by such as are in the habit of attending to deer, or of frequenting forests : it probably arises from the uneasiness experienced by the animal just before he sheds his horns ; which naturally leads him to rub his forehead against the paling of the park.

Note 5, page 19, line 11. *The fishes flete, &c.]*

To *flete*, is distinct from the verb " to *fleet*." To *fleet* means to " pass rapidly by." To *flete* is the same with the modern word to " float," with this difference, however ; that whereas we now limit the word float to signify what swims on the surface of water, and not what swims through it ; to *flete* embraces both senses :

From Tenedon behold in circles great
 By the calm sea, came *fleeting* adders twain,
 With reared breasts lift up above the sea. *Second Book of Æn. l. 258.*

So also Turberville :

And now thanked be good hap," now once again I *flete*
 And swim aloft, that sank of late " fast hampered by the feet.
Poems, Ed. 1810. p. 627.

Note 5, Page 19, line 11. *With new repaired scale.]*

There is much propriety in this expression. Fish do not renovate their scales as birds do their feathers, by shedding them, and reproducing others in their place ; but by forming each Spring a new scale, somewhat larger than the scale of the year preceding : which new scale attaches itself so firmly to the old scale, that they soon become incorporated one with the other, so as not to be separated afterwards. The scales thus annually repaired, grow both larger and thicker, thus corresponding

to the age of the fish, so that the number of the lamina of the scale ascertain the number of the years the fish has lived. See Baker on the Microscope, p. 237; and Leuenhook *Epist. Physi.* p. 24, and the Continuation to his *Arcana Naturæ*, 1697, p. 191. I do not recollect that any one of our English poets prior to Surrey has noticed this circumstance. He has been imitated in it by Turberville. See *Poems*, ed. 1810, p. 685.

Note 6, page 19, line 13. *Pursueth the flies smale.*]

Smale for *small* is not a poetic licence to accommodate the rhyme to *vale*, *tale*, &c. but the old mode both of spelling, and I doubt not of pronouncing the word; for it occurs so spelt in passages which are not connected with rhyme. Many instances to shew the word was generally pronounced as written, *small*, might be adduced from Chaucer. The first here quoted, points out a passage which Surrey had perhaps in view when he wrote the piece before us; the second will exhibit to those who are not well read in Chaucer, a pleasing specimen of his style, and powers of description:

The sparrow, Venus' son, the Nightingale
That clepeth forth the fresh leavès new:
The swallow, murd'rer of the beès *smale*
That maken hony' of flowers fresh of hue. *Assembly of Fowls*, l. 351.
Her owndid [waving] hair, that sunnish was of hew
She rent; and eke her fingers long and *smale*
She rung full oft, and bade God on her rue,
And with the death to do but on her bale.
Her hew whilom bright, that then was pale,
Bore witness of her woe. *Troil. and Cress. Lib. IV. ver. 736.*

Alas! so all things now do hold their peace. Page 20.

This Sonnet is an imitation, rather than a translation of the following from Petrarch:

Or, che 'l ciel' e la terra', e 'l vento tace,
E le fere e gli augelli il sonno affrena,
Notte 'l carro stellato in giro mena,
E nel suo letto il mar senz' onda giace;
Vegghio, penso, ardo, piango; e chi mi sface
Sempre m' è innanzi, per mia dolce pena:
Guerra è 'l mio stato, d' ira, e di duol piena;
E sol di lei pensando ho qualche pace.

Così sol d' una chiara fonte viva

Move 'l dolce e l' amaro, ond' io mi pasco :

Una man sola mi risana, e punge :

E perchè 'l mio martir non giunga a riva,

Mille volte il dì moro, e mille nasco ;

Tanto dalla salute mia son lunge.

Parte Prima, Son. 131.

Surrey here is far superior to his master. His abrupt beginning,

Alas ! so all things do now hold their peace !

is much more expressive of passion than the plain narrative style of the original. The fourth line, which describes "the stars as bringing about the chariot of night," is a pleasing addition of thought to the original, which presents only the common idea, of night returning in her starry car. In the fifth line, "calm is the Sea," comprehends the whole of,

E nel suo letto il mar senz' onda giace.

What follows, "the waves work less and less," is a circumstance which no one but an accurate observer of nature could have described ; imagination alone could not have supplied it. He only who had been accustomed at the close of day, to wander contemplative along the sea-shore, could have spoken of the gradual manner in which the waves of the sea subside, "working less and less," until the whole mass of water seems to sink into sleep. In that moment sorrow must have taken a more than common possession of the heart, if it can prevent a sweet suspension of thought, or hinder a calm oblivion of past sufferings from stealing insensibly over the mind,

Hark ! how the sacred calm that breathes around

Bids every fierce tumultuous passion cease :

In still small accents whispering from the ground ;

A grateful earnest of eternal rest.

Note 1, page 20, line 1. *Alas ! so all things now do hold their peace.*]

The opening of this Sonnet is imitated by Sackville in the following highly wrought stanza, from his Complaint of the Duke of Buckingham.

Midnight was come, when every vital thing

With sweet sound sleep their weary limbs did rest.

The beasts were still ; the little birds that sing

Now sweetly slept beside their mother's breast :

The old, and all were shrowded in their nest,

The waters calm, the cruel seas did cease ;

The woods, the fields, and all things held their peace.

Mirror for Mag. fol. 221. Ed. 1587.

In translating the description of Night in the Fourth Book of the Æneid,

Surrey seems to have had his own Sonnet in view. The whole passage is very beautiful :

It was then night ; the sound and quiet sleep
 Had through the earth the wearied bodies caught ;
 The woods, the raging seas were fall'n to rest,
 When that the stars had half their course declined.
 The fields whist ; beasts, and fowls of divers hew,
 And what so that in the broad lakes remain'd,
 Or yet among the bushy thicks of briar,
 Laid down to sleep by silence of the night
 Gan swage their cares, mindless of travails past. Line 702,

Note 2, page 20, line 2. *Heaven and earth disturbed in nothing.*]

The modern pronunciation of the word "*nothing*," has made it necessary to put a grave accent on the last syllable. In Surrey's time, and long after, what we now read as one word was pronounced as two. Thus Sir Thomas More in his Pageant of Fame :

Fame I am called : marvel you no thing
 Though I with tongues am compassed all round,
 For in voice of people is my chief living.

So Grimoald in the first 4to. ed. of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, 1547 :

No image carved with cunning hand," no cloth of purple dye,
 No precious weight of metal bright," no silver plate give I.
 Such gear allures not heavenly hearts, such gifts no grace they bring,
 I lo ! that know your mind will send" none such. What then? *no thing*.

*Grimoald to his familiar Friend. Songs and Sonnets,
 Ed. 1814. p. 354.*

Note 3, page 20, line 3. *The beasts, the air, the birds their song do cease.*]

This line is probably corrupt. It cannot be said of the beasts and of the air, that like the birds they "*cease their song*;" and yet as the passage now stands, there is nothing else with which those nominatives can agree. The original is

E le fere, e gli augelli il sonno affrena.

This might be rendered

The beasts *do sleep*; the birds their song do cease.

The stillness of the air, "*il vento tace*," has been already translated in the first line.

Note 4, page 20, line 4. *The Night's car the stars about doth bring.*]

This is imitated by Sackville in his Induction :

When sparkling stars, amid the heaven's face,
With twinkling light shone on the earth apace,
That while *they brought about the nightès chare,*
The dark had dim'd the day ere I was ware.

Mir. for Mag. fol. 206. 1587.

Which passage proves the word *nightès* was by Surrey used as a dissyllable; and ascertains also that he meant to describe the "stars as bringing about the chariot of night;" which the stars by becoming visible in the twilight, the precursors as it were of Night, might with elegance and propriety be said *to do*: and not the reverse, as the verb *doth*, in the singular, might at first sight lead us to suppose. The ambiguity would be avoided by reading:

The nightès car the stars about *do* bring.

But we are not authorised to make the alteration. In Surrey's time, and even long after, there was a great irregularity in the inflexions of our verbs. The terminations of the singular number often served for those of the plural; sometimes the first person singular was continued throughout the whole tense, without variation. This was not altered but by slow degrees. It is yet retained in conversation, not only among the common people, but in some provinces among those of an higher order.

Note 5. Ibid. *The nightès chair.*]

Chair means, I apprehend, not "chariot, or car," but "seat, or throne." The word was used formerly, not in that familiar sense now given to it, but to designate the throne or seat allotted to Kings for pre-eminence. It expressed what we now mean by the periphrase of "The Chair of State." Thus Chaucer:

When that Phœbus his *chare* of gold so high

Had whirled up the starry sky aloft.

Flower and Leaf, ver. 1.

and in like manner Skelton;

—— Apollo that whirled up his *chare*.

Crown of Laurel.

When the *car*, the *currus* of the Latin, was intended, the orthography seems to have been *char*. So Chaucer in his *Cant. Tales*, ver. 2139.

And as the guise was in his country,

Full high upon a *char* of gold stood he

With four white bulles in the trais.

Note 6, page 20, line 14. *To live and lack, &c.*]

Surrey, in the conclusion of this Sonnet, departs from the original; and improves upon it.

Mille volte il dì nasco, e mille moro,

is a cold and puerile conceit.

In dismissing this Sonnet, I cannot forbear giving from a very scarce publication, a Latin version of the original Italian by Watson, a poet of considerable merit in Elizabeth's time, who formed the design of translating Petrarch into Latin. The translation never appeared; perhaps it was never completed. In the volume from which this is taken, translations of three other Sonnets are preserved, the 102d, 312th, and 313th. The work was published at London without date; but was entered at Stationers' Hall, 1581.

Dum cœlum, dum terra tacet, ventusque silescit,
 Dumque feras volucresque quies complectitur alta,
 Noxque agit in gyrum stellantes sydere currus,
 Inque suo lecto recubat sine flumine pontus,
 Multa ego contemplor; studeo; conflagro; gemisco.
 Et mea quæ dulcis pœna est, mihi semper oberrat.
 In me bella gero plenusque doloris et iræ,
 Paxque mihi modica est Lauræ solius in umbrâ.
 Oritur ex uno claro mihi fonte, et acerbum,
 Et quod dulce sapit; quorum depascor utrôque;
 Unica meque manus lædit, læsoque medetur.
 Martyriumque meum nullo quia limite clausum est.
 Mille neces patior, vitas totidemque resumo
 Quôque die; superestque mihi spes nulla salutis.

Ecatompathia, or Passionate Century of Love, Son. 66.

Brittle beauty that nature made so frail. Page 20.

This Sonnet occurs in the Harington MSS. It is there ascribed to Lord Vaux. The language, and the style of thought, bear no resemblance to Surrey's, and we may readily believe the piece not to be his. The circumstance of the double rhymes strengthens this opinion. Surrey studiously avoided them. His natural good taste made him perceive that double rhymes were calculated for light or ludicrous composition only. In serious poems they produce a bad effect, by taking from the gravity of the versification, throwing over the idea expressed an air of lightness and familiarity. If this poem be Surrey's, it is the only piece of his in which double rhymes occur.

Puttenham, in his Art of Eng. Poesie, p. 102, introduces an imitation of this Sonnet, written by himself, he says, "to daunt the insolence of a beautiful woman."

Brittle beauty, blossom daily fading;
 Morn, noon, and eve, in age, and eke in eld
 Dangerous, disdainful, pleasantly persuading,
 Easy to gripe, but cumbrous to wield;

For slender bottom, hard and heavy lading;
 Gay for a while, but little while durable;
 Suspicious, uncertain, irrevocable:
 O! since thou art by trial not to trust,
 Wisdom it is, and it is also just,
 To sound the stem, before the tree be fell'd:
 That is, since death will drive us all to dust,
 To leave thy love, ere that we be compell'd.

Note 1, page 20, line 18. *Tickle treasure.*]

Tickle means that which having no foundation, is liable to sudden downfall. The word is still used in familiar conversation. It is not to be confounded with *fickle*; which denotes the operation of the will.

"Thy head stands so *tickle* on thy shoulders, that a milkmaid if she be in love may sigh it off." *Meas. for Meas. A. 1. S. 3.*

Note 2, page 21, line 2. *Not worth two peason.*]

Peason, the plural of *pese*; as *peas* is of *pea*, is I believe still in use in many parts of England. It was familiar with the writers of Queen Elizabeth's age. So Puttenham, quoting the verses of that merry Greek, Democritus:

Omnia sunt risus, sunt pulvis, et omnia nil sunt:

Res hominum cunctæ nam ratione carent.

has englished them thus:

All is but a jest, all dust, all not worth two *peason*,

For why? in man's matters is neither rhyme nor reason.

Art. Eng. Poesie, p. 85.

See Tusser's Husbandry; and Skelton's Colin Clout. *Eng. Poets, V. II. p. 282.*

I know not from what book Puttenham quoted, or whether he might not have quoted from memory; but the original Greek epigram, of which the Latin lines are in part a version, is given, I believe, uniformly to Glycon. See *Brunk's Analecta, Vol. II. p. 278.*

Note 3, page 21, line 3. — *than is an eel's tail.*]

There is no elegance in this thought; it is too familiar to be admitted into serious poetry. All that can be said in its defence is, that it was not thought vulgar formerly. It occurs in Skelton's Crown of Laurel, which is the most elevated flight of Skelton's Muse:

A slipper hold the tail is of an eel. *See Eng. Poets, Vol. II. p. 241.*

Chaucer himself in his ballad in dispraise of women, does not disdain to use it:

What man y-may the wind restrain,
 Or holden a snake by the tail!

Who may a slipper eel, constrain
That it will void withouten fail.

Urry's Ed. p. 552.

Note 4, page 21, line 4. — *once gotten not geason.*]

Of the word "*geason*" I know not the derivation. Its meaning is to be collected from its use. This however is not uniform. Sometimes it seems to signify "that which is rare, or uncommon." Spenser so employs it:

Emongst the rest a wicked malady
Reign'd amongst men, that many did to die,
Deprived of sense and ordinary reason;
That it to leaches seemed strange and *geason*. *Mother Hubbard's Tale.*

See also *Fairy Queen, B. VI. C. IV. St. 37, and Visions of Bellay, St. 1.*

At other times it occurs as a "thing of no worth;" as in the following very pleasing lines:

And though in place where you do spend your days
There be, that think that friendly faith is *geason*?
No force for that; hold you those pleasant ways
Which guide you straight, all void of guile and treason.
O happy mind! that so lieth down and sleeps,
When Envy wails, and Malice sits and weeps.

Harington, MS. No. 2. fol. 215.

It means sometimes the very reverse; "something worth possessing." So Skelton, in his "Why come ye not to court." *Eng. Poets, Vol. II. p. 278.*

For among him is none
That ruleth but he alone,
Without all good reason
And out of all season;
For Fulham peason
With him are *not geason*.

Which seems to be the meaning of the word in the text, for the sense of the passage is; "once gotten not worth possessing."

Note 5, page 21, line 5. *Jewel of jeopardy.*]

The Harington manuscript reads "well of jeopardy."

The line, such as it is, is better in the printed copies: "Jewel of jeopardy" is evidently a jewel which there is much danger of losing.

False and untrue; enticed oft to treason.]

This and the twelfth line are wanting in the Harington MS.

When Summer took in hand " the Winter to assail. Page 21.

There is a poem in the Harington MS. No. II. fol. 188, evidently formed on this of Surrey's:

When Winter with his shivering blasts" the Summer gan assail
With force of might, and rigour great," his pleasant time to quail;
And when the lusty green had left" each holt and hill so high,
And every pleasant place appear'd" full pale and wan to eye, &c.

That piece is imperfect, and not of sufficient merit to be printed. It adds, however, one to the many instances which might be adduced to prove that Surrey's poems on being known became objects of general imitation. The poem now before us has little merit, and can interest the reader only as it affords a picture of the distressed state of Surrey's mind.

Note 1, page 21, line 11. *When summer took in hand.*

That *spring* is here meant by *summer* is evident from the use of the word *Ver* in the 19th line, and from the 20th line, " Birds being new betrothed." This betrothing of the birds was supposed by our early poets to take place on Valentine's day; and is a circumstance to which they perpetually make allusion. See Chaucer's " Assembly of Fowls." *Urry's Ed.* p. 413, and " The Flower of Courtesy," p. 419. See also the note on " Summer is come," page 19, line 8.

Note 2, page 21, line 13. *And when he clothed fair the earth.]*

Surrey uses this expression on other occasions. It is an expression of much beauty as well as propriety, and occurs in all our best poets: it was probably adopted from Chaucer:

And every plain *was clothed fair*
With new green. *Flower and Leaf, v. 7.*

The use of the metaphor in this simple form is just and elegant. It is unnaturally strained in the subsequent verse, where it is said, that " the trees were *new garmented.*" When a metaphor describes an object by some quality or some mode of action in another, in points where the resemblance is general and founded on the common nature of things; it adds much to the force and beauty of poetic descriptions. But when it represents as common to both objects, some particular modification of action which is peculiar to one of them alone, it never fails of exciting a ludicrous, or an unpleasant idea. For this reason it is objectionable to say, as we find in another passage, " that nature taught the trees to *unclothe themselves.*" See p. 34, line 2. Surrey was probably betrayed into this expression by the use of the word *spogliare* in Italian.

Note 2, page 21, line 16. — *that kept within the durre.*]

"The pleasing effect of spring moved me, who had long kept within doors, to suspend the careful thoughts I had encouraged during the winter, and go abroad into the fields." The spelling of the word *durre* is preserved from the 8vo. editions of 1567 and 1574, and marks how the word door ought to be pronounced to rhyme with *stir*, which in some editions spelt *stur*, or *sturre*.

The custom of altering the spelling to accommodate the word to the rhyme was general in Surrey's age. Puttenham has a chapter expressly to reprobate the practice. That chapter is curious as it marks, in many instances, the change which has taken place in our national pronunciation. Of the word in question, Puttenham says, that the true orthography is "*doore*," that it properly ought to rhyme with "*poor*," and cannot consistently with good spelling, or natural sound, be made to rhyme with "*restore*." *Art of Eng. Poesie, B. II. Chap. 8.*

Note 3, page 22, line 5. *There might I see how Ver, &c.*]

The use of the Latin word *Ver* for Spring was not deemed pedantic in Surrey's time. It was common with the best writers, both before and after him.

And so befel, when comen was the time
Of Aprilis, when clothed in the mead
With new green of lusty *Ver* the prime,
And with sweet smelling flowers white and red.

Troil. and Cress. B. I. l. 157.

In *Ver*, that full of virtue is and good;

When Nature first beginneth her enprise. *King's Quair, C. II. St. 1.*

The expression at the end of the line I do not understand. "*Hent*" means, "taken hold of." To say that spring had taken hold of every blossom, meaning that spring was visible in its effect of expanding them, cannot, I believe, be justified by any known use of the word. We may suspect some corruption in the text.

Note 4, page 22, line 9. — *to choose them feres throughout.*]

"To choose themselves every where mates." This whole passage is confused and intricate: it can be resolved only by supposing Surrey to have used a double infinitive, depending on the same common verb, omitting to give the connective particle, "and." Instances of a similar licence occur in other parts of Surrey's writings. The meaning of the lines will then be, "The birds thanked Nature much, that she had given them licence, such was their good fortune, to love all that year, and to choose for themselves every where their mates, right as they should please."

Note 5, page 22, line 11. — *which when I gan resolve.*]

I apprehend we ought to read *revolve*. The conclusion which Surrey draws

from a comparison between his state, and that of the birds who had chosen their Valentines, is the same with the Lovers in "The Flower of Courtesy."

And whiles that I, in my dreary pain
Sate, and beheld about on every tree
The fowles, sit alway by twain and twain,
Then thought I thus: "Alas! what may this be!"
That every fowl hath his liberty
Freely to choosen after his desire
Everiche his make thus fro' year to year;
But man alone, alas! the hard stound
Full cruelly by kindis ordinance
Constrained is, and by statute y-bound
And debarred, from all such good pleasance.

Urry's Ed. page 419, line 50.

It is not improbable but Surrey might have had this passage in view.

Note 6, page 22, line 20. — *to malice thy pretence.*]

Pretence must here mean power: or, claim to authority. In which sense it approaches to the word "pretensions" when used to signify a claim, advanced on the ground of right.

Note 7, page 22, line 21. — *he gave a beck.*]

Beck signifies a nod generally, here it means the nod of assent, by which the Deities of old were described as notifying their will, or ratifying their decrees.

From the bright skies the ruler of the gods
Sends me to thee, that with his *beck* command
Both heav'n and earth.

See Book IV. *Æn.* page 139, line 345.

Note 8, page 22, line 25, 26. — *all and some — still undone.*]

Defective rhymes are frequent in Surrey and Wyatt. With them it is very common to join words, of which the corresponding consonants are *m* and *n*, as in the present instance. The fault of defective rhymes gradually corrected itself, with the improvement of our language; but it is curious to observe how long the *m* and *n* were coupled together in rhyme. Denham so employs them:

From thence a thousand lesser poets *sprung*;
Like petty princes from the fall of *Rome*.

Note 9, page 22, line 27. — *but mine expressed mind.*]

Selden proposes to read, "but mine oppressed mind," as if the meaning were: "The whole was an illusion, arising from the various feelings that oppressed my mind." But I conceive the present is the true reading, and that the sense of the

passage is: "All was no more than an illusion expressive of the state of my mind:" a dream which was the expression of my mind.

Note 10, page 23, line 1. *My harms have ever since.*]

Surrey generally uses the word *harms* absolutely to describe the pains and sorrows occasioned unrequited Love; in the same manner as he employs the word *wealth* to describe the happiness resulting from a successful passion.

When youth had led me half the race. Page 23.

This poem was written evidently in allusion to circumstances now forgotten. The meaning also in some passages is not therefore always obvious, though the general sense is clear. Surrey, it should seem, had given offence, by suffering his attachment to become a subject of common conversation.

The piece is printed as it stands in the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, from the Harington MS. In Tottel's edition it is often hardly intelligible.

Note 1, page 23, line 8. *My weary course begun.*]

The first stanza of Surrey's poem, is evidently imitated in the following lines, which form the opening to a very pleasing moral piece in the *Paradise of Dainty Devises*, ed. 1600, p. 16. It occurs in the Harington MS. from which the present quotation is made.

When I look back, and in myself behold
The wand'ring ways, that youth could not descry;
And see the fearful course that youth did hold,
And mete in mind each step I strayed awry,
My knees I bow, and from my heart I call,
O Lord! forget youth's faults and follies all.

Note 2, page 23, line 10. *By guiding ill.*]

"I then perceived, that by allowing myself to regulate my conduct by my feelings, I was misguided by them; for, instead of advancing my cause, they "let" or hindered my success."

Note 3, page 23, line 14. *Cloak my grief with game.*]

Game was not confined formerly to the sense in which it is now used. It meant the appearance, or outward demonstration of happiness; and sometimes happiness itself.

Note 4, page 23, line 15. *Did still bewray.*]

To *bewray* is a word of frequent occurrence among our early English poets, and is perfectly distinct from *betray*, with which it is now generally confounded. It means, "to discover any thing unconsciously, or through inadvertence, and without design." By not adverting to this distinction, the beauty of many a passage in our early poets is lost. Spenser so uses the word in a passage which is evidently imitated from that before us :

Thus as he spake his visage waxed pale
And change of hue great passion *did bewray*;
Yet still he strove to cloke his inward bale
And hide the smoke that did his fire display.

Fairy Queen, B. I. C. ix. st. 16.

See also Gascoigne :

When first I pleased thy wand'ring fantasy,
What ling'ring looks *bewrayed* thine inward thought.

Chalmers' Eng. Poets, Vol. II. p. 485.

And Turberville. *Ibid.* page 640. In another passage Turberville uses the word *wrie* in the same sense; if it be not rather misprint for *wray*, for to "*wrie*" is to cover or conceal:

The fuming smoke did *wrie* the hidden flame.

As for the thought itself, it may not be improper to observe, that it was evidently one which met the taste of those times; for it frequently occurs in our early poets. Surry himself repeats it. I apprehend, however, that it is a thought which will not now find many imitators.

Note 5, page 23, line 16. *The persant heat.*]

All the 8vo. editions read "*present*," which perhaps is the preferable reading: That word occurs used in a similar sense by Surrey, in his Translation of the 4th Book of the *Æneid* :

So fresh and lusty did *Æneas* seem;
Such lordly port in *present* countenance. l. 195.

And in other writers of those times :

But now the world not seeing in these days
Such *present* proofs of all our daring power
Disdains our name.

Tancred and Gismunda, Dodsley's Old Plays, Vol. II. p. 169.

It ought to be added, however, that the reading in the text may be supported by the following passage from Chaucer :

And clear and fair y-was the morrowing;
 The dew also like silver in shining
 Upon the leaves, as any balm sweet
 Till fiery Titan with his *persant* heat
 Had dried up the lusty liquor new.

Complaint of B. Knight, l. 25. Urry. page 451.

Note 6, page 23, line 17. *Did bayne my breast.*]

Bayne, both as a substantive and a verb, was frequently used for a *Bath*, and to bathe:

Was never night but I in bed
 Unto my pillow told my case
 Bayning my breast
 For want of rest

With tears. —

Turberville, Eng. Poets, Vol. II. p. 638.

And thus Sackville:

—— Whom Phyrus with despite hath done
 To cruel death, and bath'd him in the bayne,
 Of his own blood. —

Induc. Mir. for Mag. fol. 262.

The Knights of the Bath were commonly called the Knights of the Bayne.

Note 7, page 23, line 19. *The fruits oppress'd.*]

The meaning of this stanza is not obvious. The difficulty is increased by an improper confusion of metaphors. "When (giving way to sorrow,) I bathed my breast with tears, (that breast) in which love had sown (the seed of) his pleasing deceits: the bruit (the report) of what I did, destroyed the fruit of my labour, or (i. e. or ever) the promised bud could expand, before they were sprung and blowen." The reading in Tottel's edition is:

Her beauty hath the fruits oppress'd. — See *Ed. 1814. p. 4.*

From which it is hardly possible to extract any meaning at all.

Note 8, page 24, line 8. *Wherewith my heart was fed.*]

The printed editions read; "To her for help my heart was fled:" which, though it exhibits a clear idea, can hardly be Surrey's meaning; for had the heart fled, paleness and not blushing red would have been the supposed effect. The expression "feeding the heart with sorrow," was taken perhaps immediately from Petrarch:

—— Non avrai sempre il viso asciutto

Ch 'i mi pasco di lagrime.

Son. 71. Par. Ia.

"Thy cheeks, says Love to Petrarch, shall never be dry from tears, for I myself am fed with tears."

Note 9, page 24, line 10. *To paint all kind of colours new.*]

To paint, means sometimes simply "to describe;" sometimes "to bear the outward appearance, or expression of passion; sometimes to dissemble."

Thus Chaucer :

His manner was an heaven for to see
To any woman were she never so wise :
So painted he, and kempt at point device
As well his wordès, as his countenance.

Squire's Tale, l. 10872.

And thus in Sackville, the Duke of Buckingham, meaning secretly to take up arms against Richard the Third,

With *painted* chere, humbly before his face
Straight took my leave.——

Mir. for Mag. fol. 219.

Note 10, page 24, line 12. *My sparkled cheeks.*]

This reading is given from the Harington MS. The printed editions read "speckled." See note to p. 13. l. 8. and p. 49. l. 25.

Such wayward ways has Love," that most part in discord. Page 24.

The subject of the poem is Surrey's unfortunate attachment to the Fair Geraldine. In addition to general complaints of unrequited love, it bears allusion to advantageous views abandoned, and sacrifices made to obtain the favour of his insensible Mistress, whom "he had long besought of grace," in vain. In point of merit, it does not rank high among Surrey's compositions. There are to be found in it, however, many natural sentiments, and many happy expressions.

The opening of the piece is borrowed from Ariosto.

Ingiustissimo Amor ! perchè si raro
Corrispondenti fai nostri desiri ?
Onde, perfido ! avien che t' è sì caro
Il discorde voler ch' in due cor miri ?
Ir non mi lasci al facil guado e chiaro,
E nel piu cieco e maggior fondo tiri :
Da chi desia il mio amor tu mi richiami ;
E chi m' ha in odio vuoi ch' adori, ed ami.

Orlan. Fur. Can. II. st. 1.

The general subject is taken from Petrarch's Triumph of Love.

Or so come da se il cor si disgiunge,
E come sa far pace, guerra, e tregua ;
E coprir suo dolor quand' altri 'l punge.

E so come in un punto si dilegea,
 E poi si sparge per le guancie il sangue;
 Se paura, o vergogna avvien che 'l segua.
 So come sta tra' fiori ascoso l' angue, &c. *Tri. d'Amore. Cap. iii. l. 151.*

The reader may be pleased perhaps in comparing Morley's translation of this passage with Surrey's more general imitation of it.

This evil feel I, and yet more thereto
 When with my love I have to do.
 The blood for fear renneth to my heart,
 And straight abroad in my veins doth start.
 I know also how hid under the flower
 The serpent lieth, the lover to devour.—
 I know also how to seek the place,
 Where my love is aye wont to trace;
 And yet I stand in fear her to find,
 Although herself is printed in my mind.
 I know also myself how to beguile
 With loving and mourning, a great while;
 Following the damsel, it is even so,
 That will burn me with following, yet after I go.—
 I know also how soon a gentle heart
 Is tied with a small lace, and cannot start—
 I know too this, how Love doth shoot,
 How he flies, and strikes without giving boot—
 And I am not ignorant how unstable is his wheel,
 The hope doubtful, always for to feel:
 The dolour sure, the promise untrue;
 Aye desirous to change for thingès new.—
 In conclusion, I know Love so to be
 Inconstant, wavering, and fearful, trust me!
 Having in it a little small sweetness
 Mingled with extreme pain, and bitterness.
 When he would speak can not though he wold,
 Sudden silence when his tale should be told.
 A short laughing with complaint still and long,
 Gall temper'd with honey, this is the lover's song,

Note 1, page 24, line 21. *With golden burning dart.]*

Dixit; et eliso percussis aëre pennis
 Impiger umbrosâ Parnassi constitit arce;
 Eque sagitiferâ promisit duo tela pharetrâ
 Diversorum operum: fugat hoc, facit illud amorem.

Quod facit auratum est, et cuspidè fulget acutâ :

Quod fugat obtusum est, et habet sub arundine plumbum.

Ovid. *Metam. Lib. I. l. 466.*

This was evidently the original whence Surrey derived the thought; for our early poets differed much in their description of Cupid's artillery. Sometimes they gave him two bows of different sorts of wood, and from the bow whence the arrow was shot, was derived the character of passion: sometimes the arrows were all of the same fashion, but were pointed with different qualities. Thus, in the *Romant of the Rose*, the lover was wounded first with an arrow, called Beauty; and afterwards by four other in succession, called Simpleness, Courtesy, Company, and Fair Semblance. See *l. 1750, &c.* According to another poet, Love has three arrows. The passage, on many accounts, deserves to be given entire:

And in a chair of estate, beside

With wingès bright, all plumed but his face

There saw I set the blind God Cupide,

With bow in hand, that bent full ready was,

And by him hang three arrows in a case,

Of which the headis grounden were full right

Of diverse metals, forged fair and bright.

And with the first that headed is of gold

He smites soft; and that has easy cure.

The second was of silver, many fold

Worse than the first; and harder aventure.

The third of steel, is shot without recure.

And on his long yellow hairès sheen

A chaplet had he, all of leavès green.

King's Quair. Canto III. st. 21 and 22.

Note 2, page 25, line 2. *He pondereth by aim.*]

"To ponder," here means simply "to weigh." To ponder by aim, seems to imply to weigh deliberately: a metaphor taken from archery. The sense of the passage viewed in this light would be "Love deliberately puts unequal degrees of affection into the opposite scales: into the one are thrown hot gleams of burning fire, to denote the extreme violence of sincere passion; and into the other, a light and fickle liking; easy sparks of flame." I am not certain, however, that to do a thing by aim, did not mean to do it by hazard; or as we generally say, by guess.

Note 3, page 25, line 4. *Into a dark deep hell.*]

Più cieco e maggior fondo. From which words it is evident, that "hell" was not restricted in Surrey's time to one particular meaning, but signified generally a

deep pit, or any hidden place of darkness. The Harington MS. reads "into *the* dark deep *well*." The reading of the printed copies has been retained as far preferable.

Note 4, page 25, line 11. *I know how to convert.*]

The printed copies read:

I know how to *content* myself in others lust.

The reading supplied by the Harington MS. is the best. "I know how to form my will to the wishes of others."

Note 5, page 25, line 12. *To weave a web of trust.*]

The metaphor of "weaving a web," to describe the framing an hope or project, was borrowed probably by Surrey from Petrarch:

S' Amore, o Morte non da qualche stroppio

Alla tela novella ch' ora ordisco.

Son. 32; see also *Son.* 194.

The expression soon found imitators:

And wilt thou love, or place within thy breast

The cruel dame, that weaves thy web of woe.

Turberville, p. 619.

It occurs in the Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions, and has received the sanction of a royal pen. Queen Elizabeth employed it in a copy of verses "which my Lady Willoughby did covertly get of her Majesty's tablets, and had much hazard in doing: for the Queen did find out the thief, and chid for spreading evil bruit of her writing such toys when other matters did so occupy her employment at that time, and was fearful of being thought too lightsome for so doing." The verses begin thus;

The dread of future foes," exiles my present joy,

And wit me warns to shun such snares" as threaten mine annoy.

For falsehood now doth flow" and subjects faith doth ebb,

Which should not be of reason ruled" and *Wisdom wove the web*, &c.

Nugæ Antiq. Vol. I p. 58. Ed. 1767.

They are to be found in the Harington MS. No. 2. fol. 164; and likewise among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

Note 6, page 25, line 14. *When in my face my painted thoughts.*]

This and the two following lines remind us of the 6th and 7th stanzas of the poem preceding. Surrey's frequent allusions to Petrarch give him the appearance sometimes of repeating his own thoughts. The line itself supplies another instance of that involution, which Surrey often affected. "When the thoughts (*conceived in my mind*) would (*otherwise*) appear outwardly painted in my face.

Note 7, page 25, line 16. *Stains again with flaming red.]*

And how the blood his deadly colour left
And straight return'd with flaming red again.

Mir. for Mag. Sackville, Com. of D. of Buckingham, fol. 222

Note 8, page 25, line 18. *The hammer of the restless forge.]*

By this metaphor Surrey means to describe the never ceasing action of the lover's fancy constantly busied in framing doubts and apprehensions. He employs the same metaphor in his Epitaph on Sir Thomas Wyatt, to describe the activity of his mind. See p. 45, l. 16. Spenser pursues the thought to considerable length, in his Allegory of the House of Care. *Fairy Queen, B. IV. Can. 5, St. 85.*

His name was Care; a blacksmith by his trade,
That neither day nor night from working spared,
That to small purpose iron wedges made:

Those be unquiet thoughts that careful minds invade.

The thought being admissible only when presented generally, becomes ridiculous when pursued in detail.

Note 9, page 25, line 24. *Resolving all in fume.]*

In smoke. *Fume* for *smoke* occurs frequently in Surrey and in our early writers.

Note 10, page 25, line ult. *And live, alas! who would believe.]*

This conceit, derived from the Platonic School, is borrowed from Petrarch. On the point of quitting Laura, he says:

Talhor m' assale, in mezzo a' tristi pianti
Un dubbio; "Come posson queste membra
" Dallo spirito lor viver lontani?
Ma rispondemi Amor; "Non ti rimembra,
" Che questo è privilegio degli amanti,
" Sciolti da tutte qualitati umane."

Son. 13. Parte Prima, p. 10.

In the Poems of the Duke of Orleans, the same doubt is started, and the same solution is given at some length:

Ainsi amour me mit en son servage
Mais pour seurtè retint mon cœur en gage.
"Pourquoi? lui dis," que vivre ne pourrois
"En cet état s'un autre cœur n'avois"
Il repondit; "Espoir, mon Medecin
"Te gardera de mort nuit e matin,
"Jusque à tant qu' auras en lieu du tien
"Le cœur d'une, qui te tiendra pour sien."

Ed. 1809, p. 18.

[Note 11, page 26, line 1. *Laughters of the splene.*]

The *splene* meant formerly the *heart*, the seat of joy:

Their honey throats they opened *fro' the splene.*

Dunbar's Golden Targe, st. 12.

On whose hand a lark sang *fro' the splene.*

Id. Thistle and Rose, st. 2.

In both these passages, a chearful song is spoken of proceeding from a joyful heart. I much doubt, however, whether this was the idea which Surrey meant here to express. Spleen described also the seat of melancholy. The words, therefore, may signify a forced laughter; the heart being really fully of care.

Note 12, page 26, line 4. *And how the lion chastised is.*]

This seems to have been a proverbial expression. We find it in Chaucer:

And for to make others beware by me,

As by the whelp chastised is the lion. *Squire's Tale, l. 10805. Ox. Ed.*

It was founded on the following notion. Heraldic writers say, that the Lion is of so courageous a nature, that no compulsion or beating can make him couch; but that he is so gentle-hearted, that if he see a whelp beaten he will immediately become couchant, as if interceding to have the chastisement remitted. It is thus we are told that young persons of noble blood in Persia are deterred from the commission of any fault, knowing that not themselves, but their Pages are to be beaten for the offence; influenced by the generous principle, that others should not suffer through their misconduct. It is possible that Surrey when he used the expression in the text, might have referred to some circumstances in his life not recorded. In more than one instance he characterizes himself as a Lion, in allusion to his Armorial Bearings. See page 26, line 17.

Note 13, page 26, line 6. *Far off I burn, &c.*]

From Petrarch. *Son. 188.*

——— *Arder da lunge, ed agghiacciar da presso.*

Many other expressions in this piece might be traced in Petrarch. But they are forced conceits principally, unworthy of imitation.

Note 14, page 26, line .7 *Upon a yelden mind.*]

The printed copies read "yielding" mind. The sense requires the passive participle; "the heart which is entirely surrendered up to love." *Yelden*, or *yolden*, are frequently used by Surrey and contemporary writers. See Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, Ed. 1814, p. 147.

Like as the lark within the Merlin's foot
With piteous tunes doth chirp her *yelden* lay.

Note 15, page 26, line 8. *And meash an heart.*]

The verb to *meash*, or *mash*, "to entangle in the meashes or meshes of a net," is of frequent occurrence in our early writers.

And smiles to see him *mash'd* in folly's net. *Turberville, p. 619.*

Note 16, page 26, line 9, *With seldom tasted sweet.*]

The same thought and expression are used by Surrey in his Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes :

The bitter gall, seasoned with sweet," such wisdom may digest. *See p. 77, l. 14.*

The meaning is, "that in a lover's life, a small portion of enjoyment is to counter-balance a large proportion of sorrow."

Note 17, page 26, line 10. *Glynt of grace.*]

The printed editions read *glimpse*. I believe Surrey to have written "*glynt*;" *glimpse* being a word which was not then generally adopted. "*Glynsing*" occurs at p. 39, line 5. *Glynt* seems to have been derived from the participle "*glent*," *glanced*.

————— As she her eyen glent

Aside, anon she gan his sword espy. *Troil. and Cres. B. IV. l. 1223.*

Note 18, page 26, line 13. *Print a thought.*]

"*Thought*," here, as in many other passages in Surrey's poems, means simply "*Love*." In like manner, "*wealth*" means a state of happiness or enjoyment. See page 8, line 17, with the notes on the passage.

Each beast may choose his fere" according to his kind. Page 26.

As a composition, this piece can claim little merit: but it is valuable from the circumstance of its preserving an account of a quarrel between Surrey and the Fair Geraldine, which, as we hear nothing of any reconciliation afterwards, was the occasion probably of his renouncing his ill-fated passion. Surrey is designated under the figure of the White Lion: the Fair Geraldine under that of the Wolf. These were the crests of their respective families.

Note 1, page 26, line 16. *Like to their beastly kind.*]

"Have the power of shewing, according to their several natures, some expression of kindness." There is so little connection between the first couplet, and the lines immediately following, that I suspect something has been lost. The Harington MS. confirms this conjecture: it reads,

A lion saw I *there* as white as any snow.

The adverb "*there*" evidently implies a previous description of the place where the event afterwards detailed took place. Had such description been preserved, we should have been enabled to form some conjecture as to the time when this quarrel happened.

Note 2, page 26, line 17. *A lion saw I late, &c.*]

The arms of the Howard family are a lion, argent. Nothing is more frequent with the poets of our own, and indeed of every other country, to designate persons by their armorial bearings. The only instance I shall quote in confirmation of this will be from Spenser's *Daphnida*, where, speaking of the Lady Douglas Howard, daughter to Henry Howard Viscount Bindon, Surrey's grand-son, he describes her under the figure of a White Lioness. She married Sir Arthur Gorges, Spenser's intimate friend: from this circumstance Spenser was induced perhaps to take considerable pains with that Poem. It contains many beautiful passages, and has many expressions, which prove from their similarity to corresponding expressions in Surrey, that Spenser had not only read Surrey's poems, but that he had studied his style with attention. "The lovely Lioness," as she is designated, died young;

She fell away in her first ages spring

While yet her leaf was green and fresh her rind,

And whilst her branch fair blossoms forth did bring.

The manner in which the attachment began is thus emblematically but prettily expressed:

It there befel as I the fields did range

Fearless and free, a fair young Lioness,

White as the native rose before the change

Which Venus blood did in her leaves impress,

I spied playing on the grassy plain

Her youthful sports and kindly wantonness,

That did all other beasts in beauty stain.

Much was I moved at so goodly sight,

Whose like before mine eye had seldom seen,

And gan to cast how I her compass might,

And bring to hand that yet had never been;

So well I wrought with mildness and with pain,
That I her caught disporting on the green,
And brought away fast bound with silver chain.

And afterwards I handled her so fair,
That though by kind she stout and salvage were,
For being born an ancient Lion's heir,
And of the race that all wild beasts do fear,
Yet I her fram'd and won so to my bent,
That she became so meek and mild of chere,
As the least lamb in all my flock that went.

Note 3, page 26, line 21. *And as he pranced.*]

The word *pranced* has here an unpleasing effect; at least to modern ears. It probably was used in allusion to the action of the lion in the Howard arms, which is rampant.

Note 4, page 26, line 23. *I might perceive a wolf.*]

As the Fitz-Gerald family does not at present bear a wolf on their shield, or use it either as a crest or a supporter, there would be some difficulty in accommodating this passage to the Fair Geraldine, were it not that in a MS. description of the arms of the principal Irish nobility in the time of Henry the Eighth, preserved in the Harleian collection, a wolf is there given as the crest then used by the Earls of Kildare; a circumstance which is not noted, I believe, by any Heraldic writer. Had this authority been wanting, we still should have had sufficient ground for considering the Fair Geraldine to have been the person here designated by the white wolf; for it may be inferred from a passage in Hall's Satires that the term "wolf" was used to describe Ireland, and the Irish generally:

So ships he to the *wolfish Western Isle*
Among the savage kerns in sad exile. *Book IV. Sat. 5.*

It should be noticed indeed that Drayton in his notes upon Surrey's Heroical Epistle considers Lady Stanhope, who was afterward married to the Protector Somerset, to have been the White Wolf in question. But I do not find it any where mentioned that either the Stanhopes or the Seymours ever bore a wolf as any part of their cognizance; neither is there any authority whatever for supposing that Surrey had any attachment to Lady Stanhope; all writers agree, that the Fair Geraldine was the sole object of his "amorous vow." In one of Gascoign's poems is a line which seems to bear allusion to the passage before us:

The fairest Wolf will chuse the foulest for her mate. *P. 170. Ed. 1810.*

Note 4, page 26, line 23. *As white as whale's bone.*]

That is, "as white as ivory:" for before that ivory from the elephant's tooth

was generally known in Europe, the ivory in common use was that made from the teeth of the sea horse, which were then an article of commerce obtained from Russia, and the north. Alfred in his preface to his translation of Orosius says, that Othere informed him that one of the objects of his voyage round the North Cape was "on account of the horse-whales, because they have very beautiful bone for their teeth." See *Barrington's Ed.* of Alfred's Translation of Orosius, p. 12. Chaloner mentions them in his Account of the commodities of Russia: see Hakluyt, Vol. I. p. 237. They were said by Burrough to have been then sold at a ruble a piece. *Hakluyt as above*, p. 280. The name of "whale's bone" was continued for ivory long after the extension of commerce had rendered elephant's teeth common, and superseded the use of the teeth of the morse, or sea-horse. Real ivory, however, in the reign of Henry the Eighth was still scarce. For this reason, perhaps, Skelton enumerates whales-bone, among precious stones:

An hundred steps, mounting to the hall,
One of jasper, another of *whales bone*,
Of diamants, pointed by the rocky wall.

Instances of this use of the word may be found in almost all the writers of those times.

Her skin was white as *whalès bone*, or milk.

Haweis Pas. of Pleasure, fol. G. 4.

—— a coral lip of hue

With teeth as white as *whalès-bone*,ⁿ each one in order due.

Turberville, Ed. 1810, p. 645.

This is the flower that smiles on every one

To shew his teeth as white as *whalès bone*.

Love's Lab. Lost. Act V. Sc. II.

See the note on the passage, in which many other examples are given. Sometimes the word "bone" was used simply:

And as she slept, anon right tho' her mette (dreamt)

How that an eagle feathered *white as bone*,

Under her breast his long clawes sett,

And out her heart he rent,

Troil. and Cres. B. II. l. 926.

I apprehend that Geraldine was called "an ivory white wolf," not because the crest was argent, but in reference to her complexion, which was evidently fair: see l. 10, of this poem. In another place Surrey tells us her "*hue was bright*," p. 3, l. 20, and that her hair was light coloured, as the expression "golden tress" implies. See p. 18, l. 5.

Note 5, page 27, line 9. *Do way! I let thee weet.*]

"Hence! I give you to understand!" "Do way," or "do away," was a common expression to mark a desire to have any thing removed:

Do 'way your physic! I faint no more.

Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p. 303. Ed. 1814.

Do 'way! do 'way! they wote nothing of this.

Troil. and Cres. B. II. l. 896.

Note 7, page 27, line 17. *A Lion of the race.*]

Not of the Royal family, as the words at first sight might seem to imply, and as the connexion of the princely house of Norfolk with the then reigning family would justify; but simply, "one of that family which defeated and slew a crowned King," namely, James the Third of Scotland, who was slain at the famous battle of Flodden Field, in which Surrey's father, at that time Lord Thomas Howard, bore a principal part under his own father, the then Earl of Surrey, the commander in chief. The word *race* is used at the fourth line of this piece exactly in this sense:

"The lion seemed well to lead the *race*."

that is, "he seemed evidently to be the head of the family;" meaning himself, the eldest son.

Note 8, page 27, line 19. *Whose nature is to prey upon no simple food.*]

Puttenham has preserved a speech of Queen Elizabeth, which both in expression and sentiment reminds us of these words of Surrey's. "At her first coming to the Crown, when a Knight of this realm, who had very insolently behaved himself towards her when she was Lady Elizabeth, fell upon his knee to her, and besought her pardon, suspecting, as there was good cause, that he should have been sent to the Tower, she said unto him most mildly; "Do you not know that we are descended from the Lion? whose nature is not to harm or prey upon the mouse, or any other such small vermin." *Art of Eng. Poet. Book III. ch. 24, p. 249.*

Note 9, page 27, line 24. *Since that for love, one of the race, &c.*]

This means Thomas Howard, second son of Thomas second Duke of Norfolk, by Agnes his second wife, and consequently half uncle to Surrey. He was attainted of high treason, and committed to the Tower, June 1536, for having without the knowledge or approbation of King Henry VIIIth, affianced himself to the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to Margaret Queen of Scotland, the King's sister. Lord Thomas Howard remained in confinement till the day of his death, which was Allhallows Eve, 1538. Upon his death the Lady Margaret, who had been confined likewise, was set at liberty. See *Dugdale's Baronage, V. II. p. 268.* Holinshed, *Ed. 1808, Vol. III. p. 798 and 805.* It is probable that this unfortunate affiance was the effect on the part of Lord Thomas Howard, as well as on the part of the Lady Margaret, of real attachment and not of ambition. Had he relinquished all claim to her hand, he probably would have been released from his confinement. It is

likely therefore that his love, as Surrey intimates, really cost him his life. See *Memoirs*, p. xxxv. There is preserved among the Harleian MSS. a very pleasing letter written by the Lady Margaret, in which she speaks of the Lord T. Howard as her husband, in terms which fully justify the belief that the attachment was mutual and sincere. That letter will be found in the Appendix, No. VII. The allusion made by Surrey to the event, and the terms of pity and commendation in which he speaks of his Uncle, lead us to believe that he considered his imprisonment to have been an act of injustice, and that he felt some resentment at the injury which his family sustained.

Note 10, page 27, line 27. — *nothing could remove.*]

Remove is here to be understood as meaning to *alter* or *vary in affection*. Shakespear uses the word in the same sense:

Then happy I that love and am beloved

Where I may not *remove*, nor be removed. *Son.* 25.

See also page 66, l. 9.

Such changes makes the earth^h and doth *remove* for none.

Note 11, page 27, line *ult.* — *that would have died right fain.*]

These two lines in all the printed copies are given thus:

Other there be whose lives do linger yet in pain

Against their wills preserved are that would have died fain.

The reading supplied by the Harington MS. is far preferable: and the sense is better expressed. An evident allusion is made to some particular circumstance in Surrey's life; it should seem that he had experienced those disappointments, which had abated somewhat of his natural love of life; and made him value it only as it afforded scope for the exercise of virtue.

Note 12, page 28, line 4. — *to trace by craft you made.*]

This expression clearly intimates that the Fair Geraldine was not free from that weakness which is often too generally charged upon the sex; fondness of admiration, though bought at the expense of suffering to others. She must have been still very young when this piece was written: when therefore Surrey charges her with having for many years practised upon others the same arts which she had practised upon himself, we must allow something for a poet's exaggeration, and the warmth of a lover's feeling. Still I fear we are to conclude that Geraldine's disposition had begun early to develope itself; and that she was a studied coquette.

Note 13, page 28, line 7. *I fawn where I am fled.*]

The Harington MS. reads, "I fawn where I am fed," which gives so imperfect

a sense, that the reading of the printed copies is retained, as being probably the true reading.

Note 14, page 28, line 14. *And to such beasts, &c.*]

This line is given as it stands in the Harington MS. The reading there exhibited is preferable to that of the printed copies, though the passage is not intelligible even as it now stands. Surrey may have written, "accurrent," deriving the word, like "occurrent," from the Latin; in the sense of "running to, seeking towards." The word "travail" means honourable pursuit, as at p. 46, l. 4. The sense therefore of the passage may be: "Though some who ought to be engaged in higher and brighter pursuits, chuse to seek and fawn on such as yourself." *Currant* is a term in heraldry to denote an animal *passant*. Should the word "accurrent" (for which I have no authority) be thought objectionable, with no great violence to the text, we might alter "a currant," to accouchant; for "*couchant*," a term in heraldry, applicable to the idea of fawning. The whole line would be rendered still clearer if we might venture to introduce another alteration, and read it thus:

And to such beasts *accouchant* fawn," as should seek travail bright.

"Though some who ought to be seeking honourable pursuits, chuse rather to crouch and fawn on such persons as yourself." Turberville has a passage in which he imitates the lines before us; they will serve as a general illustration:

The heart within my breast" with trembling feare doth quake.
And save your love (my Dear)" nought can my torment slake.
To slea a yielding prey" I judge it not your kind:
Your Beauty bids me hope" more ruth in you to find.

Note 15, page 28, line 18. *That for no stale doth care.*]

The "stale" was a piece of flesh held out to allure, or draw home to their master those falcons which, from a desire of prey had flown too far and had not obeyed the call. With the more noble sort of falcons the *stale* was not necessary: with the greedy and more ravenous it was; these were not to be *reclaimed* even by the stale, but would go where they might gorge themselves on carrion food. The allusion to the subject is obvious. It is common with all our early amatory poets.

Note 16, page 28, line 22. *Shall bode them no defence.*]

The printed editions read "shall boot them no defence," shall be of no avail for their defence. I believe the reading in the text from the Harington MS. may be supported by sufficient authority.

Note 17, page 29, line 3. *Was the author of the game.*]

From this expression it may be inferred, that the entertainment at which the

event described occurred was one given by Surrey himself, perhaps in honour of the Fair Geraldine. If this were so, that circumstance would dispose him to feel more sensibly the affront that had been offered to him.

Too dearly had I bought my green and youthful years. Page 29.

There is great similarity of expression and thought in some lines of this piece and in some of the piece immediately preceding, which renders it probable that it was written by Surrey on the subject of his own ill success in love, and not on that of another person. Compare l. 14 and 15, and the line next following, with l. 45 and 72 of the foregoing piece. Surrey speaks in the character of another person to give a greater air of truth to his complaint of injuries received.

Note 1, page 29, line 5. *Too dearly had I bought, &c.*]

"I should have occasion to lament my youth as utterly wasted, and lost indeed, if I had not obtained wisdom enough to distinguish now, in my old age, between a genuine and a false and feigned passion." The metaphorical expression of "buying his youthful years" was familiar to the writers of Surrey's age. See the Poem in Tottel's Songs and Sonnets of Uncertain Authors, which begins: "I lent my love to loss," &c. *Ed.* 1814, p. 182, and the note upon it.

Note 2, page 29, line 8. *Judge in colours dim.*]

"I can judge by the expression of a person's looks, though that expression be studied and artificial." For the use of the word "colours" in this sense, see p. 24, l. 10, and the note upon it.

Note 3, page 29, line 14. *That till thou know my whole disease.*]

In the late edition of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets this line is given by conjecture,

That till thou know *thy* whole disease. *Ed.* 1814, p. 27, l. 6.

as if the meaning were, "I cannot be at peace till I have made thee sensible of the whole of thy misfortune in being thus deceived." The alteration is not absolutely necessary. The meaning of the common reading may be this, "I cannot be at peace till thou art told all my distress" i. e. all that I suffer at seeing thee thus abused. In this case however, we ought probably to read "misease," instead of "disease."

Note 4, page 29, line 16. *That all it yields.*]

This expression, if it be the genuine reading, must here mean "every thing;"

"every other consideration;" but this is so inelegant and strange a licence, that I suspect the passage to be corrupt, and that we ought to read,

That *Reason* yields to thy desire," and follows thee by fits.

Without some such correction the latter part of the verse is hardly intelligible.

Note 5, page 29, line 20. *She bare thee but in hand, &c.*]

"She does but feign affection in order to deceive you."

"To bear in hand," means, to deceive wilfully with false promises, and by raising vain expectations. The expression is of frequent occurrence in these poems, and among our early writers.

Beatrice, indignant at the false accusations brought against Hero, exclaims:

"O that I were a man!—What! *bear her in hand*, until they come to take hands; and then with public accusation, uncovered slander, unmitigated rancour!—O! that I were a man! I would eat his heart in the market place." *Much ado about Nothing*, Act IV. Sc. I.

And thus in Cymbeline:

Your daughter whom she bore in hand to love

With such integrity, she did confess

Was as a scorpion to her sight. Act V. Sc. V.

Note 6, page 29, line 21. *I see her pleasant chere, &c.*]

"I observe that when thou art busied in urging thy suit earnestly, thy mistress assumes an expression of countenance as if she loved thee; but when thou art gone I see another person come, who receives substantial proof of affection." Who this person was it is now almost vain to conjecture. He evidently was a person much inferior to Surrey in rank and fortune. But we are not to conclude that he was actually of *base degree*. This might have been only a strong expression to describe the great inferiority of his condition when compared with Surrey's. The expression is at all events too strong to be applied to Sir Anthony Brown, whom the Fair Geraldine married previous to her marrying the Earl of Lincoln. I once thought it not impossible but that the person intended might have been John à Leigh with whom Surrey had a personal dispute, which was prosecuted with so great animosity that the Privy Council thought proper to interfere, and confined Surrey in consequence to the Fleet. See the Memoirs prefixed to this volume, p. xxxix.

Wrapt in my careless cloak," as I walk to and fro. Page 30.

We recognize in this piece that easy flow of versification and tenderness of sentiment, which distinguishes all Surrey's compositions. We may suppose it to have been written at that period of his attachment, when, being convinced from sad experience that he held no secure place in the Fair Geraldine's affections, he began seriously to think of resisting, and conquering his passion. The ground of his present complaint is this; that though the Fair Geraldine never intended to return his love, her vanity made her wish to retain him as an admirer; for, though "*a sweet thought*" towards him did never "*truly grow in her heart*," she nevertheless gave him from time to time such encouragement, as induced him to continue his attentions. From the concluding lines we learn, that the beautiful but undeserving object of Surrey's admiration was at that period still very young; she was only in "*her tender years*," though she had made more than a common proficiency in those arts of dissimulation, by which the female character is sometimes degraded, and the fairest hopes of man's happiness are, alas! too frequently destroyed.

Note 1, page 30, line 1. *Wrapt in my careless cloak.*]

This expression was meant to imply, that Surrey had acquired that degree of self command which enabled him to contemplate his passion, and the fair object of it alike with indifference. A sort of illusion common to all lovers; and never more indulged than when their slavery is the greatest.

Note 2, page 30, line 6. *The t'one may rage, &c.*]

Borrowed evidently from himself. See p. 24, line 21. The redundant article repeated before the words *one*, and *other*, with an ellipsis to avoid the unpleasant collision of two vowels, was a mode of writing not peculiar to Surrey. It was adopted by all the best writers of those days.

Note 3, page 30, line 7. *And wonder thinketh me.*]

"And methinketh me, it is a wonder how Love can wound the one, &c."

Note 4, page 30, line 10. *And liveth all too long.*]

Surrey's meaning is; "The sorrow I suffer in consequence of such disingenuous behaviour is so great, that it would be better for me to have died long ago." See p. 27, line ult. Such expressions of despondency are not to be too scrupulously weighed, or too rigidly censured. They are to be viewed only as an exaggerated description of feeling. In the first moment of destitution, before the mind of the faithful lover is habituated to his loss, it seems to have ever been the language of the heart to exclaim;

Che debb' io far? che mi consigli amore?

Tempo è ben di morire

Ed ho tardato più ch' io non vorrei.

It is not until after some interval that the voice of Reason is heard, which says,

Pon freno al gran dolor che ti trasporta!

Che per soverchie voglie

Si perde 'l Cielo, ove 'l tuo core aspira.

Note 5, page 30, line 17. *I feel and find it plain.*]

"The careless cloak" which Surrey affected to wear, was only assumed: in vain does he endeavour to talk as an indifferent person. "The wounded wight," whom he pretends to compassionate a few lines above, he now discovers to be no other than himself. "I feel, and find it plain." Genuine feeling cannot be long suppressed. It is probable that Surrey had in his memory the following lines of Ariosto, when he wrote those before us:

Ma non però disegna dell' affanno

Che lo distrugge, alleggerir chi l' ama,

E ristorar d' ogni passato danno

Con quel piacer, ch' ogni amator più brama:

Ma alcuna finzione, alcuno inganno

Da tenerlo in speranza ordisce, e trama;

Tanto che al suo bisogno se ne serva;

Poi torna all' uso suo dura, e proterva.

Orl. Fur. Can. I. st. 51.

Note 6, page 30, line 21. *She wrasteth new her grace.*]

To wrast, or *wrest*, is, "to distort; to give a new direction to any thing." The meaning of the passage is; "She gives a new turn of expression to her countenance; and, fearful of losing so honourable an admirer, to engage him to continue his service she looks at him with artificial smiles of feigned affection."

Note 7, page 31, line 3. *Do sit and mark the row.*]

A common expression, to mark any number of persons of the same character, or under the same circumstances of feeling.

And se'st thou now, yon multitude on row? *King's Quair, C. III. st. 17.*

"Do you not behold that group of lovers?"

Come thou and see them rewing all in row.

Sackville's Induc. Mir. for Mag. f. 207.

"Come and see an assemblage of unfortunate persons all lamenting."

Note 5, page 31, line 5. *So well are sped.*]

The use of the word *sped*, in this passage, is not common. *Sped* means often "one who has succeeded to any place or post, which he had desired." The general sense of the passage is, if the line be correctly given, "If she, in her tender years, has so profited by her wiles, what, alas! may she not attempt in an advanced age?"

Note 9, page 31, line 6. *When hoary hairs are powdered in the head.*]

"To powder" is an heraldic term, to signify any thing thickly bestrewed, or sprinkled with something of a different colour. The word was sometimes more properly spelt "*pouldred*," from the old French word "*pouldre*," to reduce to dust. The word was frequently used by our best early writers both in prose and verse. See Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, B. III. Can. ii. st. 25, and the note upon it: Todd's Ed. Vol. iv. p. 311. The expression was deemed by Milton expressive and poetical. He uses it in one of the most laboured passages in the *Paradise Lost*:

————— He through Heaven,
That open'd wide her blazing portals, led
To God's eternal house direct the way:
A broad and ample road, whose dust is gold,
And pavement stars, as stars to thee appear
Seen in the galaxy, that milky way,
Which nightly as a circling zone thou seest
Powder'd with stars. *Book. VII. ver. 581.*

Girt in my guiltless gown" as I sit here and sew. Page 31.

This piece is given here for the first time entire from the Harington MS. In all the printed copies the last eighteen lines are wanting. In the first quarto, it was placed among the poems of Uncertain Authors, with the title "Of the Dissembling Lover." It was afterwards moved to the place which it now occupies in this, and in all the other editions, that it might follow the poem to which it is a reply. There is no reason to suppose that it was written by the Fair Geraldine herself; at least we may hope it was not; for it breathes an air of such bitter insult as no one of the gentler sex, not wholly destitute of generosity, could be capable of shewing towards an unsuccessful lover. We may therefore attribute it to one of the lady's friends, perhaps to the very rival alluded to in Surrey's Poem. This, however, will not wholly exculpate Geraldine. She who can wound the feelings of a deserted Lover by copying what another dictates, makes the insult her own, and has little to plead in her defence.

Note 1, page 31, line 7. *Girt in my guiltless gown.*]

An expression suggested evidently by the opening of Surrey's Poem preceding, and one which was meant to intimate that the Fair Geraldine was innocent of that coquetry of which she had been accused.

Note 2, page 31, line ult. *The truth nor right had ta'en no place.*]

Instances of this double negative occur frequently among our early writers. We should now express the sentence differently.

Note 3, page 32, line 2. *Condemned should have be.*]

Be, for *been*; a mode of writing of perpetual occurrence, as well in prose as in verse. All the verses from the next line to the end have been added from the Harington MS.

Note 4, page 32, line 4. *Meet matter compare.*]

This is evidently corrupt, unless *compare* may be supposed to mark the appearing of a criminal before a judge: if so the sense may be; "they laid to her charge matters which made it meet for her to appear before the judge." *Comparuit* is I believe the legal word in Latin to mark the appearance of a person cited.

Note 5, page 32, line 8. *Taking her wrong in worth.*]

Bearing her injury patiently. See page 7, line 19, and the note upon it.

Although I had a check. Page 32.

This piece is distinguished by no elegance of either thought or style. The language is what we seldom meet with falling from Surrey's pen, vulgar and trivial.

Note 1, page 32, line 21. *Although I had a check.*]

The thought in this stanza, which forms the idea whereon the whole piece turns, was probably borrowed from Chaucer. In his description of the mutability of Fortune, in his Dream, he says;

My boldness is turned to shame;
For false Fortune hath played a game
At chess with me, alas! the while!

He tells us afterwards that Fortune was "craftier to play at chess"

Than Athalus, that made the game.

The conceit was at all events a common one. See Sackville, *Comp. of D. of Buck. Mir. for Mag. fo.* 219. *Gascoigne's Poems*, p. 494. Ed. 1810.

Note 2, page 32, line 23. *I have found a neck.*]

A licentious mode of writing and pronouncing the word "nook," to make it rhyme with "check."

Note 3, page 33, line 8. *I will have your ferse.*]

The *ferse* is the name given formerly to that piece in chess which we now call the Queen. The word is of Persian origin; for the game was derived to us from the East.

The false thief, what hath she do!
Trowest thou? by our Lord I will thee say.
At chess with me she began to play
With her false draughts full diverse.
She stale on me and took my *ferse*;
And when I saw my *ferse* away,
Alas! I couth no longer play,
But said "Farewell! sweet I wis,
"And farewell all that ever there is."
Therewith Fortune y-said, "Check here!
"And make, in the mid point of the checkere."

Dream of Chaucer, l. 650.

The word seems to have been sometimes taken for all the pieces generally:

Ne, say not so! for truly
Though ye had lost the *ferses* twelve,
And for sorrow murd' red yourselve,
Ye should be dampned in this case.

Dream of Chaucer, 722.

Note 4, page 33, line ult. *If I can give thee mate.*]

Perhaps a play upon the word "mate" is here intended, as in Chaucer:

Shall no husband say'n to me, "Check, mate!"

Troil. and Cress. B. II. l. 754.

In winters just return" when Boreas gan his reign. Page 34.

Puttenham considered this piece to be descriptive of Surrey's unhappy passion, and conceives that the two first lines were intended to mark precisely the season of the year when that passion began. Having quoted the first lines, he says; "I would

fain learn of some good maker, (poet) whether the noble Earl of Surrey spoke this in figure of periphrase, or not. For mine own opinion, I think that if he meant to describe the winter season, he would not have disclosed it so broadly, as to say "Winter," at the first word, for that had been against the rules of art, and without any good judgment; which in so learned and excellent a personage we ought not to suspect. We say therefore, that for "Winter," it is no periphrase. The second verse that follows it is a periphrase; seeming that thereby he intended to shew in what part of the winter his loves gave him anguish; that is, the time which we call the fall of the leaf, which begins in the month of October." *Art of Eng. Poes.* p. 162.

Puttenham's conjecture is established by what Surrey has before said in the poem which begins, "The sun hath twice brought forth the tender green," p. 1, where he tells us, that he dated his love from that particular period of the year when the winds "had begun their cruelty, but had not quite stripped the trees of their leaves;" evidently about the beginning of autumn. In point of poetic merit this poem cannot be thought to rank high amongst Surrey's compositions. Perhaps too the plan of the piece, and the fiction on which it turns, may be condemned as trite and uninteresting. But we must not forget, that in both these points Surrey has some claim to the merit for invention. To talk of shepherds, and sheep-folds, has long indeed ceased to be interesting, because those images can be considered now as nothing more than plagiarism: but with Surrey they were in a great degree original. It would be hard indeed to condemn in him that mode of writing, as wanting novelty, which he was almost the first to introduce into our language.

Spenser, in his *Daphnaida*, an Elegy on the death of the Lady Douglas Howard, grand-daughter to Thomas Viscount Bindon, Surrey's younger brother, makes evident and frequent allusion to the poem before us.

Note 1, page 34, line 2. *And every tree unclothed fast.]*

"Unclothed," must here be considered as a reflexive verb, "Unclothed themselves." For this use of the metaphor, see p. 21, l. 13, and the note upon it. As this is not the first occasion on which Surrey notices the precise time when his unfortunate passion began, I am inclined to think that the circumstance of its having begun at the pale and sickly season of the year, was one to which he attached importance. That he should advert to it once was natural. Every lover dwells with delight on,

——— Il loco, e 'l tempo e l' ora
Che sì alto miraron gli occhi suoi ;

But that he should frequently recur to the mention of it, excites a suspicion that

it was connected in Surrey's mind with something that affected the success of his wishes.

Note 2, page 34, line 3. *As sheep are then in hold.*]

"As" is here put by itself, as in other places, simply for "*when as*."

Note 3, page 34, line 4. *It sat me on.*]

"It was urgent, or pressing upon me."

Note 4, page 34, line 6. *Under a palm tree I heard one cry.*]

Unless the *palm* allude to some particular armorial bearing or device, I suspect we should read "*plane*." Surrey never for the sake of false poetic ornament deserted nature, or represented objects where they did not exist. The line preceding is obscure, perhaps it is corrupt.

Note 5, page 34, line 8. *Could him attain.*]

"Attain," from the old French "*atainer*," to *injure* or *impair*, is used by many of our early writers in the sense here given to it by Surrey. Thus Sackville:

Tell what thou art? and whence? for well I see

Thou canst not dure, with sorrow thus *attaint*.

Induc. Mir. for Mag. fol. 207.

"*At/aint*," the law term, is from "*attaminare*," to *corrupt in blood*. See Roquefort, *Glossaire de la Langue Romaine*.

Note 6, page 34, line 20. *If when to write thou learned first.*]

The writing here alluded to, which had given the Fair Geraldine so much offence, may be supposed to have been the poem which begins,

Each beast can chuse his fere," according to his kind. *page 26.*

And perhaps the two other pieces:

Too dearly had I bought " my green and youthful years. *p. 29.*

And

Wrapt in my careless cloak" as I walk to and fro'. *p. 30.*

Which may be considered as the cause of the final rupture between the Fair Geraldine and Surrey. See *Memoirs*, *page cxxvi.*

Note 7, page 34, line 23. *How he himself fordid, &c.*]

To *fordo* is, to *destroy utterly*. Thus Chaucer:

——— Alas! my niece, God forbid

That ye for any sorrow or any dread

Fordo thyself. ———

Shipman's Tale, Ox. Ed. 8005.

See Franklin's Tale, l. 11865, and Sackville's Induction.

And rearing her with anguish all *fordone*,
My spirits return'd and then I thus begun. *Mir. for Mag. fol. 207.*

The violent expression of Sorrow here described, was suggested probably by Chaucer's description of Troilus at Cressida's departure :

His head to the wall, his body to the ground,
Full oft he swapt, himselfen to confound. *Troi. and Cress. B. IV. l. 244.*

Sackville has imitated Surrey :

While I might see him throw his arms about,
And gainst the ground himself plunge with such force,
As if the life forthwith should leave the corpse.
Compl. D. of Buck. Mir. for Mag. fol. 222.

Note 8, page 35, line 3. *I rashly to him ran.]*

Rashly means "hastily; with speed;" and not *inconsiderately*, as the common use of the word might lead us to suppose :

And the whole family therewith adread,
Rashly out of their roused couches sprong,
And to the troubled chamber all in arms did throng.
Fairy Queen, B. III. Ca. i. st. 62.

Two passages in Turberville will clearly establish this to have been the meaning of the word :

And brought with it such heat["] as did inflame the face
Distaining it with scarlet red["] by *rashness* of the race.
Eng. Poets, 1810. p. 587.

I never staid upon["] those lines that were without,
But *rashly* ript the seal to rid["] my mind from dreadful doubt. *Ibid. p. 594.*

Note 9, page 35, line 10. *That life hath in despite.]*

A phrase copied from the Italian : "Avere la sua vita in odio. It was one familiar with Surrey. See p. 2, l. 15.

Note 10, page 35, line 13. *With that he gave a sigh.]*

"He sighed and shrieked with such violence, it seemed as if his cries would rend the heavens, and cause them to fall, and overwhelm him." Such seems to be the meaning of the passage; in this sense it has been imitated by Sackville in his Induction :

Thrice he began to tell his doleful tale,
And thrice the sighs did swallow up his voice;
At each of which he shrieked so withal,
As though the heavens rived with the noise. *Mir. for Mag. fol. 213.*

Note 11, page 35, line 17. *Sore feeble'd all for faint.]*

"Extremely enfeebled by the faintness that oppressed him." Turberville has copied the expression.

Then gan he shed his tears adown," then gan he make his plaint,
And then at length he fell to ground" *sore feeble'd all with faint.*

English Poets, ed. 1810, p. 625.

Note 12, page 35, line 20. *Whom Nature wrought, her cunning for to prove.]*

This is not the first time that Surrey has employed the thought before us to describe his beloved Geraldine. In the Sonnet addressed to her, at page 17, line 4, he says; "The beauty with which Nature has adorned you has

taught me to believe
How thou art made to shew her greatest skill."

This is expressed with elegance and gallantry. I cannot forbear noting, however, that the simple manner in which Chaucer expresses the same thought has its charms, and deserves to be admired. He describes the Duchess Blanche to have been fair and fresh,

and lively hewed,
And every day her beauty newed;
And nigh her face was alder best.
For certes Nature had such lest
To make that Fair, that truly she
Was her chief pattern of beauty,
And chief ensample of all her work.

Dream of Chaucer, l. 905.

Chaucer, like Surrey, seems to have been pleased with the thought. He varies it thus on another occasion: he says; I thought myself fortunate

— I was well ured,
Sithens I might have such grace
To see the ladies and the place;
Which were so fair, I you ensure
That to my dome, though that Nature
Would ever strive, and do her pain
She could not con, ne might attain
The least feature for to amend.
Though she would all her cunning spend
That unto beauty might avail,
It were but pain, and lost travail.

Chaucer's Dream, 144.

Note 13, page 35, line 24. *Ere we this faith forego.*]

From this expression, as well as from the lines immediately foregoing, we are led to infer that Surrey had just grounds for accusing his mistress of fickleness; for the hopes of happiness in which he had been led to indulge were not built, as is often the case, upon his wishes only; but upon some avowal of affection on the part of the Fair Geraldine.

Note 14, page 35, line 28. *Than Priam had of Troy.*]

The meaning of the words as they here stand is evidently this: "I sustained a greater loss than Priam had in that of Troy." But to compare the loss of a mistress to the loss of a town affords no just illustration. I apprehend that Surrey wrote,

Is me befallen a greater lossⁿ than Priamus' son of Troy?

i. e. "The injury I have sustained in the loss of my mistress is greater than ever Troilus, the son of Priam, experienced in the loss of his mistress, the fair, but fickle Cressida." Here the ground of the comparison is just. The allusion made to the story of Troilus, at the end of the piece, serves to render the emendation probable. The following passage will justify the use of the words adopted:

The double sorrow of Troilus to tell

That was the King Priamus' son of Troy. *Troi. & Cress. B. 1. l. 2.*

Note 15, page 35, line 29. *She beareth me in hand.*]

"To excuse her own fickleness she wishes the world to believe, that my unworthiness justifies her breach of promise." See Note 5, l. 20, p. 29.

Note 16, page 36, line 4. *Whose record lo!*]

The use of the pronoun "whose" in this place is incorrect. In reading we naturally refer it to the word "him," in the line preceding; whereas it really refers to "shepherd." "Go hence, Shepherd, thou whose testimony I wish to claim, to prove that dying I forgave her who was the cause of my death."

Note 17, page 36, line 13. *No marvel was it right.*]

"When I beheld him die, it was no wonder, though my heart did *right*, i. e. did immediately bleed for pity."

Note 18, page 36, line 20. *Restored by length of time.*]

I apprehend we ought to read,

—— and I my wits *recured* by length of time.

I, at length, recovered my wits. The verb *to recure* was frequently used in this sense. See *Chaucer's Rom. of Rose*, l. 4820; and *Spenser*,

After that Timias had again *recured*

The favour of Belphebe, &c.

Fairy Queen, B. VI. Ca. V. St. 12.

Note 19, page 36, line 24. *The worthy Troilus lay.*]

By one of those revolutions in taste which are common in the literature of all nations, the story of Troilus and Cressida, which for many ages was the delight and the admiration of our forefathers, is now seldom read. Formerly, every lover who wished to magnify his fidelity compared himself to Troilus, the paragon of constancy as well as valour; and every lady who was to be reproved for fickleness was likened to the fair but false Cressida. Chaucer contributed to support the popularity of that story, by making it the subject of one of his most laboured poems; a poem so universally read and admired, that for a long time Chaucer derived an higher reputation from that work than he did from his *Canterbury Tales*, or the *Flower and the Leaf*. It is, however, on these two last mentioned poems that his reputation now rests; and by these he is entitled to the praise of being one of the greatest poets this nation has produced.

In Surrey's time, Troilus and Cressida still continued to be esteemed "Chaucer's most special work." How greatly Surrey admired it may be collected from his frequent imitation of particular passages in it. To explain the place before us will be necessary to observe that Surrey, in common with his contemporaries, was in the habit of regarding the character of Troilus as the perfection of the lover's character. For Surrey to say therefore, "that the worthiest place for himself to be buried in was near the tomb of Troilus," was to say, in other words, that he had not only loved the Fair Geraldine with perfect attachment, but that he had never loved any person but herself: for it was part of the excellence of Troilus' character, that he never loved any one but only Cressida. For some further observations on Chaucer's Troilus and Cressida, see a poem in *Tottel's Songs and Sonnets*, ed. 1814, p. 228, which begins, "I read how Troilus served in Troy," and the notes upon it.

Note 20, page 36, line 26. *I covered it with blue.*]

Formerly particular colours had particular meanings assigned to them, and each, in the lover's dictionary, designated some quality or character of the mind; such as fickleness, constancy, jealousy, &c. Distant allusions to this custom are still preserved: but in Surrey's time, and long before, it was so general that the colour of the lover's dress, and even of his presents, was regulated by the feelings which he meant to express. Blue was the colour of constancy.

Cressida to comfort Troilus in her absence with an assurance of her inviolable attachment, proposes to send him a *blue* ring:

Have here and beareth him this *blue* ring,

For there is nothing might him better please

Save I myself.

Troil. and Cress. Book III. ver. 987.

It was in this spirit of the times perhaps that Henry VIII. sent a present of a turquois ring to Wolsey soon after his disgrace, from which the fallen favourite is

said to have derived the greatest comfort; considering that his master had thereby given him an assurance of the constancy of his regard.

In another of his poems, Chaucer, to reprove a lady for her inconstancy, bids her cease wearing a *blue gown*; for she was no longer entitled to bear that honourable colour:

Madam, ye have for your new-fangleness,
Many a servant put out of your grace:
I take my leave of your unstedfastness;
For well I wote while ye to live have space,
Ye cannot love full half year in a place.
To new thinges, your lust is ever keen;
Instead of *blue*, thus may ye wear all green.

Certain Ballads of Chaucer, p. 551. Ur. Ed. l. 171.

From which passage, confirmed by one in Lydgate, we collect that *green* was the colour which denoted fickleness.

Speaking of women's character in general, Lydgate says,

But trust me well, all is but apparance;
They can shew one (thing) and another mean,
Whose *blue* is lightly dyed into green. *Book of Troy, lib. 1. Ed. 1555.*

Instances of the purport of the several other colours might be easily adduced. I will only add that the conceit was by no means peculiar either to the lovers or the poets of our own country. Francesco Cei, a Florentine poet, in high estimation at the beginning of the sixteenth century, describes the custom as it prevailed among his own countrymen. With them however there was some little variation as to the signification of the colours. See, *Opere del preclarissimo Poeta Francesco Cei. Son. xix. ed. 1519.*

Note 21, page 36, line 27. *Whose soul by angel's power.*]

Surrey afterwards employs the same thought, and nearly the same words, on the death of his friend Wyatt:

But to the heavens that simple soul is fled. *Page 44.*

The expression "departed not so soon," I do not understand. There is indeed a passage in Sackville where a nearly similar construction occurs:

Yet shall not death deliver thee *so soon*
Out of thy woes, so happy shalt not be,
But to the eternal Jove this is my boon.

Comp. of D. of Buck. Mir. for Mag. fol. 223.

I am not however certain that this example explains the difficulty. In Sackville the meaning obviously is: "Death shall not remove thee so soon, but I shall have time first to offer this prayer." In Surrey the sense requires that we should understand the phrase "not so soon but," as equivalent to "as soon as." "Whose spirit *as soon as* it departed from the body, behold! it was carried by the angels up

into Heaven there to receive its sentence of reward." The idiom of our language would allow us to say "no sooner but," the conjunction "but," being sometimes used for the comparative "than." "No sooner than," is a phrase in daily use. After all I suspect that the passage is corrupt.

Though I regarded not. Page 37.

We may suppose this piece to have been addressed by Surrey to the Fair Geraldine in the hope of being once more restored to her favour. It is remarkable that on an occasion which suggested so many pleasing and tender ideas, and which was so well suited to Surrey's pathetic muse, a piece should have been written destitute of both elegance and feeling. The images are vulgar, and the language mean. However undeserving of notice the poem may be, many passages in it have found an imitator in Turberville.

Note 1, page 37, line 6. — *and wilful will to wite.*]

"To wite," is, "to blame," as well as to know. So Chaucer uses the word:

And though that I be jealous, wite me not. *Cant. Tales, l. 10051.*

And again, at l. 14588. The line may mean therefore, "my will were to be blamed as froward; headstrong." See *Turberville, Ed. 1810, p. 597.*

Note 2, page 37, line 8. *A falcon for a kite.*]

This might have been a proverbial expression. The falcon was esteemed the most generous of birds: the kite, the most ravenous.

Note 3, page 37, line 11. *If I esteemed a pese.*]

This is the original form of the word; it is the singular of which "peason" is the regular plural. See *page 21, line 2, and the note on the place.*

The word sounds at present inelegant: nevertheless Spenser uses it in one of his most animated compositions:

But after virtue gan for age to stoop

And mighty manhood brought a-bed of ease,

The vaunting poets found nought worth a pese.

Pastorals, October. Stanza XII.

Note 4, page 37, line 18. *Into the brittle port.*]

The harbour where the bottom is not firm enough to hold the anchor. See *Turberville, Eng. Poets, Vol. II. p. 593.*

Note 5, page 37, line 23. — *nor fickleness in ure.*]

"Where no fickleness is practised." Surrey seems here to quit the metaphor of the haven; and to speak of his mistress's disposition. For the word *ure*, see Note on line 22, page 6. See also *Turberville, ut sup. p. 635.*

Note 6, page 38, line 6. — *to hunt the ganders foe.*]

"The fox." Fox hunting has somewhat risen in estimation since Surrey's day. I believe that it would not be considered now as an ignoble sport in comparison of deer hunting.

Note 6, page 38, line 15. *Yet new change to begin.*]

The reading in all the printed editions, is "*Or new change to begin.*" The emendation introduced into the text, will be approved perhaps as tending to render the passage more intelligible. "You know I was desirous to obtain, and am reluctant to lose your favour, *and yet*—to suspect me of change! how can these things accord."

Note 7, page 38, line 20. *The constance of the mind.*]

Some Editions read, "*constancy.*" But "*constance*" is probably the right reading, though the word is not a common one. It occurs in *Turberville*:

"Cause they their plighted hests" unbroken aye reserved
And planted *constance* in their hearts," from whom they never swerved. *P. 592.*

In the same manner "*castice*" is also used for *chastity*.

"*O loathsome place where I.*" Page 39.

The same observation applies to this which applies to the poem preceding. It is much inferior to what might have been expected from the subject. How beautiful is the strain of thought in which Surrey indulged when he visited the place which reminded him of his lost friend! and how suitably were his feelings on that occasion expressed. Here the ideas are for the most part trivial, and the language both inelegant and obscure. It is difficult to account for the disparity.

Note 1, page 39, line 4. *Hath made her thought appear.*]

This passage can be understood as it now stands only by supposing that Surrey had the Platonic system in view, and that by the word "*thought*" he meant to express the "*Idea*" of the Platonists, or that pure essential form, of which the visible or exterior form is only the material expression. Viewed in this light, we may understand Surrey to say: "When her eye, looking upon me with an expression of goodness and

benignity left on my mind the impression of her Thought, her Idea; and enabled me to form some notion of that mental beauty, of which her person is but the type."

Note 2, page 39, line 5. *By glynsing with such grace.*

I have introduced "*glynsing*" into the text, from the 8vo. ed. of 1568 and 1574, conceiving it to be the original reading. See note on l. 10, p. 26. The general meaning of the passage seems to be; "Shewing me so great favour, that fortune became envious; and determined that our mutual happiness should not be of long duration." But this meaning is very obscurely and imperfectly expressed by the words as they now stand.

Note 3, page 39, line 20. *But happy is the man, &c.]*

"But that man is to be considered happy, who having never loved, has avoided that grief which Love knows so well how to teach his servants to suffer; the grief of wanting that, which alone can afford comfort."

Note 4, page 39, line 23. *A common plague that binds.]*

The printed editions read, "a common *plage*." I have never met with the word *plage* in the sense of a "bond or fetter," which is what the passage would require. *Plage* is however often put for *plague*, as in Chaucer; "Think this well! that every great swearer, not compelled lawfully to swear, the *plage* shall not depart from his house, while he useth unlawful swearing." *Parsons' Tale*, Ox. ed. V. iii. p. 207. The word *plague*, therefore, has been introduced into the text. The expression "common plague" may mean, "That plague which all human beings commonly endure:"

Amor; che a nullo amar perdona.

A passage in Gascoigne shews that he understood Surrey in this sense:

In rechless youth, *the common plague of love*

Infected me. —————

See *Poems*, Ed. 1810, p. 539.

Note 5, page 40, line 8. *That is within this thrall.]*

The meaning of this stanza seems to be; "This also is one of the properties of love: its very enjoyments create a thousand troubles: whilst those enjoyments themselves are of but short duration: an injury this, which is not only certain to occur, but is the greatest of all the injuries which the slavery of love entails upon its votaries."

"*The fancy which that I have served long.*" Page 40.

I know not why Warton should call this Surrey's last Sonnet; many of his poems were written evidently subsequent to it: neither do I understand why he should suppose it to have been composed amid the fatigues of a protracted campaign against Boulogne. Surrey himself tell us he was in Base Bullayne when he wrote it: that is, in the Lower Town of Boulogne, where he did not reside till he was Governor of that place, in 1545.

In this Sonnet Surrey gives a faithful picture of his heart. The Fair Geraldine had now married Sir Anthony Browne. Reason, therefore, and every sentiment of duty urged Surrey to occupy his thoughts with other objects. He solicits therefore active employment; he obtains the command of Boulogne: he goes there: but still the remembrance of his passion pursues him; and, though he blames himself for so doing, he derives pleasure in brooding over his past attachment. When love has once firmly rooted itself in a faithful heart, not even a sense of injury from hopes unworthily betrayed, can obliterate the recollection "that such things were, and were most dear."

Note 1, page 40, line 17. *The Fancy which that I have served.*]

"*Fancy*" was generally used in Surrey's days, and indeed long after for *Love*. Shakespear frequently so employs the word:

—— If ever (as that ever may be near)

You meet in some fresh cheek the power of fancy.

As You Like It, Act III. sc. 5.

i. e. feel the power of Love. Thus "*fancy-free*," means; "free from the effect or power of Love." *Mid. Night's Dream, Act I. Sc. 2.* In the same manner "*fancy sick*," was what we now call "*love-sick*;" it denoted an heart oppressed with the cares and solitudes of Love. It might be the subject of a pleasing inquiry to trace by what connection of ideas "*Fancy*" came to be considered synonymous with "*Love*."

Note 2, page 41, line 3. *Till I saw faith more strong.*]

"Until I was conscious of having greater faith, or confidence in my own strength."

Note 3, Page 41, line 6. *I met my guide.*]

We may conclude the guide here alluded to was Reason:

—— Il buon Duca

Chi fa che 'l uom' non si' vergogni mai.

"*Laid in my quiet bed in study as I were.*" Page 41.

The pensive strain of thought pursued in this little poem is highly pleasing. It is characteristic of a mind which was by nature contemplative, and had been rendered by early disappointment, melancholy. The versification is fluent, the language simple and unaffected; and the picture drawn with much truth of colouring.

Note 1, page 41, line 14. *That now I sigh'd, &c.*]

In this line and in the 28th, the Harington MS. reads "sight," instead of "sigh'd." Many participles, when contracted by the omission of the "e," were spelt with a "t" instead of the "d." "*Sight*" and "*sigh'd*" are the same word.

Note 2, page 41, line 23. *And musing thus I think.*]

There seems no reason for this sudden transition from the past tense to the present. I suspect we ought to read:

And musing thus, *I thought*," the case *was* very strange,
That man from wealth to live in woe" *should* ever seek to change.

Note 3, page 42, line 2. *How it doth shew my dented chews, &c.*]

The Harington MS. reads "*dented jaws*;" which word seems to have been substituted as of a common word for one which was beginning to grow obsolete. I have therefore retained the reading given in all the printed copies. *Chew*, or *chow*, or *chol*, are what we call the *jole*, or *jowl*; that portion of flesh round the lower jaw, which in age loses its firmness and becomes dented or wrinkled. *Cheek* for *chow*, or *chew*, is still common in Scotland, and answers to our *cheek by jole*.

Our Laird himself wad aft take his advice,
E'en *cheek for chew*, he'd seat him, 'mang them a',
And tauk his mind 'bout kittle points of law.

Ramsay's Poems, Vol. II. p. 12.

Note 4, page 42, line 4. *And opes and shuts.*]

We have more than once had occasion to remark, that verbs of the singular termination were joined to nominative cases in the plural, as in the present instance; unless we suppose that we ought to read:

And eke my toothless chaps" (the gate of my right way
That opes and shuts as I do speak)" *do* thus unto me say.

Note 5, page 42, line 5. *Thy white and hoarish hairs, the messengers of age.]*

Thus Lord Vaux:

These hairs, of age are messengers

Which bid me fast, repent, and pray.

Paradise of Dainty Devices. No. 44.

Note 6, page 42, line 8. *The which do write.]*

This expression occurs in Chaucer, from whom it was probably borrowed.

But I am old, me list not play for age;

Grass time is done; my fodder is forage.

This white top writeth mine old years,

Mine heart is also moulded as mine hairs. *Reves Prol., Ox. Ed. l. 3165.*

Note 7, page 42, line 21. *Truss up thy pack.]*

Apparently a proverbial expression; signifying, that it is time to remove, or change:

I counsel you each one, *truss up your packs*

And take nothing at-all, or be content

With such reward as Fortune hath you lent.

Sir T. More to those that seek Fortune.

And thus in Gascoigne:

Beauty! shut up thy shop," and *truss up all thy trash,*

My Nell hath stolen thy finest stuff. ———

Eng. Poets, Vol. II. Ed. 1810. p. 571.

Of thy life Thomas this compass well mark. Page 42.

We may infer from the first line of these moral stanzas, that they were addressed to Sir Thomas Wyatt. They are in part a translation from Horace, Book II. Ode 10. The versification is harsh and irregular; the language unpolished and antiquated. The whole piece is unlike the generality of Surrey's compositions. If it be really his, we must consider it to have been one of his earliest exercises of his pen. The same subject occurs twice, but treated with no better success, among Tottel's Poems of Uncertain Authors. See Ed. 1814, p. 180, and p. 397.

Note 1, page 42, line 18. *Thy keel in peril freat.]*

"*To freat,*" is the same in meaning as to *consume*, or *devour*. This use of the word formerly was common; it was employed often to express injury generally, as

in the passage before us. "*To fret*," or "*wear away*," by rubbing, was written "*frote*," from the French "*frotter*." For the distinct use of the two words, see Chaucer, *Ox. Ed.* l. 2021, 2070, 4895—3746, and *Troilus and Cress. B. III. l.* 1121.

Note 2, page 42, line 19. *Whoso gladly enhalseth.*]

To *halse*, and *enhalse*, means "to embrace," from the old word "*halse*," the neck: from which I believe the word necklace is still called in the North the "*halse-bane*." The word frequently occurs in *Peirs Plowman*.

————— Two friars I met,
Masters of the Minors, men of great wit,
I *halsed* them kindly as I had learned.

"Joseph mette (*dreamt*) marvelously how the moon and the sun and the eleven stars *halsed* him all." See *Hearn's Glossary to Robert of Gloucester*.

Note 3, page 42, line ult. *Whereat disdain may glome.*]

"To *glome*," is still retained in use in the North, and means to look at in an unfriendly, or gloomy manner. The word was anciently spelt "*glombe*."

————— It is of love, as of fortune
That changeth oft and nil contune;
Which whilom will on folk smile
And *glombe* on them another while. *Chaucer's Rom. of Rose, l.* 4356.

Note 4, page 43, line 2. *Fall turrets steep.*]

The printed editions all read "*fall'n turrets steep*." The sense of the passage and the words of the original, "*graviore casu celsæ decidunt turres*," require the emendation introduced into the text; unless we suppose that the word was originally "*fallen*," the old termination for the plural of Saxon verbs. But I believe no other instance of a similar termination is to be found in all Surrey's writings.

Sway means violent motion, communicated by any impulse. Thus Wyatt:

With great swift *sway* the first,¹¹ and with its restless source
Carrieth itself. *Tottel's Songs and Son. p.* 134, *ed.* 1814.

The slipper ice, with heft of bodies sway,
On sudden brake. ————— *Turberville, Ed.* 1810. *p.* 684.

"*Steep*" must signify "that which is high upwards," as well as that which is precipitous downwards. The meaning of this word formerly was not definite. Chaucer employs it twice in a singular acceptation. Describing the Monk, he says,

He was a lord full fat and in good point,
His eyen *steep*, and rolling in his head. *Ox. Ed. l.* 201.
And in another place,
A large man he was with eyen *steep*. *Ib.* 755.

Note 5, page 43, line 4. *In overthwartes deep.*]

"*Overthwart*" is evidently a misfortune; a cross accident. Wyatt uses the word as an adjective. *Songs and Son.* p. 67. *Ed.* 1814. The word spelt *thrawart*, of which *thwart* is the contraction, occurs in Gawin Douglas's translation of Virgil in the same sense:

By the contrarious *thrawart* Trojan fates. *Ed.* 1710. p. 73. l. 38.

Note 6, page 43, line 6. *Withdraweth winter sharp.*]

As the meaning of this passage is complete as it stands, to introduce any alteration would not be justifiable. I think it probable, however, that Surrey wrote "*adaweth winter sharp.*" The corresponding line in the poem in Tottell's *Songs and Sonnets*, on the same subject, is,

E'en he *adaw'th* the force of cold. *Ed.* 1810, p. 182.

"*To adawe,*" is to mollify, to mitigate the rigour of. See the note on the passage cited.

Note 7, page 43, line 8. *And frameth his voice to harp.*]

The printed copies read,

Phœbus to lower
With bow unbent shall cease, and *frame to harp*
His voice. In streight estate appear thou stout.

The reading in the text, given from the Harington MS.: it is certainly the best of the two.

Martial the things that do attain. Page 43.

This piece is a translation from one of Martial's most pleasing Epigrams. It has the merit not only of being one of the earliest translations in our language from any approved Classic, but of being perhaps the best translation of the Epigram itself that has since appeared. Surrey, however, is entitled in this instance to an higher praise than that of being an elegant translator. His having selected a poem of a grave and moral nature, from an author who abounds with many of a lighter cast, such as would be considered more attractive to the generality of youthful readers, proves him to have had an elevated mind, and an high sense of what is due to virtue. He seems to have had, what the Stoic satirist of old justly described to be the perfection of the moral character:

Compositum jus, fasque animi; sanctosque recessus
Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto. *Persii, Sat. II. v. 73.*

The Epigram from Martial is as follows :

AD SEIPSUM.

Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem,
Jucundissime Martialis, hæc sunt.
Res non parta labore, sed relictæ,
Non ingratus ager, focus perennis,
Lis nunquam, toga rara, mens quieta,
Viros ingenuæ, salubre corpus,
Prudens simplicitas, pares amici ;
Convictus facilis, sine arte mensa,
Nox non ebria, sed soluta curis,
Non tristis torus, et tamen pudicus,
Somnus qui faciat breves tenebras.
Quod sis esse velis, nihilque malis :
Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes.

Note 1, page 43, line 15. *The riches left.*]

All the printed copies read, "the riches left." I believe no more was intended than the plural nominative "*riches*," as in the following instance, and many others that might be adduced, where the same orthography is observed :

The King then in the same stead,
Anon that other coffer undid,
Whereas they sawen great *richesse*.

Gower's Ed. 1810.

It will be proper to observe, however, that *richesse* is frequently used as a singular substantive, for wealth personified; as in the *Romant of Rose*, l. 1071; or a state of wealth, answering to "*la richesse*" in French; in which sense it seems to have been used by our best early writers. So Spenser :

Betwixt them both there was but little stride
That did the *House of Richesse* from hell-mouth divide.

Fairy Queen, Book II. Can. vii. st. 24.

And Sir Thomas More, in his *Book of Fortune* :

But let them write, their labour is in vain,
For well ye wote, Mirth, Honour, and *Richesse*,
Much better is than Penury and Pain.

Note 2, page 43, line 18. *The household of continuance.*]

I apprehend that Surrey here means "An household, or family that is not of recent establishment, and promises to be of duration." The word is not, I believe,

common in this sense. We meet with it in the prologue to Jane Shore's Complaint in the Mirror for Magistrates, where Churchyard is called "a writer of good continuance;" one who, for a long time, had been an established poet. See fol. 259.

Note 3, p. 44, l. 3, 4. *Content thee with thy own estate, &c.]*

The printed copies read,

Contented with thy own estate.

The original verse in Martial renders it highly probable, that Surrey wrote the line as it is given in the text: the construction is more pleasing and natural, and an unnecessary break is avoided, which would leave the sense doubtful.

The reader, I trust, will not be displeased with me for adding, from a very scarce collection of poems, a translation of the same epigram by Thomas Kendal, who, evidently, designed his version to be compared with Surrey's, as he prints it together with his own. The writer in the *Censura Literaria*, not attending to this circumstance, has quoted Surrey's Poem as Kendall's, and gives it as a specimen of Kendall's style of writing. His translation is as follows:

The things which cause man's life, methinks," most full of bliss to be
Are these, when goods from friends do fall," and we from labour free.
When fertile field grows fast abroad," and mind is void of strife,
And merry John by toasting fire" may set with Joan his wife.
When corpse is sound and strong withal," and wisdom rules the mind,
And friends in faithful friendship knot" a faithful heart doth bind.
When fare is good, though not of cost," and night with pleasure prest,
Not drowsy head, but merry mind," doth cause a quiet rest.
To be as heart could wish or crave," thy state content withal,
Not fear nor wish for fatal day," but come when come it shall.

Flowers of Epigrams, T. Kendall, ed. 1577.

"*Th' Assyrian King in peace with foul desire.*" Page 44.

It was a favourite exercise with the Italian poets, and, indeed, with both the Greek and Latin writers of the lower ages, to compose short copies of verses, sometimes in the form of inscriptions, sometimes as epitaphs on the character of persons distinguished in history. Many of these pieces were executed with great spirit, exhibiting the charms of Virtue and the deformity of Vice, in colours to excite either admiration or abhorrence. Of this description is the poem before us. The character of Sardanapalus, whether it be a translation, or an original composition, is drawn with a masterly hand; the versification is correct and nervous; the thoughts are vigorous and compressed. The sentiment which breathes throughout proves Surrey to have entertained that noble contempt of effeminate pursuit, and that love of manly enterprize which are inseparable from a truly generous mind.

Note 1, page 44, line 10. *His targe.*]

Targe, for *target* or *shield*, was in Surrey's age a common word. Dunbar entitles his beautiful moral poem the "Golden Targe, in which he describes Reason as protecting him with her shield against the assaults of Passion. See *Chaucer's Cant. Tales*, v. 473 & 973, *Ox. ed.* and *Sackville's Induc. M. for Mag. fol.* 211.

Note 2, page 44, line 12. *Far above an helmet's charge.*

This figure is highly descriptive and beautifully expressed. The thought has been imitated by Turberville with greater spirit than is usually to be found in his verses.

Then why should I, like one that feared to fight,
Or never crushed his head with helmets heft,
Now shew myself a weak, or coward wight. *Poems, ed. 1810, p. 583.*

Note 3, page 44, line 17. *Proud time of wealth, &c.*

I have included this line in a parenthesis, to render the general construction of the piece more obvious. It is somewhat involved. "The Assyrian King, who drenched *drowned* in sloth and womanish delight, scarcely retained the name of manhood, being feeble alike of spirit, and impatient of pain, he (though in time of wealth he was proud) frightened at the appearance of danger, and having lost both his honour and his kingdom, shewed one manly deed, at least, in killing himself.

The great Macedon that out of Persia chased.

This is one of Surrey's most elevated compositions. In dignity of thought and style it may compare with any poem of an equal length in our language. It was written in commendation of Sir T. Wyatt's Paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms. It is not known when that paraphrase was made: but as Sir Thomas Wyatt died early in 1542, we may conclude it to have been written about the year 1540, or 1541. Surrey could not therefore have been more than two or three and twenty when he wrote this Sonnet.

Note 1, page 44, line 19. *The great Macedon.*

The great Macedonian, Alexander the Great. The licence of Macedon for Macedonian may be supported by other authorities.

Who could have matched the huge Alcidees strength,
Great Macedon what force might have subdued.

Tancred and Gismunda, Act I. s. 2, Dodsley's Old Plays.

And deeply grave within your stony hearts
The dreary dole that mighty *Macedo*.

Sackville's Comp. of D. of Buck. M. for Mag. f. 215.

Whom the great *Macedo* vanquish'd there in fight. *Ib. fol 211.*

See also *Grimoald in Tottel's Songs and Sonnets*, ed. 1810, p. 332.

Note 2, page 44, line 20. *Darius of whose power, &c.*

Darius ought here to be read as an anapæst, *Dăriūs*, as in these lines:

Thus fell *Dăriūs*, the worthy King of Perse.

Sir T. More to those that seek Fortune.

As was the sepulchre of him *Darius*.

Chaucer's Wife of Bath, Pro. ed. Ox. 6080.

In Lord Sterline's tragedy of *Darius*, the word is used, I believe, constantly as an anapæst. The system of introducing a redundant syllable into the line, as in this and the preceding verse, has been fully considered in the preliminary discourse.

Note 3, page 44, line 23. *In the rich ark Dan Homer's rhymes he placed.]*

Dan is yet preserved in many counties to denote an aged person. It was formerly a title of great reverence, and occurs among our early poets, in a grave and dignified sense:

Duke Theseus let forth three stedes bring

That trapped were in steel, all glittering

And covered with the arms of *Dan* Arcite.

Ibid 2891.

It is a contraction of *Dominus*. See Tyrrwhitt's Glossary to *Canterbury Tales*, and Note on ver. 9684. The printed copies have been followed in the text; but the Harington MS. reads the line thus:

In the rich ark *if* Homer's Rhymes he placed.

This renders the connection clearer. But the omission is more consonant to poetic usage. The story alluded to is to be found in Plutarch's Life of Alexander. It was thence in all probability that Surrey took the allusion. It occurs however in the opening to Bertelet's Edition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.

"Plutarch writeth that when Alexander had discomfited *Darius* the King of Perse, among other jewels of the said King's, there was found a curious little chest of great value, which the noble King Alexander beholding, said: "This same shall serve for Homer."

Note, page 44, line ult. *Who feigned gests.]*

"*Gests*," derived from *Gestum*, a word of bad Latinity, mean *actions* or *enterprises*, in a warlike and heroic sense. No word is of more frequent occurrence among our early writers.

Note 4, page 45, line 1. *What holy grave, what worthy sepulture.*]

Puttenham, quoting this verse, gives it very differently from the printed copies :

What holy grave, alas ! what holy sepulcher.

Commenting upon it, he says, that though it is of ten syllables, it appears defective; and wishes, therefore, that it had been written thus :

Whāt hōly grāve ā lās whāt fīt sē pūlcher.

"by which means the line would have run more fluently, and yet have pursued the just measure of five feet, the redundant syllable being lost in the dactyl." *Art. Eng. Poet. Book II. Ch. 14, p. 104.*

I suspect that sepulcher, for sepulture, was a substitution of Puttenham's: "*Sepulture*," in Surrey's time, meant not the rite of burial, but the place of burial: it was the *Sepultura* of the Italians :

And close it up into my *sepulture*,
There to repose till the great judgment.

Lindsay's Squire Meldrum.

And again :

And syne hang up above my *sepulture*
My bright harness, my shield and als my spear.

Ib. p. 317. Ed. 1806. Vol. II.

See Surrey's *Trans. of Book IV. of Æneid, l. 561.*

Note 5, page 45, line 3. *Where he doth paint the lively faith and pure, &c.]*

The versification in these lines is highly beautiful; the arrangement of the words is artificial, and the effect produced dignified. Milton, in one of his most studied passages, has adopted a structure of verse precisely similar.

And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all temples th' upright heart, and pure,
Instruct me, for thou know'st.

Paradise Lost, Book I. V. 17.

Note 6, page 45, line 10. *Where rulers may see in a mirror clear.*

This thought has been imitated in the Mirror for Magistrates:

Engrave it in marble" that may be razed never,
Where the judges of the law" may see as in a glass
What guerdon is for guile," and what our wages was.

Fol. 110.

Note 7, page 45, line 10. *Ought them awake, &c.]*

The close of this Sonnet is simple and impressive: the inference is just and the application obvious. It is probable that Surrey had the conduct of Henry VIIIth in his view. The unfortunate Anne Boleyn, who had been sacrificed to that King's capricious passions, was Surrey's first cousin. He must have felt the injury his

family had sustained, and it was natural for him to express a sentiment of indignation. The Harington MS. confirms the conjecture. We there read :

In princes hearts God's scourge y-printed deep
Might them awake out of *thy* sinful sleep.

Here there is evidently some mistake ; we may fairly conclude the line to have been written thus :

Might *thee* awake out of *thy* sinful sleep :
which would leave no doubt as to the application intended.

Wyatt resteth here, that quick could never rest. Page 45.

This Elegy, for it may be more properly called an Elegy than an Epitaph, seems to have been generally read and admired, before it was printed.

Leland, in his *Noënia* on the death of Sir T. Wyatt, published in 1542, evidently alluded to it. It was alluded to likewise by Peter Betham, in his *Dedication of the Precepts of War* to Lord Charles Audley, printed in 1544, where having commended "the nobles and gentlemen of England who wrote in Chaucer's language ;" he says he shall forbear to praise the living, but instances Sir T. Wyatt, whom he describes to have been "a worthy flower of our tongue, as appeareth by the mournful Ballad made of his death in English, which is most witty, fine and eloquent." See *Censura Literaria*, Vol. VII. p. 70. The whole poem is justly entitled to the highest commendation. Warton cites some stanzas from it as a specimen of a manly and nervous style. So far his praise is just ; but this is the least part of Surrey's merit. The objects selected for praise in his departed friend, are virtues of the purest and most exalted nature. Faith in God, and an humble reliance on Divine Grace ; abhorrence of sin ; love of virtue ; innocency of life ; and a steady devotion of great natural abilities, and high attainments to the diffusion of general good, and the service of his country. These could not have been fixed upon by Surrey as topics of panegyric in Wyatt's character, unless they had found congenial virtues in his own bosom.

Note 1, page 45, line 11. *Wyatt resteth here, &c.*]

The meaning of this stanza is somewhat obscure. "In this grave resteth Wyatt, who, when living could never rest in inaction. Who suffered not the just disdain and indignation he conceived at the unworthy treatment which he had experienced, to repress the exercise of his heavenly talents ; but turning the envy of his base-minded persecutors to his own advantage, drew from their malice a generous motive to fix the love of virtue still more deeply in his heart."

As on a stithy.]

Stithy, or *styddie*, means the anvil. I believe that the word is still retained in common use in the north of England: with us southern men, it has become obsolete. Arthur, of little Britaine, in one of his adventures espied a "great giant coming to himward, who was fifteen foot of length, beating together his teeth as though they had been hammers striking on a *stythy*." *Ed.* 1814. *page* 141. The word was sometimes written and pronounced "*stith*." Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, *Ed.* Ox. l. 2038.

Surrey has employed the same thought before:

The hammer of the restless forge" I wote eke how it works.

See *Poems*, page 25, line 18. See also Gascoigne's *Anatomy of a Lover*. *Works Eng. Poets, Vol. II. p.* 481. *Ed.* 1814.

Note 3, page 45, line 20. — *in virtue to rejoice.]*

That is; "An expression of countenance, which at the same time that it was stern, to mark his abhorrence of vice, was mild to encourage the love of virtue."

Note 4, page 45, line ult. — *never none may hit.]*

Felix heu! nimium felix, tantum potuisset

Extremam pulchrè coëptis superaddere limam.

Chalonerus Epitaphium Viati, p. 358.

When we reflect that the only point of competition which could exist between Sir T. Wyatt and Surrey was that of poetic talent, and consider what a great degree of jealousy exists between rival candidates for literary fame, the tribute of unqualified praise which Surrey pays to his friend in this point is particularly honourable to himself, as it proves him to have been superior to those little passions which rival pretensions too often excite.

Note 5, page 46, line 5. *An age whose judgment no effect could blind.]*

"*Effect*" means here, as in many other passages of Surrey's writings, affections, the passions of the mind. The word was a common one, and was sometimes spelt "*affects*."

No blind *affect* his eye" in judgment blear'd at all.

Turberville's Poems, Ed. 1510, *p.* 600.

Note 6, page 46, line 8. — *reposed void of guile.]*

"*Reposed*" means firmly fixed, in opposition to whatever is capricious or variable. The word was adopted by Sackville in his *Induction*:

In woe and plaint *reposed* was her rest. *Mir. for Mag. fol.* 206.

Note 7, page 46, line 11. *In neither fortune loft nor yet repress.*]

"Loft" is elevated. "Neither so elevated by good, nor so depressed by bad fortune, as to be puffed up by prosperity, or to sink under affliction."

Note 8, page 46, line 15. *Lived and ran the race.*]

This turn of thought and expression is used by Surrey in his Translation of the 4th Book of Virgil. Dido, on the point to die, exclaims,

*I lived and ran the course fortune did grant,
And under earth my great ghost now shall wend:
A goodly town I built and saw my walls
Happy, alas! too happy, if these coasts
The Trojan ships had never touched.* l. 873.

Note 9, page 46, line 16. *Where she the mould did lose.*]

This thought is a slight variation from that which Surrey has before used in praising the Fair Geraldine. See p. 5, l. 2. But the thought is misplaced here: what might be pleasing when applied to a mistress in a strain of gallantry, is light and trifling in a sepulchral elegy over Sir Thomas Wyatt.

Note 10, page 46, line 18. *Which left with such as covet Christ to know.*]

In allusion to Wyatt's Translation of the Seven Penitential Psalms, of which the principal object is to shew, that Faith in the mercies of a Redeemer is the only meritorious cause of acceptance with God.

Note 11, page 46, line 19. *That never shall be dead.*]

An expression borrowed evidently from Chaucer:

*And all they that of laurel chaplets bear
Be such as hardy were and manly in deed;
Victorious names, which never may be dead.* Flower and Leaf, v. 479.

Note 12, page 46, line 20. *Sent for our health.*]

Sir Thomas Chaloner, in his epitaph on Sir Thomas Wyatt, has the same idea: he borrowed it probably from Surrey:

*Credo equidem Superos humana ad commoda natum
Dignum sed meliore loco, rapuisse Viatum.*

Divers thy death do diversly bemoan. Page 46.

This Sonnet was written evidently some little time after Sir T. Wyatt's death, in 1542. The detraction of which Surrey here complains, arose I doubt not from the Roman Catholic party which then divided the Court. Wyatt was not only the avowed friend of the Reformation, but the open satirist of the Roman Catholic Clergy. Bonner bore him an implacable hatred, and had caused him to be impeached before the Privy Council, where he was called upon to plead his defence. The persons therefore alluded to in this Sonnet, who sought Wyatt's life when living, and endeavoured secretly to defame his memory when dead, were probably Bonner and those attached to his cause. *See the Life of Wyatt prefixed to the 2d Vol. of this Work.*

Note 1, page 46, line 23. *Divers thy death, &c.*]

This construction of line was probably taken from Chaucer :

Divers folk diversely they said.

Reve's Prologue, Ox. Ed. l. 3855.

Note 2, page 46, line 24. *Some that in presence of thy livelighed.*]

Puttenham quotes this line with considerable variation :

Fūll māny that in presence of thy lively heāð;

and adduces it as one instance among many, to prove that Surrey and Wyatt, "the first reformers and polishers of our vulgar Poesy, much affected the style and manners of the Italian Petrarca, and used the foot dactyl very often." *Puttenham, Book II. Ch. xiv. p. 105.*

"*Livelighed*," here means simply "*life*." "In presence of thy livelighed," therefore is, "when thou wert alive." *Hed*, or *hood*, used in composition, implies only a state of being, of which the word to which it is adjoined denotes the quality. Thus *Manhood*, *Womanhood*, *Childhood*, &c. written sometimes, *Manhed*, *Womanhed*, *Childhed*, signify that period in which persons have attained to be Children, Men, Women, &c. Spenser uses *livelighed* exactly in the same sense with Surrey :

Ah! luckless Babe, born under cruel star
And in dead parents baleful ashes bred,
Full little weenest thou, what sorrows are
Left thee for portion of thy *livelighed*.

Fairy Queen, Book II. Can. ii. st. 2.

Note 3, page 46, line ult. *Yield Cæsar's tears upon Pompeius' head.*]

The compression of thought in this line is admirable. No elaborate description could have represented so forcibly, as this single line has done, the secret exulta-

tion of those courtiers, who jealous of Wyatt's ascendancy, hated him when living, because he was more deserving than themselves, and rejoiced at his untimely death, as it removed a pattern of virtue which they were not noble-minded enough to emulate. Sackville, in his Induction, adopts the line with little variation :

With conquerors' hands forbath'd in their own blood,
And Cæsar, weeping over Pompey's head. *Mir. for Mag. fol. 111.*

Note 4, page 47, line 1. *Some that watched with the murd'rer's knife.]*

This line is defective a syllable; but is not I believe corrupt. The deficiency is to be supplied in recitation by resting a double time on the first syllable, giving it thus the effect of a spondee :

Sōmē / that watch/ed with / the murd'rers knife.

See what has been said on this subject in the Preliminary Discourse. The thought and expression in this and the following line have been imitated in more than one instance by Sackville :

Yet we that were so drowned in the depth
Of deep desire to drink the guiltless blood. *Mir. for Mag. fol. 216.*

Lo ! Bessus he that arm'd with murd'rers knife
And trait'rous heart againt his Royal King,
With bloody hands bereft his master's life. *Ib. fol. 215, and 214.*

Note 5, page 47, line 8. *And kiss the ground, &c.]*

He her beholding, at her feet down fell,
And kiss'd the ground on which her sole did tread.

Spenser's Fairy Queen, Book IV. Can. viii. st. 13.

The harmony of versification in this passage is particularly beautiful. The thought detailed in it is highly expressive of affection mixed with reverence. Surrey probably derived both the thought and the expression from Chaucer, who the more he is studied will be found the more to deserve the encomium bestowed upon him by Spenser, of being the "Well of English undefiled."

Go, little Book ! make thou thee none envy
But subject been unto all poesie,
And kiss the steps, whereas thou seeist pace
Of Virgil, Ovid, Homer, Lucan, Stace.

Troil. and Cress. Book V. l. 1788 : and compare ib. l. 551.

Note 6, page 47, line 8. *With vapoured eyes, &c.]*

This couplet is altogether unworthy the Sonnet to which it forms the close.

The allusion to the story of Piramus and Thisbe bears no relation whatever to the subject; and therefore instead of heightening the effect, destroys it.

"*To avale*," means to "let fall:" "Whence such tears stream down," &c. The expression of "*vapour'd eyes*" occurs at page 51, line 8.

In the rude age when knowledge was not rife. Page 47.

This Sonnet is well conducted, and the thought upon which it turns is justly conceived; but the meaning of particular passages is often obscure, and the construction involved. It is probable either that the whole did not receive Surrey's last corrections, or that it has come down to us imperfect. The concluding lines prove it to have been written about the same time with the piece immediately preceding.

Note 1, page 47, line 14. *Wend after life to have their temples sought.*]

Wend for *wened* is the past tense from the verb *to wene*, *to think*. The meaning is; "If in the rude ages of the world, Jupiter in Crete, who first taught there arts which were beneficial to mankind; or if others who, acting like him, expected like him to be honoured after death with religious worship, &c."

Note 2, page 47, line 16. *To blast her endless fame.*]

To proclaim abroad as with the sound of a trumpet. Surrey uses the same expression in other parts of his writings.

Note 3, page 47, line 18. *Our sequel to inflame.*]

"Sequel" here signifies, "the following of a person." The meaning of the passage is, "and inflame us with a desire to follow the steps of Virtue."

Note 4, page 47, line 19. *In day of truth let Wyatt's friends then wail.*]

All the printed editions read "*if* Wyatt's friends." The alteration made in the text probably restores the original reading; it seems necessary to the sense of the passage, and to connect the first part of the Sonnet with its close. "*If*, in former times Jove, and every one who first invented arts, were honoured with divine worship; and *if*, in no time Virtue has failed of due praise; in these enlightened days *let* the friends of Truth bewail the loss of Wyatt with becoming sorrow."

Note 5, page 47, line 21. *Where Christ is taught.*]

The rare exertion of Wyatt's intellect, here alluded to, must refer to his paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms.

Note 6, page 47, line 23. *Whose lively face, &c.*]

"*Lively*" is here used in the sense of "living." The meaning of the passage is, "How galling must have been the sight of him when living, to those who now cannot suffer his very ashes to rest in peace."

"*Cinders*" was taken formerly in a poetic sense, and answered to the "*cineres*" of the Latins. The word occurs often in Surrey's translation from Virgil:

And satisfy the *cinders* of my fears.

Second Book Æn. l. 773.

Et *cineres* satiasse meorum.

See also *ibid. l. 560*: and *Sackville's Comp. D. of Buck. Mir. for Mag. fol. 220.*

"*Norfolk sprung thee, Lambeth holds thee dead.*" Page 48.

This beautiful Epitaph has been preserved in Camden's Remains. It is to be found also in Aubrey's History of Surrey, Vol. V. p. 247; and in Bloomfield's Norfolk, Vol. III. p. 632, fol. ed., and Vol. VI. p. 394, of the octavo edition. Thomas Clere, on whom this Epitaph was written, was youngest son to Sir Robert Clere, of Ormesby in Norfolk: he was the confidential friend of Surrey, and his constant attendant, having chosen him as his Lord, and following him as his Page; for, according to the manners of those days, it was not thought dishonourable for young persons of high rank and extraction to attach themselves in that capacity to some nobleman of eminence; under whom they learnt whatever could be acquired in manners, as well as in the art of war. This custom was one of many which grew out of the usages of chivalry.

The antient and honourable house of the Cleres of Norfolk, was descended in a direct line from ——— de Claro Monte: Clere-mont in Normandy, who came into England with the Conqueror. Clere therefore was "hight," i. e. he derived his name from the Counts of De Cleremont. His mother was daughter to Sir Edward Boleyn, sixth son of Sir William Boleyn, by Margaret daughter and co-heir to Thomas Earl of Ormond: he was consequently born "within the womb of Ormond's race," and was cousin to Anne Boleyn, whom he must have seen crowned in 1533. He was said to be "sprung by Norfolk," being born at Ormesby, his father's seat in that county; and as he was buried at Lambeth in the family vault of the Norfolk family: "Lambeth held him dead." The Shelton whom he chose for his Mistress, was one of the daughters of Sir J. Shelton, of Shelton in Norfolk: it does not appear from Bloomfield that Clere was married. He died April 14, 1545. See the Memoirs, p. lxxxviii, and note b.

Note 1, page 48, line 2. *Clere of the county, &c.]*

This line in Aubrey is read thus :

Clere of the *Count* of Cleremont, thou hight.

In Bloomfield and Camden we read :

Clere of the *County* of Clermont, though hight.

Both of these lines are alike defective, either in measure or in sense. I have ventured therefore to make that alteration which has been introduced into the text. "*County*" bore formerly the same meaning with "*Count*," or Earl. See the note on *Romeo and Juliet*, Act III. sc. 5. The De Cleremonts are mentioned among those who came over with William the Conqueror into England, and fought in the famous battle near Hastings. See Ducange. *Hist. Norm. Scriptores*.

Note 2, page 48, line 3. *Within the womb, &c.]*

This line is generally read :

Within the womb of Ormond's race thou bred.

Which gives a very imperfect sense. I have ventured to introduce a different reading into the text upon conjecture : had I thought myself at liberty to have departed wider from the printed copies, I should have read the line thus :

Thou in the womb of Ormond's race wert bred.

Note 3, page 48, line 5. *For Lord thou chase.]*

"*Chase*" is here the past tense of the verb *choose*, for "*chasedst*." Warton reads, I presume inadvertently, "*thee chase*:" for the option was on the part of Clere. His service, as well as his love, was voluntary. I apprehend the lady, whom Clere chose for his mistress, was Mary, the youngest daughter of Sir John Shelton, who married afterwards Sir James Scudamore. There is a Mrs. Mary Shelton, who is mentioned as having made a present of some jewels to Mrs. Holland. See appendix, page cxiv. This may probably be the lady in question. She seems to have been the owner of a valuable volume of MS. Poems, belonging at present to the Duke of Devonshire, of which fuller mention will be made in the second volume of this work.

Note 4 and 5, page 48, line 8 and 9. *At Montreuil's gates.]*

Warton remarks on this name and on that of Kelsal and Landrecy, that they were "towns taken by Surrey in the Boulogne expedition." There is a little inaccuracy in this explanation. Kelsal is in Scotland; Landrecy in the Netherlands; and Montreuil in France. They were mentioned by Surrey to mark three expeditions, undertaken in three several years, during which he himself had served, and

Clere had accompanied him. It was by attending to this clue that the present Editor was led to the discovery of some passages in Surrey's life, which had never before been noticed.

Note 6, page 48, line 10. *This pining death procure.*]

It seems from this expression, that Clere had rescued his master from imminent danger at the siege of Montreuil; and had received some injury in saving him, which afterwards proved the cause of his death. See the Memoirs, page lxxviii, and the note *b*, at the same page.

So cruel prison, how could betide, alas! Page 48.

It is generally supposed that this poem was written in 1543, when Surrey was committed by order of the Privy Council to prison, with several other persons of high rank, for having eaten flesh in Lent. But this supposition must be erroneous, for the place of Surrey's confinement on that occasion was the Fleet. Two years previous indeed, that is, in July 1541, Surrey had been committed to the Fleet on the occasion of a private quarrel with one John à Leigh, and on the first of August following there was an order of Council to remove him to Windsor, the Court being then there. But that could not have been the date of this Poem, because Surrey speaks of Windsor as being then lonely and desolate, which would not have been the case during the residence of the Court. Besides which, there is no reason to believe that Surrey was brought to Windsor for any other object than that of entering into a recognizance previous to his liberation. I apprehend the imprisonment at Windsor, which gave birth to the Poem before us, took place in 1546, not long after Surrey had returned from Boulogne. See the Memoirs prefixed to this Volume, page lxxxvii.

The poem itself is well known; it has been often quoted, and always with commendation. See Warton's Hist. Eng. Poetry, Vol. III. p. 12. Ellis' Specimens, and Headly's Antient Poetry.

It is a poem of singular beauty, and may be ranked among the most perfect compositions in our language. Its chief merit consists in the extreme simplicity of its structure, and the art with which it is conducted. All the circumstances enumerated bear upon one point of feeling, and they are all such as grow out of the natural affections of the heart, and the common relations of life: when they deviate into particular manners they refer to chivalrous usages, and recall the memory of those days of Romance which the imagination ever dwells upon with delight: and all the circumstances described succeed one another so rapidly, that the interest once excited is never suffered to languish, but goes on gradually increasing to the end.

Note 1, page 48, line 17. *With a King's son thy childish years did pass.*]

I believe this line to be the only authority for the commonly received opinion, that Surrey and the Duke of Richmond received their education together as children, at Windsor Castle. That this could not have been the case to that extent which the words imply has been sufficiently proved in the *Memoirs* prefixed to this volume at p. xi. In confirmation of what has been there advanced I will add, that had Surrey been really educated at Windsor it is not probable that he would have omitted in the present poem, as he has done, all reference to literary pursuits. He was an elegant scholar, and fond of learning. How natural, therefore, would it have been for him to have made some allusion to hours of study devoted to the attainment of acquirements which he both admired and loved. The only reference which Surrey here makes is to time spent in feasts and amusements; and even those are such as belonged to a more advanced period than that of childhood, as we now understand the word. In *childhood*, Surrey cannot be supposed to have taken his part in jousts on the "gravel ground," with his "*Mistress's sleeve tied on his helm*;" much less could he have been occupied in endeavouring to obtain the favour of "*Ladies bright of hue*," mid "*stately seats and dances, with words and looks*" that might have softened even tigers to pity: neither could he then have known any thing of "*those easy sighs, such as folks draw in love*;" or of tender confidences made in secret groves, "*resounding with his pleasant plaint*," and his Mistress's praise. These are not the occupations or the pleasures, consequently could not be the reminiscences of childhood; but they are precisely those of one whose "*tender limbs were yet shooting up in length*;" that is, of one nearly attaining to manhood. See *Memoirs*, p. xxix, xxx. The expression "*childish years*," instead of militating against, if rightly understood, supports the conjecture. In former days the word "child" described not only the *child* merely such in point of years; but any young person of noble birth who had entered on the profession of arms, but had not attained to Knighthood. The adjective *childish*, therefore, had in all probability a larger meaning formerly than now, and was applicable to a more advanced period than that which is immediately connected with *childhood*. That the use of the substantive *child* in the above meaning was common, I hardly need adduce quotations to prove. It frequently occurs in Spenser. The "*Child of Elle*" will instantly present itself to the reader's recollection. See *Percy's Reliques*, Vol. III. p. 54.

Another use of the word *child* was to describe those young persons, who either from being minors, or from any other cause, had not become actual possessors of their fiefs, or honours, to which they were entitled by succession. Thus Henry the Third is called by Guillelmus Brito "*the Child of England*;" because, though actually seated on the throne, and about the age of eighteen or nineteen, he had not been declared formally to be out of his minority.

Non tibi des requiem, donec Puer Anglicus armis
Victa, quibus nil juris habet, tibi sceptrum resignet.

Phil. Lib. 12. apud du Chesne. Script. Hist. Fran. Vol. V. p. 255.

The word "child" being familiar in these two leading senses, grew soon after to be applied more generally. Thus Jean de Meung describes himself as being just past *his childhood*, (*Enfance*,) when he began to write the *Roman de la Rose*: but it is known that he was about twenty-two years old when he commenced that work. See *Preface to the last Paris Ed. Roman de la Rose, Vol. I. p. 11.* In the same manner the Duc d'Orleans says he continued under the care of *Enfance*, *childhood*, until he had attained his full strength, when a messenger called Age came with a letter from Nature, directing that he should be given up to the care of "*Jeunesse*," *youth*. The first act that *Jeunesse* does is to bid him pay a visit to the Court of Love, which he does willingly, it being what all young men ought to do. *Childhood* therefore evidently in this instance must be supposed to continue up to manhood:

En cet estat pour un temps me nourris,
Et apres ce quant je fus enforcé,
Un messenger qui Age s' appella,
Une lettre de creance bailla
A Enfance, de part Dame Nature,
Et lui dit, que plus la nourriture
De moy n' auroit; et que Dame Jeunesse
Me nourriroit et seroit ma maitresse:
Ainsi du tout Enfance delaissois,
Et avecques Jeunesse m'en allois.

Quand Jeunesse me tint à sa maison,
Un peu avant la nouvelle saison,
En ma chambre s'en vint un bien matin
Et m' éveilla le jour Saint Valentin
En me disant, &c.

Poesies di Orleans, Ed. 1809, p. 2.

That the words *child* and *childhood* had precisely the same force among our early English writers, which they had in the French, is evident from Chaucer. Thus Narcissus, who having refused all offers of marriage that were made him, became enamoured of himself, was described to be

— a *child* of full great beauty. *Rom. of Rose, l. 1532.*

And in like manner a little farther in the same poem Reason is introduced thus addressing the lover:

— All hail, my sweet friend!
Folly and *childhood* will thee shend. *Ib. 3220.*

In a few lines after Reason addresses him as a young man, *l. 3240.* "*Childhood*" therefore was the term descriptive of youth up to manhood, and in the early

part of manhood was synonymous with it. The state previous to *childhood*, was the age of innocence. From a passage in the King's Quair, we collect that *childhood* was considered as beginning at the ninth year. Describing the time when he was taken prisoner, which happened when he was twelve years old, King James says, he had

Not far passed the state of innocence

But near about the number of years three.

Can. II. S. 3.

From this common use therefore of the words *child* and *childhood*, I am satisfied that in the passage before us Surrey by the expression "*childish years*," meant to describe the time when the Duke of Richmond and himself were just entering on manhood; which was the period of their greatest intimacy. At the time of his residence at Windsor in 1534, Surrey was between seventeen and eighteen years old. The Duke of Richmond was about fifteen.

Note 2, page 49, line 2. *The large green courts where we were wont to hove.*]

"*To hove*" signifies to linger about a place in expectation or hope. When Cressida was about to depart for the Grecian camp, Troilus

—— at the gate there as she should outride

With certain folk he *hoved* her to abide.

Book V. ver. 33.

Hove and *hover* were used indifferently. Thus Malbecco is described as seeing two persons "which *hoved* close under a forrest side." On approaching them he finds that

—— it was scornful Braggadocio

That with his servant Trompart *hovered* there.

Fairy Queen, B. III. l. 10. St. 20. 23.

The following passage from Peirs Plowman, whilst it confirms the use of the word, proves that the act of hovering, or lingering about the Courts of Law, in the hope of obtaining of a fee, was a practice not confined to lawyers of modern times: it is a practice of venerable antiquity.

Yet *hoved* there an hundred in hownes of silk,

Serjeants it beseemed, that serven at the bar,

Pleyten for penies, and pounds the law;

And not for the love of our Lord, unclosen their lips once.

Ed. 1813.

Note 3, page 49, line 3. *With eyes cast up into the maiden's tower.*]

Not the keep, or donjon of the Castle, frequently called the Maiden-tower, but that part of the castle where the ladies of the court had their apartments.

Note 4, page 49, line 4. *And easy sighs, such as folks draw in love.*]

This is a very elegant and happy expression, but it is borrowed from Chaucer, Troilus, fully assured of Cressida's attachment, is thus described:

—— Full an hundred times gan he sike
 Not such sorrowful sighs as men make
 For woe, or elles when that folk be sike,
But easy sighs, such as been to like. Troil. and Cres. B. III. v. 1366.

That is, "such light and enviable sighs as bespeak a heart not labouring under the pressure of sorrow: but rather swelling with hope and tenderness, and every gentle feeling."

The same distinction is made in the *King's Quair*. I quote the passage as it will serve for a good commentary on the line before us:

And in a retreat, little of compass
 Depeinted all with sighes wonder sad,
 Not such sighs as hearts doth manace,
 But such as doeth lovers to be glad,
 Found I Venus. —— Can. III. st. 23.

Note 5, p. 49, line 7. *That tigers could but rue.*]

"Such looks and entreaties as might have moved even tigers to pity." See Turberville, p. 641, Ed. 1810.

Note 6, p. 49, line 9. *The palme-play where despoiled for the game.*]

The "*Palme-play*," is the "*Jeu-de-Paume*," or, as it is sometimes named, the Tennis-play; what we now call the Tennis-court. *Despoiled* is the "*spogliato*" of the Italian, stripped for the game. Sackville employs the same word in his *Ferrex and Porrex*, in the very beautiful and highly wrought description by Marcella of the death of Porrex:

Pitying, alas! for nought else could I do,
 His ruthful end, ran to the woeful bed,
Despoiled straight his breast and all we might,
 Wiped in vain, with napkins next at hand,
 The sudden streams of blood that flushed fast
 Out of the gaping wound. Act IV. sc. 2.

Note 7, page 49, line 12. *To bait her eyes.*]

To bait seems here to mean "*to allure; to attract*." The word occurs in Chaucer, but in a sense somewhat different, as if it meant to feed upon, unless we suppose the word is to be understood in a passive sense.

And in his walk full fast he gan to waeten,
 If Knight, or Squier of his company
 Gan for to sigh, or let his eyen baiten
 On any woman, &c. Troil. and Cres. B. I. l. 190.

Note 8, page 49, line 12. *That kept the leads above.]*

There is some difficulty in understanding these words. In their most obvious sense they may refer to the leads of the castle, upon which the ladies might have been assembled to see the game played, as it is sometimes, in the open air. But the adverb "*where*," compels us to understand the Palme-play, of the Tennis-court; in which case we must suppose, though I am not aware of any authority, that the leads mean that gallery or chamber opening into the Tennis Court, where ladies generally sit to see the game played in safety. Whatever be meant by the word "leads," the picture which Surrey draws of himself, looking at his Mistress with dazed eyes, and in his anxiety to steal a glimpse of her face, missing the ball which he ought to return, is highly pleasing, and drawn with those little touches of nature which always characterize the writings of a true poet. Surrey's gallantry on this occasion was in the character of the times. The Servant d'amour was directed always to fix his eyes upon the lady of his affection before he engaged in any undertaking, that he might be enabled to acquit himself with success:

Servans d' Amour! regardez doucement

Aux echaffauds Anges de Paradis

Lors jouterez fort, et joyeusement,

Et vous serez honorés et chers.

See Palaye de la Chevalerie, Vol. I. p. 160.

Note 9, page 49, line 13. *The gravel ground, with sleeves tied on the helm.]*

The *gravel ground* is the space enclosed within the lists, made perfectly level and strewn with fine gravel for the tilting. In this it resembled the "*arena*" of the ancients. The "*sleeve tied to the helm*," describes the well-known practice among Knights of old, of tying to their helmets a sleeve, or glove, or any favour received from their mistresses, which they wore not only in tilts and tournaments, but even in battle. Raoul de Coucy having obtained an avowal of affection from the beautiful Gabrielle, and at the same time a promise of any pledge he should ask in proof of her attachment, requested one of her sleeves, "that he might adorn his arm with it at a Tournay, which the Sire de Coucy his relation intended holding between La Fere au Vaudreul." *Memoirs of Raoul de Coucy, Vol. I. p. 92.*

The sleeve worn upon these occasions was considered by the courteous Knight, if he obtained the prize, to be the sole cause of his success. The Chevalier "*Sans peur, et sans reproche*," at a tournament which he held in honour of his Mistress, who had given him one of her sleeves to wear, was declared unanimously to have won the prize. He modestly declined receiving it; saying, "that the victory was owing solely to the virtue of his Lady's sleeve." The sleeve was consequently restored to the Lady. She took from it a ruby, valued at an hundred ducats, and gave it to the Seigneur Mondragon, who had distinguished himself next after Bayard.

"A l' egard du manchon," she continued, "puis qu' ainsi est que Monsieur de Bayard me fait ce bien de dire que mon manchon lui a fait gagner le prix, je le garderai toute ma vie pour l' amour de lui." See *Mem. du Chev. Bayard, Chap. xiii.* and *St. Palaye sur la Chevalerie, Vol. I. Part ii. p. 164.*

That a ruby of so great value should be attached to a sleeve on such occasions will excite no wonder, when we recollect the account in Holinshed, who tells us that Henry VIII. wore on his head at a tournament a lady's sleeve *full of diamonds.* *Fol. Ed. p. 834.*

Note 10, page 49, line 14. *On foaming horse, with swords and friendly hearts.]*

The thought in this line, with several other expressions in the poem before us, is imitated by Sackville in the Tragedy of Gorboduc, where Marcella pathetically laments the death of Porrex:

Ah! noble Prince, how oft have I beheld
Thee mounted on thy fierce and trampling steed,
Shining in armour bright before the tilt,
And with thy Mistress' sleeve tied on thy helm,
And charge thy staff, to please thy Lady's eye,
That bowed the head-piece of thy friendly foe.

Dodsley's Old Plays, Vol. I. p. 149.

Note 11, page 49, line 15. *With chere as though one should another whelm.]*

"Chere" is evidently derived from "cera," in the Italian, or "chere" in the French language. It is singular therefore that it should be referred to the Spanish "cara." In both Italian and French the meaning of the word is the same with what it bears in English; namely, "the outward expression of the countenance." Thus the Belle Gabrielle being told, that what she had eaten was the heart of her faithful lover, Raoul de Coucy, whom her jealous husband had caused to be murdered secretly, for the savage purpose of serving up his heart at table, when she heard it, she rose, "et s'en alla dans sa chambre, faisant moult grand douleur et plus avoit de douleur, qu'elle n'en montrait *la chere*; et en cette douleur, à grands regrets et complainte de la mort de son Ami, finit sa vie, et mourut." *Memoirs de Raoul de Coucy, Vol. I. p. 106.* In the Italian, the signification of the word is precisely the same:

Bruto gli guatò, ne unqua mutò *cera* ne colore.
And again,

Egli rasomigliava alla *cera* una bestia salvatica.

See the Vocabulario della Crusca.

It would be superfluous to adduce quotations from Chaucer and our early English writers, to establish that this was the meaning of the word in our language. It occurs constantly in this sense in almost every page of these Poems.

Note 12, page 49, line 16. *Where we have fought, &c.*]

The construction of this stanza is much involved; it may be thus arranged. "The gravel ground where we have often chased one another with darts, and on foaming horses have fought with swords, our ladies sleeves tied on our helms, with chere as though one would overwhelm the other, and yet having friendly hearts."

Note 13, page 49, line 20. *Our tender limbs that yet shot up in length.*]

The words "*long* and *length*," as applied to the human figure, were formerly used where we now use the words "*tall* and *height*." Thus Chaucer,

Of his stature he was of *even length*. *Cant. Tales, Ver. 88.*

And in the Romant of the Rose,

Full fair was Mirth, full *long* and *high*,
A fairer man I never sigh. *l. 817.*

See also, Complaint of Black Knight, *l. 163.*

Note 14, page 49, line 21. *The secret groves.*]

These words are general. From them, however, Drayton has raised the fiction of a grove near Windsor Castle, "Clipt in by water on the one hand, and on the other all covered from above by hanging rocks," which Surrey was used to frequent, amusing himself like a lover of romance, in carving the name of the Fair Geraldine with his own on the bark of the surrounding trees. The passage, though the thought whereon it turns is trite, contains some good lines. See *Heroical Epistle, p. 129, fol. ed. 1748.*

Note 15, page 49, line 25. *The clothed holts with green.*]

"The high hills clothed with verdure." See note on *l. 8, p. 13.*

Note 16, p. 49, line 26. *With reins aualed.*]

"*Reins aualed*," mean slackened, so as to allow the horse to go full speed. They are "*bride abattue*" of the French.

Note 17, page 49, line 28. *The fearful hart of force.*]

Chasse à forcer is the old hunting term for that game which is run down, in opposition to the *chasse à tirer*, that in which it is shot. *Ellis's Ant. Poet. V. II. p. 57.*

Note 18, p. 49, line 29. *The void vales eke, &c.*]

All the printed editions read the "*wide vales, eke, &c.*" There can be no doubt but the Harington MS. gives the true reading, "The walls of those chambers, now desolate, which were wont each night to receive us." In Surrey's time, not only in

Noblemen's houses, but in royal palaces when the Court was not resident, it was usual to take down all the tapestry and hangings. This must have been the case when Surrey was confined as a prisoner at Windsor. How forcibly must he have been struck with the desolate appearance which those chambers then bore, compared with what they were, when

round about apparelled
With costly cloth of Arras and of Tours.

The epithet "void" is very descriptive; Surrey uses it more than once:

. And when they were all gone
And the dim moon doth eft withhold the light,
And sliding stars provoke unto sweet sleep,
Alone she mourns within her palace void.

Æneid, B. IV. l. 100, and B. II. l. 682.

Note 19, page 50, line 1. *Such sleeps as yet delight.*]

To him who has known what it is to languish all night in restless wakefulness, caused by the busy intrusion of painful thought, how delightful is the recollection of those light slumbers, which were attendant upon the happy years of childhood. Surrey seems to have dwelt on this recollection with peculiar complacency. See p. 44, l. 2, and p. 76, l. 17.

Note 20, page 50, line 4. *The wanton talk.*

"*Wanton talk*" means playful conversation. The word "*wanton*," was descriptive of the sportiveness and innocence of infancy. Thus in a pleasing MS. epitaph on an infant, written about the time of James the First;

As careful mothers to their bed convey
Their babes, that would too long the wantons play;
So to prevent my youth's ensuing crimes,
Nature, my nurse, laid me to sleep by times.

Note 21, page 50, line 4. *The divers change of play.*]

The rapid enumeration of images in this passage, heightens the beauty of it. Had each circumstance been dwelt upon with even the least degree of minuteness, that expression of perturbed feeling which Surrey intended to represent, would have been lost. I cannot forbear quoting a passage of nearly equal beauty from the King's Quair, in which the same effect is produced by the same attention to this point of good taste in writing.

Say on then! where is becomen for shame
 The songès new, the fresh carols, and dance,
 The lusty life, the many change of game,
 The fresh array, the lusty countenance,
 The busy await, the hearty observançe,
 That whilome was amongès them so rife?
 Bid them repent in time and mend their life.

Cant. III. St. 48.

Note 22, page 50, line 10. *The which as soon as sobbing sighs, alas!]*

The thought in this line is not pleasing, neither is the manner of expressing it elegant: nevertheless the whole passage has been imitated by Sackville, in his *Induction*.

Till at the last recovering his voice,
 Supping the tears that all his breast *beraind*,
 On cruel fortune weeping thus he plain'd.

Mir. for Mag. fol. 213.

Note 23, page 50, line 11. *O place of bliss, renewer of my woes.]*

This is a line suggested probably by the following from Wyatt:

The restful place, renewer of my smart.

Wyatt died in 1541. Surrey's poem could not have been written before 1546.

Note 24, page 50, line 14. *To other lief.]*

"Lief," spelt equally, *leef* and *leve*, means "dear." The person here alluded to by Surrey was probably his sister the Lady Mary, who by the interest of Anne Boleyn, was about this time married to the Duke of Richmond.

Note 25, page 50, line 15. *Echo, alas! that doth my sorrow rue.]*

Though the word "Echo" conveys a clear meaning and even a pleasing thought, I suspect it is not the true reading. The 8vo. editions of 1564 and 1657, read "Eche, alas!" The edition of 1574 supplies the word evidently wanting, and reads "Eche stone, alas!" Mr. Hill's MS. reads "Eache alas!" which confirms the supposition that the transcriber inadvertently had left out the word "stone." The printer of the first quartos must have been aware that the sense was imperfect; but being fearful of supplying any word from conjecture, by an easy and specious correction he converted "Eche" into Echo.

Note 26, page 50, line 20. *And with remembrance of the greater grief, &c.]*

Warton has observed, "that the pathetic sentiment with which this piece concludes is much in the style of Petrarch." "To banish the miseries of my present distress, I am forced on the wretched expedient of remembering a greater. This is the consolation of a warm fancy: it is the philosophy of poetry." The observation is just. All suffering is comparative: it is only in the absence of great sorrows that smaller inconveniencies are felt. The thought is so grounded in Nature, that it was not likely to escape the penetrating eye of Shakespeare. It is in the spirit of Surrey's sentiment, that Imogen, when wandering weary and exhausted with hunger on her way to Milford Haven, exclaims,

— My dear Lord!

Thou art among the false ones; now I think on thee

My hunger's gone; but even before I was

At point to sink for food. *Act. III. S. VI.*

When Windsor Walls sustained my wearied arm. p. 50.

This sonnet seems to have been written by Surrey soon after his liberation from imprisonment. The opening which places Surrey before us, his head supported by his hand, immersed in thought, and looking pensively from the wall of his prison on the surrounding objects, offers one of those simple but pleasing pictures, which, like all the pictures drawn by Surrey's pen, are faithful and elegant representations of genuine feeling. It is in the same spirit of simple detail that Dyer brings himself before our eyes, in his Grongar Hill, a poem never to be mentioned but with praise.

Note 1, page 50, line 23. *The pleasant plot, &c.]*

"The pleasant plot" here referred to is the garden immediately under the castle wall, which brought back to Surrey's recollection, it is probable, scenes of past happiness. Some of the editions read "Set pleasant plots."

Note 2, page 50, line ult. *With lusty Ver y-spread.]*

"Covered with verdure and the opening blossoms of spring." For the use of the word *Ver* see note on l. 5, p. 22.

Note 3, p. 51, line 2. *And to my mind resort.]*

"Then come into my mind; crowd into my recollection." See the translation

of *Fourth Book of Æneid*, line 4. Sackville borrows the expression in his Introduction :

Whereby I knew that she a goddess was,
And therewith-all *resorted* to my mind, &c.

Mir. for Ma. fo. 208.

The change from the past tense, with which the sonnet begins, to the present tense, which is afterwards continued throughout, is I apprehend the effect of design, to give a greater degree of life and action to the piece.

Note 4, page 51, line 3. *The hateless short debate.*]

"*The hateless short debate*" means "friendly emulation in warlike sports and exercises," which constituted formerly an essential part of the education of our nobility. The same thought has just occurred at page 49, line 15. The "*jolly woes*" which Surrey speaks of are "*those amatory sorrows*," which, however they may be a subject of complaint, are in reality a source of enjoyment to the lover. The expression of "*jolly woes*," like the "*dolci guai*," and the "*fera dolcezza*" of the Italians, is in false taste. All such combinations of the extremes of opposite feelings, may for a moment amuse the fancy, but never can make a lasting impression on the feelings. Chaucer had good sense enough to disapprove the expression, for he puts it into the mouth of Pandarus, evidently to ridicule it, with many other similar conceits. Troilus having written a letter to Cressida entrusts it to Pandarus, who giving it to his niece,

. gan to jape, and said ; " I wis, mine heart

" So *fresh it is*, although it *sore smart*,

" I may not sleep never a May's morrow ;

" I have a *jolly woe*, a *lusty sorrow*."

Troil. and Cress. B. II. v. 1096.

Note 6, page 51, line 4. *The rakehell life, that 'longs to love's disport.*]

Rakehell, or, as it is sometimes spelt, *rakil*, a *rakle*, means "rash, inconsiderate, careless." It seems synonymous with *reckless*. Thus Troilus, making his love for Cressida an incitement to virtue, says, that his passion

. in himself with manhood gan restrain

Each *rakill* deed, and each unbridled chere.

Troil. and Cress. B. III. v. 420.

Where Urry tells us one MS. reads ;

" Each *reckless* deed."

See also B. I. p. 1066.

Rakehell is still employed as a substantive, to describe a person of a careless and disorderly life.

'*Longs*, is put for *belongs*, an ellipsis frequent with our early poets, who used

indiscriminately 'stroyed, 'proach, 'lieve, for *destroyed, approach, believe, &c.* The meaning of the whole line is, "such a careless and inconsiderate mode of life as belongs to lovers, and suits their frame of mind."

Note 7, page 51, line 6. *Heapt in my breast, &c.*]

See note to l. 6, p. 15.

Note 8, page 51, line 7. *In smoky sighs that overcast the air.*]

The expression in this line is inelegant, and the hyperbole extravagant. Surrey suffered himself to be betrayed into the use of the latter, by his partiality to his master Petrarch;

I' ho pien di sospir quest' aer tutto. *Son. 247, Parte 2^a p. 208.*

As Surrey copied Petrarch, so did Sackville copy Surrey;

With smoke of sighs sometime I might behold

The place all dim'd, like to the morning mist.

Comp. of D. of Buck. Mir. for Ma. f. 222.

In a subsequent passage he borrows the very expression;

So strove he thus awhile as with the death,

Now pale as lead, and cold as any stone;

Now still as calm, now storming forth a breath

Of smoky sighs.

Ibid. f. 220.

The epithet "smoky," was borrowed probably from Chaucer, who employs it to describe that appearance of vapour which is always attendant upon heavy rain:

— Such a rain from heaven gan avale

That every man or woman that was there

Had of that *smoky* rain every fear. *Troil. and Cress. B. III. l. 627.*

Note 9, page 51, line 8. *My vapour'd eyes such dreary tears distil.*]

By *vapour'd eyes*, Surrey probably meant to describe that sort of misty appearance which dims the eye after long weeping. The thought is given with more detail in a Sonnet imitated from Petrarch, and printed in the *Nugæ Antiquæ*. There the lover upbraiding his eyes as having been the cause of his sorrow, says,

Wet shall ye be, ye shall it not withstand,

With weeping tears that shall make dim your sight;

And misty clouds shall hang still in your sight.

Vol. I. p. 104, Ed. 1767.

As the thought possesses neither elegance nor dignity, it is remarkable that Surrey should have used it twice; see the Sonnet on Sir Thomas Wyatt's Death, p. 47, l. 9. Nor is it less remarkable that almost all the writers who succeeded

Surrey have adopted it. Sackville describing the Duke of Buckingham says, that he

Oft spread his arms, stretched hands he joins as fast;
With rueful chere, and vapoured eyes upcast.

Mir. for Ma. fo. 213.

And again,

We staid us strait, and with a rueful fear
Beheld this heavy sight, while from my eyes
The vapoured tears down stilled here and there. *Ibid.*

And again, fo. 224. See also Gascoigne, Ed. 1810, p. 507. Turberville, Ed. 1810, p. 597; and again, 631. Daniel, Complaint of Rosamond; Works, Vol. I. p. 60; and Son. 24. Vol. II. p. 404. Drayton, Son. 54, and Son. 55. Many other imitations might easily be adduced.

Note 10, page 51, line 9. *The tender green, &c.*]

The printed copies all read, "The tender *spring* which quicken where they fall." From those words it seems hardly possible to elicit any meaning, unless it be by a refinement of thought which would be too far-fetched to be approved. The alteration to "*tender green*," seems therefore necessary to the sense. It receives some support from the following line in Sackville:

With chilling cold had pierced the *tender green*.

Induc. Mir. for Ma. fo. 205.

The idea is, that Surrey's tears where they fell, added fresh verdure to the tender green. This is a conceit indeed, and one which cannot pass without censure, though it may be supported by authority.

And when I weep and stinten other while

For patience, that is in womanhed;

Then all my wrath and rancour I exile;

And of the chrystal tearès that been shed,

The honey flowers growen up and spread.

King's Quair, Can. iii. St. 44.

Note 10, page 51, line 10. *And I half bend, &c.*]

The printed copies all read,

"And I half *bent* to throw me down withall."

Where we must suppose that the word "am" is to be understood, as if the passage were, "And I [am] half bent, half disposed to throw myself down the wall." But this would form so very unpleasing an ellipsis, that it seems more

probable to suppose that the transcriber changed a single letter, and wrote "*bent*" instead of "*bend*." I have therefore ventured to introduce the alteration into the text. It renders the picture complete.

My Ratcliffe when thy reckless youth offends. Page 51.

This very beautiful moral stanza was written by Surrey, I doubt not, on the occasion of the disgrace he had experienced on his return from Boulogne in 1546. It presents a striking picture of a religious mind, deriving improvement from calamity, and gradually acquiring a temper superior to the malice and the frowns of fortune.

Note 1, page 51. line 12. *Receive thy scourge by others chastisement.*]

This thought might have been suggested to Surrey by the following lines of Tibullus:

Vos ego nunc moneo. Felix, quicunque dolore

Alterius disces posse carere tuo. *Lib. III. El. VII.*

The mode of expression, perhaps, was borrowed from Chaucer.

For wise men been by fool's harm chastised.

Troil. & Cress. B. iii. l. 830.

Note 2, page 51, line 15. *Solomon said the wronged shall recure.*]

The passage alluded to is probably the following. "As for wounds they may be bound up again, and after an evil word may be reconciled; but whoso bewrayeth the secret of a friend, there is no hope to be had unto him." *Eccles. xxvii. 25.*

Note 3, page 51, line 16. *But Wyatt said true.*]

Wyatt being confined in the Tower, thus addresses his friend Bryan:

Sure am I, Bryan, this wound shall heal again;

But yet, alas! the scar shall aye remain.

See *Tottel's Songs and Sonnets*, p. 120. *Ed. 1814.*

The storms are past, the clouds are overblown. P. 51.

There is a curious passage in the Earl of Northampton's Dedicatory Epistle to the Queen, of his "Dutiful Defence of the Royal Regimen of Women." (*Bodleian MSS. 2958. Arch. A. 170.*) in which he informs us that this poem was the last which his father wrote; and he mentions the circumstance of his near approaching end, as giving him that just and dispassionate view of things for which the poem is remarkable. Certainly there is internal evidence to satisfy us that it must have been written by Surrey, under the pressure of

sorrow, and during both disgrace and imprisonment; but I apprehend we are to refer it to his confinement in Windsor Castle after his return from Boulogne, rather than to his imprisonment in the Tower, previous to his execution in 1547; and that for this obvious reason. Surrey plainly intimates, that he either had obtained, or was on the point of obtaining the King's pardon for the offence which had incurred his displeasure; and he speaks of that offence as one into which he had been hurried by the impetuosity and thoughtlessness of youth. These expressions may be well understood of that hasty anger which had led Surrey to provoke and defy the Earl of Hertford; but they cannot apply to an offence of that nature with which he stood charged at his final imprisonment; besides which, the whole course of the proceeding then instituted against Surrey, must have proved to him that he was to expect neither pardon nor clemency from the King. See the Memoirs, page lxxxvii, and the paraphrase of the lxxxviii. Psalm, Poems p. 78. The whole piece is of a very grave and sententious cast. Many parts are obscure, perhaps designedly so. Surrey wrote evidently to soothe his own feelings. He was as it were speaking to himself, and it was more natural that he should advert to what was passing in his mind by distant allusion, than by minute description.

Note 1, page 51, line ult. *In a determed breast.*]

“*Determed*” means “*determined* :” the *mens certa* of Virgil. A mind
Upon its stern determination bent.

So in another place :

Dido in mind rolls vengeance and deceit,
Determed to die. *Æneid*, B. III. l. 755.

Note 2, page 52, line 3. *No company so pleasant as my own.*]

In the late edition of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, this line is followed with a vacant space, to mark that a line is wanting, see p. 47. The measure certainly calls for a line to rhyme with the 2d, 4th, and 6th, to conclude the two first stanzas, formed on a single rhyme, answering with the two stanzas following. I have ventured to supply a verse. The general meaning of the whole passage is this: Surrey having by his “humble chere,” his submissive behaviour, repressed the “great rigour,” of his offended Sovereign, was sentenced to temporary confinement, under which he supported himself (having learned that “the storm was past,” and that the King did not meditate any further punishment) by those topics of consolation which would naturally present themselves to a reflecting mind; the necessity of bearing patiently a trial which no resistance could remove; and the mental freedom he then enjoyed when secluded from the world, compared with what he experienced when living in it. Under this impression he calls what was designed to be a severe chastisement, a “*sweet revenge*,” as it was

the cause to him "of mirth and rest; and adverting to the "thraldom in which he had lived when "at large," he says, "he found his prison free."

Note 4, page 52, line 9. *But when my glass presenteth unto me.*]

The printed editions read

"But when my glass *presented* unto me:"

This change of tense appears unnecessary. I have therefore ventured to make the alteration in the text. By "*the glass*" we are to understand, the memory, or the reflective powers of the mind. A metaphor both pleasing and just; and one which may be traced in the best writers of every language, I believe was original in Surrey; but it will be proper to quote the following passage from Chaucer, from whom he might have borrowed it. Troilus having seen Cressida, retires to his chamber to meditate upon her charms:

Thus gan he make a mirror of his mind,

In which he saw all wholly her figure.

Troil. and Cress. B. I. v. 366.

The whole passage as it stands in Surrey, has been thus imitated by Sackville:

Whereby I knew that she a Goddess was;

And therewithall *resorted to my mind*

My thought that *late presented me the glass*

Of brittle state of cares that here we find,

Of thousand woes to sely men assign'd. *Induc. fol. 208.*

Note 4, page 52, line 10. *The cureless wound, &c.*]

By the incurable wound we are here to understand, not Surrey's hopeless passion, for that seems no longer to have occupied his thoughts, but the imputation thrown upon his character by the charges which had occasioned his imprisonment. To a person of Surrey's nice sense of honour, any imputation on his conduct would be naturally considered a wound, the scar of which "would aye remain."

Note 5, page 52, line 13. *To spill that blood, &c.*]

This line is extremely obscure; we can give it a meaning only by assuming some fact as the occasion upon which it was written. If we consider that occasion to have been Surrey's defeat at Boulogne, when Sir Edward Poynings was killed, and suppose him to have been reflected upon as the cause of that person's death, then with a slight alteration in the text, we might read;

To *save* that blood which had so oft been shed

For Britain's sake;

and give the passage the following meaning. Surrey had before said that he

thought himself fortunate, in the mildness of his punishment. "Alas!" he continues, breaking out into a sudden exclamation, "Alas! to think that such comparative happiness should be granted to myself! a wretch who had not the heart to fight to save that blood, that person, who had so often bled in the cause of his country, and now alas! through my fault, is dead!" I am far, however, from thinking that Surrey's conduct at Boulogne had been made the ground of his imprisonment, and therefore am not satisfied myself with this explanation. I believe the cause of his disgrace to have been the angry language and menaces he had used to Hertford. See *Memoirs*, p. lxxxvii. Perhaps he had challenged him. On this supposition, (which is simply a conjecture) the lines may be understood as a reproach on Hertford, who, while Surrey was in prison, was enjoying the favour of his Sovereign. "Alas! to think that such happiness should be granted to a wretch who had not the heart to fight, and spill my blood in an honourable way; that blood which I have so often shed in the cause of my country, though now I am overwhelmed with misfortunes; am dead as it were in the sight of the world." Should the meaning here given to the expression, "and now alas! is dead," be thought objectionable, it ought to be remembered that the Italian phrase "*Sono morto*," must have been familiar to Surrey, which is used as expressive of calamity generally.

NOTES

ON THE SATIRE AGAINST THE CITIZENS OF LONDON.

Leland and all the subsequent writers who have enumerated Surrey's works speak of a Book of Satires, which they say he wrote against the City of London. Whether a Collection of Satires was intended, as the word Book seems to imply, or a single Satire only, has not been ascertained. I believe the last of these suppositions to be the truth: for had there been a "Book of Satires" the work would have been one of magnitude, some reference would have been made to it by succeeding authors, and some quotations from it would have been preserved.

The present poem is evidently either a part of the work in question, or that work entire. Mr. Park, in his edition of the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, first printed it from a volume of MS. poems then in his possession. But that MS. must have given the piece very imperfectly, for many of the lines there printed are wholly unintelligible. It is here given from the larger MS. in Dr. Harington's possession, which restores in several places the right reading. Still the poem is very defective. Some entire lines have been omitted by the copier, perhaps design-

edly, and others have been transposed, as is evident from the defective lines which the stanza, the Terza Rima of the Italians, enables us to ascertain. In one place a new arrangement was necessary to render the sense complete: and some lines were to be supplied. This has been attempted. Such lines as have been added are included within brackets; and the entire passage as it occurs in the MS. is given at the bottom of the page. The reader will decide how far the alteration is admissible. By the circumstance alluded to in the 20th line the date of the piece is ascertained. It must have been written in 1543. See the Memoirs prefixed to this volume, p. lii. Every allowance made for the imperfect state in which the Satire has been transmitted to us, still it can lay claim to but little merit as a composition. It is valuable only for the fact it has preserved, and for the picture which it exhibits of Surrey's romantic and generous turn of mind.

Note 1, page 53, line 2. *The root of strife.*]

"Hast thou who art the root of strife? London! hast thou accused me of breach of laws? me, whose breast burnt with indignation to see," &c.

Note 2, page 53, line 5. *Even the hate.*]

"The abhorrence which I felt when I even thought upon those sins which thou takest no shame to practise; this it was that impelled me to break out as I did, to manifest my detestation of thy wickedness."

Note 3, 53, line 9. *Therefore by words.*]

The MS. reads "*The which by words,*" &c. But as "hidden burthen" is the accusative case to the verb in this sentence, the relative pronoun is not only unnecessary, but detrimental to the sense, which is evidently this: "Seeing there was no hope that the evil could be remedied by the religious instruction of thy Pastors, I therefore resolved by unusual means to attempt thy reformation."

Note 4, page 53, line 22. *Of the Lord's behest.*]

The behest here alluded to is the declaration, so often repeated in Scripture, that the visitation of impenitent sinners shall be sudden: it shall not be accompanied by any previous warning. "Thou hast trusted in thy wickedness: thou hast said none seeth me; therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know from whence it ariseth; and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly which thou shalt not know."—*Isaiah, Ch. xlvii. v. 11.*

Note 5, page 53, line ult. *The soundless rap.*]

The sudden blow, is here called the "soundless rap," because it was not announced by any previous sound; as the flash of lightning which is the fore-runner of the thunder, is not attended with any noise.

Note 6, page 54, line 5. *And learn though, &c.*]

"And learn by this visitation that though the Just are sometimes depressed, they eventually shape higher, pursue a course which ultimately will lead them to an higher degree of permanent glory, than the wicked can ever attain unto."

Note 7, page 54, line 11. *Each cruel thought.*]

This line is so abrupt that we may conclude something has been lost. The meaning seems to be, "And the angry revengeful man shall experience in his own person all those cruel inflictions which he meditated against others."

Note 8, page 55, line 5. *Clothed with falsehood.*]

This is an expression which Surrey has used on another occasion, *p. 80, l. ult.* He borrowed it probably from the Scriptures. "He hath clothed himself with cursing like as with his garment," *Ps. cix. v. 18.* But it is the simple and expressive language of all ages. It is the ἀναιδέην ἐπιειμένε of Homer. *Iliad, B. I. l. 147.*

Note 9, page 55, line 9. *Indured hearts.*]

Surrey uses the same word again, in the same sense with *obdurate*.

Note 10, page 55, line 12. *O member of false Babylon.*]

Evidently in allusion to the following lines from Petrarch:

Fontana di dolore, albergo d' ira
Scola d' errori, e tempio d' eresia,
Già Roma, or Babilonia falsa e ria,
Per cui tanto si piagne, et si sospira;
O fucina d' inganni! prigion dira!
Ove 'l ben more, e 'l mal si nutre e cria;
Di vivi inferno, un gran miracol fia
Se Christo teco al fine non s' adira. *Son. 107, Parte 1.*

Petrarch, in another passage, calls the Roman Court "Putta sfacciata:" which Surrey has copied literally.

Note 11, page 55, line 14. *Draws fast thee on.*]

The MS. reads "draws fast upon." The sense is obvious: but as I am not aware of any authority for a similar ellipsis, I have ventured to make the alteration in the text.

Note 12, page 55, line 18. *The flame of wrath shall on thee fall, &c.*]

Evidently from the opening to Petrarch's 105th Sonnet;

Fiamma dal' Ciel su le tue treccie piova.

The lines immediately following which begin

"Thy proud towers, and turrets high."

are taken from Petrarch's 106th Sonnet,

Gl' idoli suoi saranno in terra sparsi,

E le torri superbe al ciel nemiche,

E suoi torrier di for, come dentr' arsi.

It were to be wished that Surrey in concluding his Satire, had copied the beautiful lines of poetic vision with which Petrarch closes his invective against the corruptions of the Court of Avignon:

Anime belle, e di virtuti amiche

Terranno 'l mondo; e poi vedrem lui farsi

Aureo tutto, e pien dell' opre antiche.

Ed. Comino. 1732, p. 116.

Note 13, page 55, line 23. *Thine idols burnt.*]

There seems no reason why this verse should be of ten, while all the rest are of eight syllables.

Note 14, page 55, line 24. *When none thy ruin, &c.*]

The meaning of the passage would be clearer if we might read,

"Then none thy ruin shall bemoan."

The conclusion of this poem affords a clear proof that Surrey was attached to the Reformed Religion, and that he regarded the Papal corruptions, in common with our Reformers, as the mystic Babylon of the Apocalypse. But Petrarch, in his sonnets, had only in contemplation the removal of the Papal See from Rome to Avignon, which with all the natives of Italy he condemned. He viewed Rome as the only legitimate seat of the Papal power; and considered the residence of the Popes at Avignon in the light of a spiritual captivity, similar to that of the Israelites. Coupling this general idea with what he witnessed of the extreme licentiousness of the Pope's Court, Petrarch was led to use the term Babylon, as descriptive of a corrupt state of manners, with-

out any reference to the spiritual corruptions of the Roman Church. But Surrey cannot be supposed to have called London a member of False Babylon, except in reference to those errors in doctrine which were designated by that name, and which he saw the city of London disposed to uphold.

NOTES

ON THE DESCRIPTION OF THE RESTLESS STATE OF THE LOVER.

This poem has been placed by Tottel among the Poems of Uncertain Authors. It is here given to Surrey on the authority of Turberville, who quoting a passage from it attributes it expressly to "the noble Surrey."

Though noble Surrey said, "that absence wonders frame,"

And make things out of sight forgot," and thereof takes his name.

Ed. 1810. p. 633.

The line referred to by Turberville is,

Absence, my friend, works wonders oft. *l.* 169.

This testimony is so clear, that other proof would be unnecessary, were it not that in several of the miscellanies of those days, pieces taken from Tottel's Songs and Sonnets bear the name of Surrey, as if he were the author of them, whereas nothing more is intended than a general reference to the volume in which the pieces cited were to be found. It will be proper to add therefore, that Turberville was nearly Surrey's contemporary; that from the manner in which he speaks of him in the poem he wrote on his memory (*Eng. Poets*, Vol. II. page 588,) he seems to have had some knowledge of him; and that he formed himself studiously on his writings; he consequently had the means of ascertaining which were Surrey's original compositions, and a motive to do so. Turberville therefore is not to be ranked with the editors of England's Helicon, or the other miscellanies of the day. Another argument in support of Turberville's assertion may be drawn from internal evidence. The whole of the poem is in Surrey's manner, both in style of expression and in turn of thought. The resemblance it bears to one of his acknowledged poems, "If care do cause men cry, why do not I complain?" forms an argument in favour of Surrey's claim which is almost conclusive; for it is remarkable in Surrey, that whenever a subject or a thought pleased him, he repeated it under a different form. See this proved at length in the Preliminary Dissertation. A further argument in support of Surrey's claim to this piece may be drawn from the imitations of particular passages in it, to be traced in Sackville and Turberville; for both those writers, the latter espe-

cially, confined their imitations almost exclusively to Surrey's poems. In Turberville comparatively few, and in Sackville hardly any imitations are to be traced of either of Wyatt's poems, or of those of the Uncertain Authors.

That the piece should have been printed by Tottel, among those of the Uncertain Authors, forms no objection whatever to the opinion here advanced; for Tottel does not seem to have had certain information himself respecting the writers of the poems he was editing. In his first edition a poem is given to Wyatt, which in the second is placed among those of Uncertain Authors. I have no doubt that there are several pieces among those of the Uncertain Authors, which will hereafter be discovered to have been written by Surrey. See the note in the new edition of Tottel's Songs and Sonnets to the piece beginning "I that Ulysses years have spent," p. 269. That piece in one of the Harleian MSS. is ascribed to Surrey.

With respect to the poem itself, it is one of singular merit and beauty. The objects selected for description, as well as the sentiments introduced, are striking and natural: they are chosen with great taste, and are expressed with great feeling. The versification is entitled to more praise than that of simple fluency or harmony. It is rich and varied, and exhibits as perfect a model as can be found for the Octo-syllabic verse. I have no doubt but that some of our greatest masters in that measure both read and studied the piece before us. Let the reader compare with it Milton's Allegro and Penseroso, Addison's 19th Psalm, and Dyer's Grongar Hill, the most finished pieces, each in its way, in our language, and he cannot fail of remarking a singular coincidence between the rythm and the structure of the verse in those poems, with the rythm and structure of the verse in this. In one instance the resemblance is very remarkable.

And all the planets as they stand. *v. 259.*

And all the planets as they roll. *Addison, XIX. Psalm.*

This poem does not occur in Tottel's first quarto. I have therefore followed the reading of Sir W. W. Wynne's copy. Some few corrections are introduced into the text from conjecture. The alterations, however minute, will be scrupulously pointed out as they occur.

Note 1, page 56, line 4. *To shew the life that they are in.]*

Every thing is re-animated, and gives signs that they are in life.

Note 2, page 56. line 7. *And laughs upon the earth anon.]*

This is an elegant and a forcible expression. It has been imitated by Sackville in his Induction:

The golden stars were whirl'd amid their race,
And on the earth did laugh with twinkling light.

Mir. for M. fo. 221.

Surrey probably borrowed the expression from Lucretius.

Semperque innubilis æther

Integit, et largè diffuso lumine ridet.

Lib. iii. v. 22.

Note 3, p. 56, l. 9. *Wet in the tears of her own kind.]*

The dew which rising in vapour from the earth, falls afterwards upon it again in small drops, may be said to be thus the earth's natural tears: "tears of her own kind." The conceit does not so far exceed the bound of propriety, as to be unpleasing; it is even entitled to praise, which can be seldom allowed to conceits in general.

Note 4. p. 56, l. 13. *And dries her children tenderly.]*

The warmth of the Sun gently dries the dew with which the leaves and boughs of the plants and trees are moistened; here poetically called the earth's children.

Note 5, p. 56, l. 15. *The mountains high, and how they stand.]*

To connect this with the preceding lines we must refer to the verb in the line above. "The Sun shews the plants, the high mountains, and the great main land." This rapid enumeration of objects succeeding one another in that sort of confusion in which they may be supposed to crowd upon the sight, is an instance of correct taste in writing, which we are surprised to meet with in the infancy as it were of our Poetry. An highly laboured passage of a similar nature, forms one of the chief beauties of Dyer's Grongar Hill; a poem of no ordinary merit.

Ever charming, ever new,

When will the landscape tire the view!

The fountain's fall, the river's flow,

The woody vallies, warm and low,

The windy summit, wild and high,

Roughly rushing on the sky,

The pleasant seat, the ruin'd tow'r,

The naked rock, the shady bow'r,

The town, the village, dome and farm,

Each gives each a double charm;

As pearls upon an Æthiop's arm.

By this mode of description the ideas crowd on the mind with the same rapidity with which in nature, they present themselves to the eye, and the whole landscape seems to burst at once upon the sight.

Note 6, p. 56, l. 22. *Her clergion.]*

Clergion is derived from the old French, and meant originally a choirister (en-

fant du chœur) or a child at school. So Chaucer;

Among these children was a widow's son,

A little *clergion* seven years of age.

Cant. Tales, Ed. Ox. l. 13433.

It was also used to describe a young person generally. So Chaucer uses it. See in Barbazan, Vol. II. p. 425, l. 84, the story of the young man who betrothed himself to the Virgin.

Un jour alla, et l'autre vint

Le *clergeon* crut et amenda.

In the passage before us, we must understand the word as meaning a "chorister;" an expression common to all poets when speaking of the feathered tribe. Selden not attending to this meaning of the word, proposes to read "legions."

Note 7. p. 56, l. 22. *Her own dear worth.*]

"*Worth*" here appears to signify "*children*," brood, or family. I do not recollect any other passage in which the word occurs.

Note 8. p. 57, l. 2. *How they have slept.*]

This thought and expression have been adopted by Sackville,

—— the little birds that sing

Now sweetly *slept* beside their mother's breast.

Comp. of D. of B. Mirror for M. fo. 221.

Note on line 11. page 57. *Then lovers walk and tell their tale.*]

These lines not only remind us of the following from the Allegro, but support the meaning usually given to the passage:

And every shepherd tells his tale

Under the hawthorn in the dale.

line 67.

"The Shepherd tells the story of his passion," and not "counts his sheep," as Mr. Headley has suggested.

Note 9. p. 57, l. 19. *No dreams do drench them.*]

To "*drench*" means literally "*to drown*." It is here used, as it often is by our early writers, to describe distress, or annoyance generally.

Note 10. p. 57, l. 22. *Or force them, &c.*]

"Chace them in pursuit;" see note on l. 28, p. 49.

Note 11. p. 57, l. 24. *The Shipman forces not.*]

"*To force*" means in this instance, *to regard*, or care for.

For Corin was her only joy,

Who *forc'd* her not a pin.

Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p. 155. Ed. 1813.

The thought in this passage has been imitated generally by Sackville, in his

Complaint of the Duke of Buckingham; where, describing the night, he says,
 The hare had not the greedy hounds in sight,
 The fearful deer of death stood not in doubt;
 The partridge dreamt not of the Falcon's foot, &c.

Mirrør for M. fo. 22.

Note 13. p. 57, l. 27. *Doth once run in.*]

This is so unusual and so inelegant an expression, that I apprehend some mistake either of the transcriber or of the printer.

Note 14. p. 57, l. 29. *And then their skips, &c.*]

Selden proposes to read,

And then *they* skip, and then *they* play.

The alteration is not called for. The idea is more naturally expressed by the original reading.

Note 15. p. 58, l. 3. *Save I alas! whom neither Sun, &c.*]

This is a turn of thought and expression to which Surrey seems to have been partial. He uses it on two other occasions.

All thing alive that see'th the heavens with eye
 With cloak of night may cover and excuse
 Itself from travail of the day's unrest
 Save I alas!—

Poems, p. 2, l. 6.

And so again in another poem.

For all things having life" sometime hath quiet rest;
 The bearing ass, the drawing ox," and every other beast;
 The peasant, and the post" that serves at all essays,
 The ship boy and the galley slave" have time to take their ease,
 Save I alas!—

Poems, p. 10, l. 1.

This is by no means the only instance in which Surrey repeats a favourite expression, or turn of thought.

Note 16. p. 58, l. 14. *That are sad*]

Altered from "that are mad." This and the line preceding are thus imitated by Turberville.

How may a man forget" the coal that burns within,
 Augmenting but his scarlet sore" piercing both fell and skin:
 May martyrs cease to mourn" or think on torments prest
 While pain to pain is added aye," to further their unrest.

Eng. Poets, Ed. 1810, p. 684.

Note 17, page 58, line 16. *That lack the thing should comfort me.*]

A similar turn of expression occurs at p. 20, l. 14.

When that I think what grief it is again

To live and lack the thing should ease my pain.

Note 18, page 58, line 19. *But those who knew their perfectness.*]

There is no antecedent to which the pronoun "*their*" can refer. I apprehend the line has suffered in transcription. We might read;

But those who knew *joy's* perfectness.

Note 19, page 58, line 25. *For when I weigh your worthiness.*]

The same idea, with little variation, occurs in a previous poem, written on the same subject as the present :

But then I think again : " why should I thus mistrust

So sweet a wight, so sad, so wise," that is so true and just. See p. 11. l. 7.

Note 21, page 59, line 9. *In dumps I stand.*]

" Absorbed in the deepest melancholy." The word "*dumps*," though now used only in a ludicrous sense, and in burlesque poetry, was formerly employed in serious composition :

There let no thought of joy, or pleasure vain

Dare to approach, that may my solace breed,

But sullen *dumps*, and dreary sad disdain. *Spenser, Sonnet 52.*

In like manner "*a dump*" meant an elegy, or any mournful strain of poetry. A funeral elegy on the Earl of Pembroke, was called "*a dump* upon the death of the Most Noble Henry, late Earl of Pembroke." See *Todd's Spenser, Vol. VIII. p. 151.*

Note 22, page 59, line 11. *As pale as any clout and dead.*]

This expression will not at present be thought admissible ; not that it contains in itself any thing vulgar or ignoble, but that the word has changed its signification. *Clout* must formerly have meant, " fine white linen." Conveying that idea the comparison would be deemed elegant, and might be shewn to have been familiar to the best writers in all ages. Sackville did not think the word objectionable; he uses it in his Complaint of the Duke of Buckingham :

With blood red eye, he stareth here and there,

Frothing at mouth, *with face as pale as clouts.* *Mirr. for M. f. 222.*

Note 23, page 59, line 13. *It nil so bide*]

A common contraction of "*ne will*," for "*will not*." This and the preceding

line are somewhat obscure, from the abrupt mode of expression adopted. Having described himself as being pale, to mark his change of colour, the lover says, "Lo! suddenly the blood rushes into my face! But it will not abide there; it instantly departs again."

Note 24, page 59, line 17. *Thus come and go.*]

Altered from "*thus comes and goes.*" "The change of expression which I experience in my countenance, produces a corresponding change of emotion in my mind: a sigh relieves me, and then the conflict ends."

Note 25, page 59, line 29. *That even a martyr's sigh it is.*]

Something more is meant by the word martyr than simply a sufferer, or a person in pain. In former days devotion, however ill understood, mixed with every worldly pursuit. It was blended with gallantry among the rest. Love's Calendar could boast its martyrs and confessors, as well as the Calendar of the Pope of Rome. Those lovers received the honour of canonization, who were known to have continued faithful amid all the trials they experienced, either from the frowns of fortune, or from their mistresses' severity. In King James's Quair, there is a description of the temple of Venus, in which were found lovers "many a million," of whom mention is made in story, from every nation:

The quhois (*whose*) aventure and great labour
 Aboon their heades, written there I find;
 This is to say'n, *martyrs and confessor*,
 Each in his stage, and his make in his hand.
 And therewithall there people saw I stand,
 With many a solempne (*solemn*) countenance
 After as love them liked to advance. *Can. III. St. VI.*

Note 26, page 60, line 26. *And thy manere.*]

"*Manere*" for *manner* occurs so frequently in Chaucer, and in our early poets, that I believe that orthography to have given the pronounciation of the time, and not to have been a licence for the sake of the rhyme:

And pained her to counterfeiten chere
 Of court, and to been stately of *manere*. *Cant. Tales, l. 140.*

Note 27, page 60, line 29. *Stuffed full of woe.*]

We should justly condemn this expression now as too familiar for serious poetry. It was not improved by some writers who substituted "*farsed*" in its place:

Yet ruthless though she were" and *farsed* full of ire.
Turberville, Eng. Poet. Vol. II. p. 606.

Note 28, page 61, line 1. *A fantaser of some thou art.*]

"A lover." *Fancy* was synonymous with *love*. See note to l. 17, p. 40.

Note on line 3, page 61. *Had thou read old pamphlets.*]

Pamphlet does not mean here a small tract, or flying publication; but verses generally, poetical composition. In the *Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, Proctor introduces several copies of verses of his own writing, and gives them this general title, "Pretty Pamphlets." Page 125, *Ed.* 1814.

Note on line 13, page 61. *Absence works wonders oft.*]

This line has been noted in the preliminary observation as having been alluded to and quoted by Turberville. Surrey has employed the thought contained in it before, see p. 11, l. 4. but he enlarges upon it in the present passage.

Note 29, page 61, line 27. *Now to now fro.*]

Altered from "now to *and* low." Selden proposes the same emendation.

Note 30, page 61, line ult. *I find her not so dangerous.*]

"*Danger*" meant sometimes *power* :

Narcissus was a bachelere

That love had caught in his *dangere*. *Rom. of R.* 1470.

"*Dangerous*" therefore, in all probability, means in the passage before us "powerful." "What you tell me of the effects of absence is wonderful; but I do not find that absence has power enough to change me."

Note 31, page 62, line 8. *Unneath I love and shall.*]

"*Unneath*" means "*scarcely*," or "*with difficulty*," a sense which cannot apply to the present passage. It seems evidently an erroneous reading. We may suppose Surrey to have written :

To her whom *erst* I love and shall.

Erst, means "long since, of a long continuance." The emendation would come still nearer to the original word, if we were to read "*at erst*;" the sense would be improved. "*At erst*," means at the first glance, immediately :

And then *at erst* amongst them they saw

That Walter was no fool.

Chaucer's Clerk's Tale, Urry, p. 104, l. 2006.

But this would require a further emendation :

To her whom *at erst* I loved, and shall.

Note 32, page 62, line 8. *As lowly as it shall behove.*]

Altered from "*and lowly.*" Selden proposes the same correction.

Note 33, page 62, line 10. *Nay part her fro'.]*

Unless we suppose "*nay*" to be a contraction for "*ne 'aye,*" a contraction of which I do not remember any example; we may suppose the word to have been originally written "*ne'er.*"

Note 34, page 62, line 13. *That my own love, &c.]*

The line in the printed copy stands "*But that my love,*" &c. The sense seems to call for the emendation introduced into the text. Surrey's meaning is this: "*I consider it a proof that I shall not be forgotten in absence myself, that my own love increases in absence; and I believe her mind and mine to be constituted alike.*"

Note on line 21, page 62. *On thee she speaks, on thee she thinks.]*

A friend has suggested, that Surrey probably had in view when he wrote this passage, the following lines from Terence:

Egone quid velim!

* * * * *

Dies noctesque me ames; me desideres;

Me somnies; me expectes; de me cogites;

Me speres; me te oblectes; mecum tota sis;

Meus fac sis postremo animus quando ego sum tuus.

Eunuchus Actus I. Scena II.

I have no doubt that the suggestion is well founded. This instance adds one to many, which might be adduced to prove, that Surrey was a general as well as an elegant scholar.

Note 35, page 63, line 2. *And if that love and truth were gone.]*

This is a pleasing compliment from a lover to his mistress. It has often been repeated under various forms. It is here expressed with much elegance and simplicity.

Note 35, page 63, line 3. *For in her mind no thought there is, &c.]*

These lines will be found quoted by Puttenham in his *Art of Poetry*, B. iii. ch. 16, p. 146. The whole of the passage is particularly beautiful. The effect produced by the introduction of the short abrupt speeches which the Fair Geraldine is supposed to make, gives the whole a lively and a dramatic effect, and is exactly in Surrey's manner.

Note on line 5, page 63. *And tenders thee and all thy heal.*]

Heal, spelt also "*hele*," means "prosperity." Thus Chaucer:

For now is Palamon, in alle wele,
Living in bliss, in richesse, and in *hele*.

Knight's Tale, v. 3104.

"So have I *hele*," occurs in another passage for "so may I prosper."

Note 36, page 64, line 3. *Thine own most true, &c.*]

This passage has been imitated by Turberville.

English Poets, vol. ii. p. 597, ed. 1810.

Note 37, page 64, line 17. *Hath thus his reason said.*]

"Has finished his speech." This is one of the few instances of French idiom to be found in Surrey's writings.

Note 38, page 64, line 18. *I feel me well apaid.*]

"*Apaid*:" the same as "*paid*," satisfied or requited.

And if you thinketh this is well y-said

Sayeth your avice; and holdeth you *apaid*.

Cant. Tales, Ox. ed. l. 1869.

Note to line 19, page 64. *O'erspreads my bones.*]

The word "*bones*" in this line means evidently "limbs" generally. Surrey on another occasion uses the word in the same sense.

Note 39, page 64, line 25. *And all the planets as they stand.*]

This is an apparent solecism; but the word "*stand*" meant formerly things "ranged in order or succession," without implying that they were fixed.

So Archbishop Parker, in his translation of the Psalms,

The sun, the moon, and all the stars," in order as they stand.

Note 40, page 64, line 27. *That their aspects.*]

"*Aspects*," when used as a term in judicial astrology, was, I believe, always accented on the last syllable. Surrey would not have spoken the language of his times, if he had not ascribed his success in love to the influence of the stars.

Note 41, page 65, line 10. *Bears me in hand.*]

To bear in hand means generally "*to deceive*" in a bad sense. See note 5, page 29, line 20. Here it means that pleasing sort of self-deceit in which lovers are but too apt to indulge. Surrey's meaning is, "Thus I rest contented in the belief of that with which hope flatters me." Which belief was, that the Fair Geraldine should be his. That he was her's was a matter not of hope but of certainty.

I have, therefore, ventured to make the alteration introduced into the text. The line in the printed copies runs thus :

That I am *your's*, and shall so be.

Note 42, page 65, line 13. *As that which, &c.*]

Altered from "as *he* which all." A personification of hope could hardly be intended here.

Note 43, page 65, line 15. *My pleasure chief which here I find.*]

Altered from "which *most* I find." The couplet, however this line be read, connects so ill with the lines which in all the printed editions immediately follow, that I have ventured to insert two lines into the text, being fully persuaded that something has been lost. The general meaning of the passage will thus be rendered obvious.

Note 44, page 65, line 19. *Until the death.*]

The word "death," with the article prefixed, as in the text, is, I believe, seldom used but when death stands in the sentence without reference to any thing consequent: as, "he shall die the death." We ought probably to read in this place "until *that* death."

NOTES

ON THE PARAPHRASE OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

Surrey's Paraphrase of the five first chapters of the Book of Ecclesiastes was published first by Mr. Park, in his edition of the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, from a manuscript in his possession supposed to have formed one of the Harington collection. It is here given from another manuscript in Dr. Harington's possession. It does not appear, however, that either of the manuscripts is correct. Some passages are still very obscure, whilst others are manifestly incorrect, which has occasioned the necessity of introducing several emendations into the text.

Though the Paraphrase is known now to exist only in the manuscripts above mentioned, from the reference made to it by our early English writers, we might be almost tempted to suppose that it was once printed: at all events, written copies must have been widely circulated. Puttenham, in his *Art of English Poetry*, speaks of the paraphrase as a work well known, and quotes the first line to criticise the structure of the verse. See B. ii. p. 60. Archbishop Parker, also, in his translation of the Psalms printed in 1567 (if indeed he be the author of that translation) prefixes to his work two lines from Surrey's Paraphrase as a general motto. See Warton's *Hist. of E. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 182; and Hawkins's *History of Music*, vol. iii. p. 502.

There is nothing that enables us to fix precisely the time when this paraphrase was made. The turn of thought that reigns throughout, and the frequent recurrence of expressions to be found in Surrey's other writings, lead us to conjecture, that it was one of his latest compositions. There even are some allusions in it which would authorise our supposing it to have been written by Surrey during his disgrace, after his return from Boulogne in 1546. No reference is made to his disappointment in love. The subjects of his complaint are principally the insincerity of friends, the malice of enemies, and the instability of worldly greatness. The whole bears evident marks of haste: it seems never to have received Surrey's final corrections, and therefore is not to be severely criticised. It is one of those pieces to which Chalonier alludes, when he tells us that Surrey did not live,

"Extremam cœptis superaddere limam."

Note 1, page 66, line 1. *I, Solomon, David's Son.*]

Puttenham reads the line thus; "Solomon David's son, " King of Jerusalem."

But his own reasoning upon the line proves the reading in the text to be the correct reading. "This verse," he says, "is a good Alexandrine;" but, perchance, would have sounded more musically if the first word had been a dissyllable, or two monosyllables, and not a dissyllable, having a sharp accent on the antepenultima as it hath, by which occasion it runs like a dactyl, and carries the two latter syllables away so speedily, that it seems but one foot in a vulgar measure; and by that means makes the verse seem but of eleven syllables. *Art of Poetry, Book ii. p. 60.* The addition of the monosyllable "I," effectually obviates the objection raised against the rythm of the verse, which will now be naturally divided thus;

I, Salo | mon Da | vid's son | " King of | Jeru | salem."

The variation of reading proves that Surrey's poems before they were printed, were very generally circulated in MS. Puttenham frequently quotes them; but his quotations seldom agree with either the Harington MS. or with any of Tottel's editions.

Note 2, page 66, line 2. *And in his laws lead them.*]

The MS. reads, "and in his laws *to* lead them." The word "*to*" is not necessary to the sense, and is injurious to the metre.

Note 3, page 66, line 6. *Travail of their mind.*]

"Exertion of the mind." The word is commonly employed in a good sense: So in Sir Thomas Wyatt's Epitaph:

——— a worthy guide to bring
Our English youth, by travail unto fame.

Poems, page 46, line 3.

See the note upon the place, and note 14, line 14, page 28.

Note 4, page 66, line 14. *And doth remove for none.*]

“*And*” is here in the sense of “yet.” “Remove” means generally change. See page 16, l. 23, and the note upon it.

Note 5, page 66, line 11, 12. *When that the restless sun.*]

The ideas which Surrey has here expressed in two lines, Sir Thomas Wyatt has dilated into four :

Westward the sun from out " the east scant shews his light,
When in the west he hies him straight " within the dark of night ;
And comes as fast where he " began his path awry,
From east to west, from west to east " so does his journey lie.

See Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p. 104.

This instance, among many, will serve to show how much more compressed the style of Surrey was than that of Wyatt.

Note 6, page 66, line 15. *Swell by rage of rain.*]

Violence of rain. “*Rage*” was commonly used in this meaning. So in John Harington's verses addressed to Isabella Markham :

Like as the rage of rain
Fills rivers with excess.

Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p. 266, ed. 1814.

And again in Sir Thomas Wyatt's poems,

So fareth Love, when he hath ta'en a source,
Rage is his rein ! resistance vaileth none !

Ibid. p. 67, line 23.

Note 7, page 67, line 7. *A torment for our hire.*]

“This sore travail hath God given to the sons of men to be exercised therewith,” ver. 13. *Hire* must here mean reward. The thirst for knowledge which God hath engrafted in our breasts brings no other reward, or profit, than pain and anxiety. The word “hire,” for “reward,” occurs more than once in Surrey's poems.

Note 8, page 67, line 12. *Which be in number, &c.*]

“Which” refers not to the works of Nature, as at first we might be tempted

to think, but to the *defects* in the works of Nature. "That which is wanting, or, as the margin reads, *defects* cannot be numbered." Verse 15.

Note on line 21, page 67. *And such as enterprise.*]

These lines are thus quoted by Archbishop Parker, in his translation of the Psalms noted by Warton, in his History of English Poetry, vol. iii.

All such as enterprise,
To put new things in ure;
Of them that scorn shall their device,
May well themselves assure.

The variations in these lines are not important, but they are sufficient to prove there was a difference in the copies whether in print or manuscript, then in circulation. "To put in ure," is to put in practice. See note on line 20, page 7.

CHAP. II.

Note 1, page 67, line 23. *From pensive fancies.*]

"From such pursuits as occasioned exercise of thought."

Note 2, page 67, line ult. *Always me thought.*]

The meaning intended seems to be evidently this: "I always thought such vain delights bore an appearance of levity, which ill agreed with the gravity of the kingly character." But the words as they stand can hardly yield any sense; I conceive they may be corrupt; but it would be difficult to propose any emendation which would not occasion a wider departure from the manuscript than might be justifiable.

Note 3, page 68, line 4. *In so great choice, &c.*]

The sense of this line is obvious, though the construction is involved.

"I sought also to purchase other pleasures that I might find in so great choice the thing that might content me best." Perplexed as this construction is, we should not be justified in introducing any alteration into the text, for Surrey more than once uses a construction nearly as much involved as this is.

Note 4, page 68, line 7. *To build me houses fair.*]

The MS. reads, "To build *my* houses fair." The correction seems necessary, and is obvious. "Set I all my *cure*," means, "I set all my *care*." "I gave all my attention to the building me houses." See for the use of the word "*cure*," p. 2. l. 1, and the note that passage.

Note 5, page 68, line 11. *By conduits lively springs, &c.*]

This is transposed from the MS. which reads "conduits *by* lively springs," &c. *Lively* is here put for *living*, as at p. 47. l. 26.

"His lively face, their breasts how did it fret."]

"How did the sight of Wyatt, when living, cause them to consume with envy."

Note 7, page 68, line 19. *Lemans I had, &c.*]

Leman, though it grew at last to have a limited meaning, was for a long time used generally for any person who was an object of attachment, as well in a good as in a bad sense. It applied also equally to both sexes.

Many a lovely lady and here (*their*) lemmanes knights
Swooned and sweat for sorrow of death's dints.

Peirs Plowman, p. 397. Ed. 1813.

Now dear lemman, quoth she, go farewell. *Cant. Tales*, 4238.

Unto his lemman Dalida he told. *Ib.* 14069.

The etymology of the word is uncertain. Some derive it from *Le mignon* or *L'aimante* in the French; some from the Teutonic *Leif-man*, or *lad-man*, from "*laden*, to invite, as *pellex* is derived from *pelliciendo*. *Leof*, in Anglo-Saxon, is "*carus*"; whence *leef-man* and *leeve-man* are equally to be rendered, "*amasius*." *Lemand*, the participle from "*Lemen*," to shine, may offer another derivation. See note to *Fairy Queen*. B. 2. C. 5. S. 28. Ed. 1805. Jamieson's Scot. Dic. and Sibbald's Gloss. to his Chronicle of Scottish poetry.

Note 7, page 68, line 20. *That whoso gazed.*]

This thought occurs with but little variation elsewhere. Speaking of a lady's eyes, they are described to be such.

"Whose near effects the gazer could but rue."

Note 8, page 68, line 24. *That might give men delight.*]

The MS. reads, "that might give *them* delight." The alteration introduced into the text is suggested by the words of which the passage before us is a paraphrase:

"I withheld not my heart from any joy."

The line would have been better in itself had it been altered thus:

"Nor from my heart no kind of joy, " that might give *me* delight."

but the other, while it afforded a clear, though not so definite an idea, occasioned a smaller departure from the original reading.

Note 9, page 68, line 26. *To feed my eyes, &c.]*

This distich in the MS. runs thus :

Which was the only fruit" I reap'd of all my pain .

To feed my eyes, and to rejoice" my heart with all my gain.

The transposition of the lines, and the changing "*which*" to "*this*," seems so necessary to the sense, that I have ventured on introducing it into the text. Sense might indeed have been obtained by an alteration of one word alone.

This was the only fruit " I reap'd of all my pain ;

To feed my eyes, and to rejoice," my heart with all my gain.

But the involution still remains to render the place needlessly obscure.

Note 10, page 68, line 28. *And hearts unrest thus I had sought.]*

The MS. "*that* I had sought ;" which destroys the sense of the passage.

Note 11, page 68, line 29. *With that abused fire.]*

The abused fire is, pride, which by its false glare perverted and led him to abuse his reason. The periphrasis is by no means devoid of elegance or propriety.

Note 12, page 69, line 4. *The liquor of the grape.]*

The expression was borrowed probably from Sir T. Wyatt.

And when she lists the liquor of the grape

Doth glad her heart.

Sat. 1. l. 29

Note 13, page 69, line 11. *Whose eyes did seem, &c.]*

" The excellence of wisdom then became manifest unto me ; to me, *whose* eyes I before vainly thought were equal to the discovery of all error. But my self-conceit had blinded me so that I became a fool, and groped as a blind man for the way." The passage in the Bible is general. " A wise man's eyes are in his head, but the fool walketh in darkness." But this is not the only passage in which Surrey avails himself of a general idea to enter more at large on the subject of his own feelings. In the concluding line there is a seeming impropriety from the unusual application of the pronoun there employed.

But will had closed folly's eyes, "*which* groped like the blind.

It ought to have been

—— *Who* groped like the blind.

But it must have been long since observed by the attentive reader, that Surrey is very careless as to the proper use of the pronouns. This, however, was not his fault. The distinction of the several pronouns was at that period very little attended to. Some had hardly any definite meaning at all.

Note 14, page 69, line 19, 20. *As slander's loathsome bruit, &c.*

This distich as it now stands can be rendered intelligible only by supposing the pronoun "*which*," to be understood before the verb "*sounds*." The sense then will be, "In like manner as the voice of slander, which proclaims the name of fools, is soon put to silence and despised, the just reward of folly; so also time obscures the fame even of the good." Unless we admit some such a construction as the above, we shall be compelled to alter the text. Should any alteration be deemed necessary, we might read;

As slander's loathsome bruit" sounds folly's just reward
Which put to silence all betime" is brought in small regard;
Even so doth time devour" the noble blasts of fame.

Note 15, page 69, line 28. *An heir unknown.]*

Surrey had evidently in mind the following expression in Horace:

Neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi. *Lib. II. Ode 18.*

Note 16, page 70, line 18. *What stable wealth may stand, &c.]*

"But I, the greatness of whose treasures has been famous throughout all the world, have learnt from experience, that there is no certain enjoyment to be derived from the excess of accumulation." "*Wealth*" here, as in many other places in Surrey's writings, stands for happiness, see *p. 8. l. 17*; "Fortune envieth the *wealth*, &c." and the note upon it.

CHAP. III.

Note 1, page 70, line 20. *The slipper top.]*

"I find from sad experience that the summit of worldly prosperity is slippery." *Slipper* is almost always used in this sense, see *p. 21, l. 3*; where *slipperer*, the regular comparative of *slipper*, occurs. We sometimes hear the word used in common conversation, though we regard it only as the effect of a vulgar or an illiterate pronunciation.

Note 2, page 70, line 23. *The grafted plants with pain.*]

This involution is in Surrey's usual style. "Those plants which we grafted with pain, when they are spread with blossoms we root up."

Note 3, page 71, line 5. *Which vade returning tho'.*]

The MS. reads, "returning *mo*:" which seems unintelligible. I have therefore substituted *tho'*, which was very frequently used for, *then*.

Yet sang the lark, and Palamon right *tho'*

With holy heart and with an high courage

He rose.

Chaucer's Cant. Tales, 2214.

Tho' to an hill his fainting flock he led

And thus him plain'd.

Spencer, Eclogue 1, l. 11.

"*To vade*," from the Latin *vado*, means, "to pass away." It is frequently put for "*fade*;" but I believe incorrectly. "*To vade*," is to withdraw from the sight, as an object does which vanishes: "*to fade*," is to lose vigour or colour, as a flower which decays. Consistently with this distinction, I think we ought to read in Hamlet:

It vaded on the crowing of the cock;

Act 1. Scene 1.

and not as in the printed Editions "*faded*." The ghost did not become gradually less and less distinct as an object fading out of sight; but passed away, vanished immediately on the crowing of the cock.

Note 4, page 71, line 12. *Whom straight we reconcile again, &c.*]

The pronoun "*whom*" here introduced, occasions such a change in the construction, that I apprehend it is an error of the copier, and that we ought to read *then* or *when*:

When straight we reconcile again.

Note 5, page 71, line 16. *Such burthens for our wealth.*]

"These burthens or cares with which our breasts are charged, are all the wealth, the fruit, to be derived from our anxious search after happiness."

Note 6, page 72, line 1. *The grisly wonders past.*]

The orthography of the MS. is "*greeslye*." I presume the word is the same with what we spell *grisly*; but the meaning must be not that of terrific to the sight, but such wonders as make generally a deep impression on the mind.

Note 7, page 72, line 3. *Lo! thus his careful scourge.*]

These lines are in the spirit of the moral stanza which Surrey addressed to his friend Ratcliffe in distress, and the expression is in both places the same:

My Ratcliffe, when thy rechless youth offends,
Receive thy scourge by others chastisement. p. 51. l. 11.

The passage itself is one which warrants the conjecture that the Paraphrase was made by Surrey, during his disgrace in 1546. The sentiment expressed is truly pious, and becoming not only a religious, but an elevated mind. It bespeaks a person who was deeply impressed with a sense of God's loving kindness even in punishment. "His paternal visitations," says Surrey, "fall providentially upon us; and whenever the flesh, that is, the natural propensities of human frailty, dispose us to forget our duty, he recalls us to a sense of it by the scourge of temporal calamity."

Note 8, p. 72, line 5. *Had wandered sore my wit.*]

This is so unusual an expression, I suspect it may be corrupt. Surrey might say, "that he had travailled sore his wit;" had greatly fatigued his understanding; or that he had *for-wandered* his wit, had bewildered his understanding; but not that he had *sore wandered* it.

Note 9, page 72, line 6. *I saw a royal throne, &c.*]

The MS. reads, "I saw a royal throne *eke where*" as justice should have sit." Some correction is requisite. What I have ventured to suggest will be found, I hope, at least to preserve the sense entire.

Note 10, page 72, line 8. *Wrong there was set, &c.*]

The MS. reads, "where wrong was set." The alteration in the line just above renders the change proposed in this, necessary. In the conclusion of the line we might read, "that drinks the guiltless blood," unless we suppose that Surrey had some particular circumstance, or person in view.

Note 12, page 72, line 12. *Like the brute beasts, &c.*]

The sense seems to be, "and thus every one who thinking himself injured resists Divine correction, and swells in rage as brute beasts do in the furiousness of their nature, may at length confess his error."

Note 12, page 72, line 23. *Gather may he that savoury fruit, &c.*]

"Wherefore the avaricious person may perceive from this, what is the savoury fruit, that is, how bitter the fruit is which springs from all his labour.

Note 13, page 72, line 23. *I mean to take in worth.*]

"To take in good part, to be contented with."

My readers all now must I pray

In worth to take my pain.

Archbishop Parker's Tran. of Psalms.

See p. 7. l. 9. and the note upon it.

CHAPTER IV.

Note 1, page 73, line 4. *That baineth all their breast.*]

"Bedeweth, batheth." So in another poem,

And when salt tears did bayne my breast. p. 23, l. 17.

And again, p. 123, l. 19. It seems to have been a favourite expression with Surrey and our early writers.

Note 2, page 73, line 6. *Such rigour to repress.*]

See p. 51, l. 18.

And humble chere great rigour hath repress.

Note 3, page 73, line 12. —*gan grow into disdain.*]

"Began to be despised." An imitation of the Italian idiom, common with Surrey. See p. 2, l. 15.

Note 4, page 73, line 16. *By travail and misease.*]

The printed copy reads, evidently erroneously, "By travail and disease."

Note 5, page 73, line 17. *Without both friend or kin.*]

This is not an usual mode of expression: we should say at present, either "without both friend *and* kin:" or else, "without *or* friend or kin."

Note 6, page 73, line 22. *To whose avail, &c.*]

"If their judgments were disabused, so that they could see for whose advantage it was they underwent such pain and labour, they then would repent them of their fruitless toil."

Note 8, page 74, line 15. — *and by conjures.*

“Conspiracies.” The use of the word as a substantive is not common. Surrey uses it as a participle in several places. See *p.* 100, *l.* 24. It occurs as a verb in *p.* 146, *l.* 20. And in Spenser,

When those 'gainst states and kingdoms do *conjure*,
Who then can think their headlong ruin to recure.

Fairy Queen. B. v. C. 10, l. 26.

Note 9, page 74, line 17. *Without respect I saw of friend or foe.]*

The MS. reads “*a* friend or foe.” The mistake was one easily made: in familiar writing as well as in conversation *a* was frequently substituted for *of*.

Note 10, page 74, line 18. — *in tracing such.]*

This is an unusual form of expression; we now should say “In tracing there *whereas*.” The adverb of place “*whereas*” cannot with any propriety follow the pronoun “*such*,” which here refers to persons. The meaning is therefore doubtful. It may either be “Whose feet are worn bare in following, tracing out the footsteps of those from whom honours are derived,” or “in walking up and down *there, where*, honours grow.”

Note 11, page 74, line 23. *And that a train like great, &c.]*

Coverdale’s translation of this passage is, “As for the people that have been before him, they are innumerable.” Which ascertains the meaning of this line to be, “those which follow them who have just died, are as numerous, attend in a train as great, as that which has gone before.” The M.S. reads “upon the dead *depend*.” The alteration introduced into the text, was probably the original reading.

Note 12, page 74, line 24. *Hath his uncertain end.]*

“*His*,” stands here for the indefinite pronoun “*its*.” This use of the word formerly was common. “All this hath he ordained marvellous goodly to every thing *his* due time.” Coverdale’s Bible, Eccles. Ch. 3. The word is still retained in the common translation.

Note 13, page 74, line ult. *The yolden ghost]*

“The Spirit perfectly yielded up to his will.” For the use of the participle passive “*yolden*,” sometimes written “*yelden*,” see note to line 26, page 95. The whole of this passage, which is highly beautiful, is an addition from Surrey’s own imagination. It presents a striking proof of his pious turn of mind and of his just views of religion.

Note 14, page 75, line 2. *And grant thee thy request.*]

The M.S. reads "and grant to thy request." *Unsavoureth* is a word for which I do not recollect any authority. We may here observe, generally, that the privative "*un*," was applied formerly to more words than it is at present. In Chaucer we meet with *unease*, for *uneasiness*; *unfamous* for *unknown*; *unmanhood* for cowardice, and *unmighty* for *unable*, with many other similar. The adjective *unsavoury*, is still in use.

CHAP. V.

Note 1, page 75, line 6. *The charged breast.*]

"The breast loaded with sorrow." See page 15, line 5, 6; and again page 51, line 5.

Note 2, page 75, line 9. *More shall thy penitent sighs.*]

This is one of the instances in which a redundant short syllable is introduced. In reading the verse, by a proper management of the voice, the measure is easily preserved. It should be remembered that even in Surrey's time, verses still continued to be read out loud to companies of persons assembled, many of whom either could not read, or read with difficulty. The redundant syllables were then not perceived, nor the defective syllables missed.

Then | Zephyrus | with his | gentle | breath" dissolves the ice as fast.

page 66, line 14.

And | carry the | rod that | scourgeth | them" that glory in their gold.

page 70, line 16.

By | chattering | of un | holy | lips" is fruitless prayer bred.

page 75, line 14.

where *prayer* must be read as a dissyllable as in the 8th line of the same chapter.

Note 3, page 75, line 17. *Right sweetly smoke.*]

The M. S. reads "*smokes*," the corresponding rhyme to which is "*provokes*;" I am aware, that the singular termination is frequently used for the plural; many such instances in the course of these poems occur. But in the present instance, I have ventured to alter the words, thinking that they were mis-spelt by the inaccuracy of the transcriber. Surrey's nice ear would hardly have tolerated in the same line, so many words ending with an "s." The metaphor was no doubt suggested by the expression of St. Paul, "an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God." *Philip. c. iv. v. 18.*

Note 4, page 75, line 19. *Yet bet with humble heart.*]

Bet for better, seems not to have been a contraction, but the original form of the Comparative. In *Peirs Plowman*, the allegorical personage *Do-better*, contrasted with *Do-well* and *Do-best*, is written always, *Do-bet*.

So in Chaucer:

I in few years
Have spended upon divers manner freres
Full many a pound, yet fare I never *the bet*.

Cant. Tales 7533. *Ed. Ox.*

And again

But of thy life ne be no more so large:
Keep *bet* my good; I give thee this in charge. *Ibid.* l. 13362

Note 5, page 76, line 1. — *few words of hot effect.*]

“*Effect*” is put here for affections, as at page 46, line 5. See the note on the place. “*Hot effect*” is the same with “*hot desire*” in the preceding chapter.

Note 6, page 76, line 2. *Allowance vain of void desert neglect.*]

“*Allowance*” must here mean *praise*. I do not remember to have ever met with the word as a substantive but in this instance. As a verb it is not of uncommon occurrence. So Chaucer,

“So feelingly thou speaks’t, I thee *allouthe*;”

for thus almost all the MSS. read the line, though in the Oxford edition it is printed otherwise. See *Cant. Tales*, l. 10988.

Anon quhen this amiable had ended her specke
Loud lauchand the laif *allowit* her meikel.

Dunbar’s Poems, p. 63.

“The rest laughing praised her greatly.” The word is derived immediately from the old French *aloer*: of which *aloence* would be the substantive. *Aloer*, *alouser*, *aloser*, *louer*, *vanter*, *faire l’eloge*. *Gloss. de la Langue Rom. in verb.* The meaning of the passage in the text is this. “Neglect,” i. e. avoid offering vain praise, which is destitute of all merit.”

Note 7, page 76, line 12. — *the raven of their hungry hands.*]

“*Raven*” must here be understood actively for “*ravening*.”

Note 8, page 76, line 13. — *for he that gapes for gold.*]

The MS. reads “that gapes for good.” The alteration seems to be both obvious and necessary.

Note 9, page 76, line 18. — *and feasts of none excess.*]

The MS. reads "*of great excess*," evidently an error of the transcriber. Perhaps, in the first part of the line, we ought to read "*of diet thin*," instead of "*in diet thin*." Those sweet sleeps which beguile the night "*are of diet thin*," arise from temperance. For a general resemblance of expression, see p. 43, l. 23, *et seq.*

Note 10, page 76, line 19. *But waker lie the rich.*]

The MS. reads, "But wakerlye the rich." The emendation is obvious: "*waker*" for *wakeful* occurs in Sir Tho. Wyatt, and in all our early writers.

If *waker* care, if sudden pale colour.

Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, p. 55, l. 15, *Ed.* 1814.

Note 11, page 76, line 20. *Charged bulks.*]

Bulks means their bodies. See Turberville, *Ed.* 1810, p. 594; and Surrey's Second Book of the *Æneid*, l. 291, and the note on the line. The sense of this passage seems to be, "Whose animal warmth, even assisted by rest, cannot easily digest the meats with which, through their variety, their bodies are overcharged."

Note 12, page 76, line 24. *Their sparkled goods, &c.*]

"Their goods are sparkled (scattered abroad), and their heirs who ought to have enjoyed the same are rendered needy and destitute."

Note 13, page 77, line 5. — *that hath no heart to spare.*]

"Heart" is goodwill. But the passage has a different signification from that which, from its construction, we should generally assign to it. The meaning is, "whose heart leads him not to spare his wealth."

Note 14, page 77, line 8. *Clings not his guts, &c.*]

"Does not starve himself with penurious fare." "*To cling*," indifferently written, *clung*, *clam*, and *clem*, means to starve or dry up the moisture of any thing.

If thou speak false

Upon the next tree shalt thou hang alive

Till famine *cling* thee.

Macbeth, Act v. S. 5.

See the note on the passage, *Ed.* 1803, Vol. X. p. 282.

Note 15, page 77, line 13. — *hath temper'd such a breast.*]

"When cheerful content hath endued the mind with such an equal temper that the extremes of either fortune can be equally supported."

Note 16, page 77, line ult. *The bitter gall seasoned, &c.*]

“A person who has obtained such wisdom will take patiently the bitter part of life, that is its adversities, weighing against them in the balance those sweets with which the gall is seasoned; those enjoyments with which life is interspersed, and form a compensation for suffering.”

PSALM LXXXVIII.

The prefatory Stanza to this, as well as that to the Psalm next following, are valuable, not only from intrinsic merit, but from the proof afforded that those Psalms were paraphrased on particular occasions of suffering: and consequently, that the selection was made in reference to the situation in which Surrey then found himself. The sentiments which pervade the Proem to this Psalm bear so strong a resemblance to those which are expressed in the poem at page 51, beginning

“The storm is past, the clouds are over blown;”
that we may conclude them both to have been written on the same occasion: in both, Surrey clearly shews himself to have been brought, by means of some severe punishment which the King had inflicted on him, to the acknowledgment of faults into which he had been hurried by the violence and impatience of youth; and in both, he looks forward to the certainty of being restored to Royal favour again. See Memoirs, page lxxxix.

PROEM.

Note 1, page 78, line 1. *When reckless youth.*]

The MS. reads “*Where* reckless youth.” I apprehend this must have been an error of the transcriber. The order of the whole passage is this. “When after long opposition, patience and justice wrought by princely equity, had repressed the petulancy of youth, which had been set on by wrath, revenge, and cruelty operating in an unquiet breast; *Then*, the conviction of my error made so deep an impression on me, that I began to despair of being ever set at liberty. This Psalm of David, however, gave me comfort by teaching me how to sue for pardon.”

Note 2, page 78, line 3. *Patience had repress'd.*]

The MS. reads “patience had *oppressed*.” The general sense of the passage

seems to call for the emendation introduced into the text, which may be supported by the following line.

And humble chere great rigour hath *repress'd*. page 51. line 18.

The line seems still to be imperfect, wanting a foot.

Note 3, page 78, line 5. *My Denny then.*]

Probably Sir Walter Denny, who was an intimate friend of the Norfolk family, and afterwards one of the executors to the will of Henry the Eighth.

PSALM LXXXVIII.

Note 1, page 78, line 15. *Like them whose fatal thread.*]

We must understand, "*I am become like them, &c.*"

Note 2, page 78, line 18. *Whereas I plain, &c.*]

"Whereas" is here simply the adverb of place, *where*. It has been frequently remarked that this use of the word is common with Surrey.

In Cyprus springs *whereas* Dame Venus dwelt. page 18. line 11.

See also the note upon the passage.

Note 3, page 79, line 2. *Mine eyesight doth appair.*]

"Appair" is the same as "impair" to become weak, or to be destroyed.

What mendeth it you, though that we both *apair*.

Troil. & Cress. B. 2. l. 329.

It was spelt equally "*apeire*." For the expression of the "tears baining his breast," see what has been said above at page 73, line 4.

Note 4, page 79, line 11. *In blind indured hearts.*]

"Indured" means that which has been rendered hard; it differs a little from obdurate. Surrey uses the expression more than once.

Note on line 12, page 79. *They cannot judge.*]

"The MS. reads "nor cannot judge." The MS. which Mr. Park followed seems to have read "*as cannot judge*." The sense may be, "The light of thy name cannot appear in the hearts of hardened sinners; in the hearts of such, namely, *as cannot judge, &c.*" But this construction is so circuitous, that I have ventured to alter "nor" to "they," upon conjecture.

Note 5, page 79, line 13. *Nor blazed be.*]

Blazed for *blazoned*. The other MS. reads "Nor blasted be," which perhaps is the true reading. "*To blast*" being used for to proclaim, as with the sound of a trumpet.

Note 6, page 79, line 16. *That shall resound.*]

"Shall" is given from conjecture. The MS. reads "must resound."

Note 7, page 79, line 24. *Of one from youth afflicted still.*]

We cannot forbear referring this melancholy line to Surrey's particular case. Early bereaved of the friend of his bosom; then abandoned by the mistress whose affections, alas! he once fondly thought he had secured; and now harshly treated by the Sovereign whom he had served faithfully! however elevated his rank and high his expectations, Surrey might be permitted to say that he had tasted affliction from his youth.

Note 8, page 79, line 27. *Like as the roaring waves.*]

The MS. reads "like to the roaring waves." If that word is to stand it would almost of necessity involve the following correction:

Like to the roaring waves *which do* the sunken ship surround.

But the distich requires a verse of only twelve syllables.

PROEM.

This stanza is in Surrey's best manner. The thoughts are dignified, and the versification nervous and harmonious. The person to whom it is addressed was the friend who attended him to the siege of Landrecy. See the Memoirs prefixed to this volume, page lvii. and note b, page xcvi.

Note 1, page 80, line 6. *Some pleasant gale.*]

"Some," here stands for "any pleasant gale," as at page 15, line 10.

Note 2, page 80, line 8. *To seek avail.*]

"To seek not the general good, but their own particular advantage. Those are they who always find prosperous gales."

PSALM LXXIII.

Note 1, page 80, line 18. *Rejoiceth wealth*]

Rejoiceth is here taken in an active sense, for *enjoyeth*; as at p. 13. l. 2.

When other lovers in arms across

Rejoice their whole delight.

Note 2, page 80, line 19. *They see by course of years, &c.*]

This distich, as it stands in the MS. is evidently corrupt.

To see by course of years " *what* nature doth appair,

The palaces of princely form" succeed from heir to heir.

Some emendation was necessary. That proposed in the text gives at least a connected meaning. For the use of the word "*appair*," see p. 79. l. 2.

Note 3, page 80, line 23. *Whereof their scornful pride, &c.*]

This line in the MS. is unintelligible.

Whereof their scornful pride, and gloried *with their eyes*.

I have ventured to correct it, and give it as it stands in the text.

Note 4, page 80, line ult. *So are they clad in vice.*]

The MS. reads "*thus*" are they clad. "*Thus*" in this place would render the recurrence of the same word at the beginning of the next line doubly improper.

Note 5, page 81, line 5. *And with their cruel hands, &c.*

The MS. reads

And *in* their bloody hands whose cruelty *that* frame.

The emendation introduced into the text renders the passage intelligible.

Note 6, p. 81, line 9. *To cause their hearts to waver.*]

Altered from the MS. which reads,

To cause *the* hearts to waver.

Note 7, page 81, line 16. *With dread and cruelty.*

The MS. reads "*and* dread of cruelty."

Note 8, page 81, line 18. ———*false effects.*]

"Effects," mean here, as in a former passage, passions, affections. See p. 46, l. 5.

Note 9, page 81, line 25. *Nor doubt could be discust.*]

Altered from the MS. which reads evidently erroneously, "nor doubt could be distrust."

Note 10, page 81, line 28. ———*die their colours fair.*]

Assume a *specious but false* appearance. The expression occurs in many places in Surrey's Poems, and is common to all our early writers.

But all too late love learneth me
To paint all *kind of colours* new.

Poems, p. 24, l. 9-10.

Note 11, page 82, line 2. *And to their plaint return.*]

"As those who having their bosoms fraught with care, should they dream that some good fortune had befallen them, when they find on awaking that they have been abused by their fancy, return again to their former complaints; so shall sinners weep when they find how unreal that happiness is, of which they thought themselves possessed."

Note 12, p. 82, line 7. *But till that happy day, &c.*]

The MS. reads, "*And till that happy day.*" The disjunctive, instead of the connecting particle, is evidently here required.

Note 13, page 82, line 12. *In dread to drench.*]

In dread of being overwhelmed. That drench is sometimes used with a passive sometimes with an active signification, has been already noted at p. 57. l. 19.

Note 14, page 82, line 13. *And in each voyage, &c.*]

There is nothing in the original Psalm of which these lines can be considered a paraphrase: we must conclude therefore that they were inserted by Surrey, as being descriptive of his own particular case. The expression "voyage" refers evidently to the Proem, and would naturally imply that Surrey had made more than one attempt to reform public abuses. An account has been accidentally preserved of one of these attempts at reformation. See *Memoirs, p. liv.*

Note 15, page 82, line 18. *In thy behight so just.*]

"So to true in thy promise."

Note 16, page 82, line ult. *Shall thus bespeak.*

The word *thus* can be correct only on the supposition that Surrey intended some other Psalm to follow. It can hardly, with any propriety at least, be applied to what had been already said.

PSALM LIV.

This measure of lines of twelve syllables without rhyme, though not common, is not without example. In the Harington MS. are three copies of verses attributed to Sir John Cheke, which are written in it. Webbe, in his Art of Poetry, commends it. To our ears it is displeasing, as it possesses neither the gravity nor the dignity of blank verse, nor the sweetness and fluency of rhyme. It is not improbable but that Surrey originally made his translation of the *Æneid* in this measure. See the Preliminary Dissertation.

Note 1, page 83, line 1. *Fromward hide not thy face.*]

Fromward means, *away from*, the contrary to "towards." Hide not thy face away from me.

Note 2, page 83, line 3. *And eke threapen so fast.*]

The MS. reads "threape on;" but I apprehend we ought to read it as only one word, the third person plural. To *threape*, is to accuse with clamour. See Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary.

Note 3, page 83, line 4. *Buckled to do me scath.*]

United together to do me injury.

Note 4, page 83, line 11. *What speedy way of wing.*]

The meaning of this line as it now stands is not clear. "*Speedy way of wing*," is not an inelegant periphrasis for "speedy flight." Perhaps we ought to read,

"*That speedy way of wing*," my complaints should then lay on.

The sense will be, "My sorrows *then* should rest on the wings of the dove; *that* speedy way of flight, by which alone I might escape from the threatened tempest."

Note 5, page 83, line 16. *They keep the market-stead.*]

The market place. *Stead*, whether by itself or in composition, means "place;"

Fly therefore, fly this fearful *stead* anon
Lest thy foolhardize work thy sad confusion.

Fairy Queen, B. 11. Ca. IV. St. 42.

Note 7, page 83, line 19. *The harm so looked for.*]

The MS. reads; "*By* harm so looked for." We should hardly be at liberty to make any greater alteration; I would have otherwise proposed to read;

My harm thus looked for" *had weighed* half the less.

Note 8, page 83, line 22. *It was a friendly foe.*]

"An enemy pretending friendship."

Note 9, page 83, line 25. "*My secret zeal to God.*"]

This expression evidently refers to his having been betrayed by a person in whom he had been used to repose the fullest confidence. The personal pronoun in the next line, does not allow us to suppose that any allusion is here intended to the Duchess of Richmond. Were there any thing to authorize the supposition that this Psalm was written during Surrey's imprisonment in December 1546, we might suppose the allusion to have been to Sir Richard Southwell. See Memoirs, page xcvi. and xcvi.

Note 10, page 83, line ult. *With such sudden surprize, &c.*]

The MS. reads;

"Such sudden quick surprise quick may himself devour."

The passage in the Psalms, of which the above line is the paraphrase, led to the alteration introduced into the text, otherwise the original line might have stood: for though the pronoun "himself," instead of "him," produces confusion, I believe that use of the word might be supported by sufficient authority.

Note 11, page 84, line 3. *And hide him in the sea.*]

The MS. reads "hide *them*," perhaps the word "descends," in the line preceding, ought to be read "*ascends*;" this would clearly express the three divisions of the twenty-four hours, morning, noon, and night.

My prayer shall not cease" from that the sun ascends,
"Till he his alture wins," and hides him in the sea.

Note 12, page 84, line 4. *With words of hot effect.*]

Effect here as in other places for affections.

Note 13, page 84, line 7. *That pressed on with ire.*]

The MS. reads "that *prelooked*," apparently an error of the transcriber. I am not aware that such a word exists; I have therefore introduced the word *pressed*, into the text.

Note 14, page 84, line 9. *Whom by no tale so dread.*]

The MS. reads;

Whom by no tale *to* dread," he could divert from sin,

The conscience unquiet" he strikes with heavy hand.

The meaning seems to be; "Those whom he could not divert from sin by any remonstrances of conscience, however dread, he smites with heavy hand."

Note 15, page 84, line 13. *And over passeth fine oil.*]

Perhaps we ought to read, "and over passeth oil." It is remarkable that Surrey departs altogether from the common meaning of this passage, and gives a sense entirely his own. "The words of his (the sinner's) mouth, says the Psalmist, are softer than butter, but war is in his heart: his words are softer than oil, yet are they drawn swords."

Note 16, page 84, line 15. *His threatned wrath.*]

The MS. reads;

He threateth wrath, he whets more sharp than any tool can file.

This is evidently corrupt. It might have been corrected thus;

He threat'neth wrath; *his sword*" he whets more sharp than tool can file.

But this would have increased the verse one foot; I have therefore contented myself with the correction in the text.

Note 17, page 84, line 16. *Friar whose harm and tongue.*]

Perhaps we ought rather to read, "whose *heart* and tongue."

Note 18, page 84, line 19. *Though force had hurt.*]

The MS. reads "*Who* though force," &c. The word rejected, if retained, would only destroy the measure and obstruct the sense. In this passage we have a clear intimation that Surrey was no friend to the Roman Catholic clergy; and that he attributed his persecution to their malice. These lines, connected with the 25th line of this psalm:

"And in his bosom hide my secret zeal for God,
Together with the apostrophe just above.

"Friar! whose heart and tongue presents the wicked sort!" will justify the presumption that Surrey's attachment to the Reformation had drawn upon him the anger of the supporters of Popery.

Note 19, page 84, line 20. *As feeds the wealth.*]

"I hate such flatterers, as feed men with false professions when they are in a state of wealth; i. e. prosperity."

Note 20, page 84, line ult. *But in the other Psalm, &c.*]

From this we may collect either that Surrey translated, or had in contemplation to translate other Psalms. In the MS. this Psalm closes with these words from the Vulgate; "Iacta curam tuam supra Dominum et Ipse te enutriet."

PSALM VIII.

This paraphrase of the eighth Psalm is here printed for the first time from the Harington MS. upon the authority of which it is given to Surrey; it is found in that part of the volume, which seems to have been allotted to Surrey's poems exclusively. It stands between the poem beginning "Each beast may chuse his fere;" and "When reckless youth in an unquiet breast." The merit of the paraphrase is not great. More might have been reasonably expected from a subject so favourable to poetic description.

Note 1. page 85, line 15. *And how these keep.*]

The manuscript reads, "and how to keep."

Note 2, page 86, line 12. *Should be do.*]

Should be *done*. In like manner as "*be*" is frequently put for *been*. The word thus contracted occurs often in prose as well as verse; "Judgment without mercy shall *be to do* him, that hath no mercy on other wight." *Chaucer's Tale of Melibæus*, Ox. ed. vol. ii. p. 317.

Note 3, page 86, line 14. *Of men that goes, &c.*

The MS. reads

Of man that goes, of beast that creeps," whose looks doth down decline.

But I apprehend there must be some error here made by the transcriber.

The dominion given to man was over all the fowls of the air, &c. and every creeping thing. I have, therefore, ventured to make the alteration introduced into the text.

Worm was the general word for serpent.

Note 4, page 86, line 24. *Which elements we clepe.*]

"Which we call elements." These in the state of chaos were all confounded together. We must lament that this thought was not better expressed. It is in itself a grand idea; and in the opening was introduced in a manner not unworthy of the subject:

As first it was when Thou" the dark confused heap.

NOTES TO THE SECOND BOOK OF THE ÆNEID.

Line 1. *They whisted all.*]

To whist means something more than simply to be silent; it implies previous action; they ceased talking; they were hushed into silence. The word is thus used by Spenser in one of the most beautiful passages of his immortal poem;

So was the Titaness put down, and *whist*.

Fairy Queen, Canto of Mutability, st. 59.

Milton employs it also in reference to its proper meaning;

The winds with wonder *whist*,

Smoothly the waters kist.

Ode on the Nativ. l. 64.

“the winds through wonder became silent.”

Line 4. *A woe cannot be told.*]

“A sorrow which no language can describe.” The expression occurs again in Surrey,

So to beguile the love *cannot be told.* *Book iv. l. 107.*

And in succeeding writers: thus Sackville.

To wail the day and weep the weary night.

With rainy eyen and *sighs cannot be told.*

Comp. of D. of B. Mir. for Mag. 223.

Line 11. *Waged soldier.*]

“Waged” probably means, long “accustomed to wage war.” I do not recollect to have seen the word thus used in any other writer.

Line 15. *And Troia's last decay.*]

In this and in all the other passages where the word occurs as a dissyllable it is spelt “Troye” in the original Edition, of which there seems no doubt, but that the final *è* was accented. The reader will find the reasons detailed in the Note to line 2, page 6 of the Poems, why I have changed the orthography. Had the word been spelt *Troja*, the English reader would not have given it the sound intended. *Troya* would have given the proper sound; but that was thought too far removed from modern orthography.

Line 17. *All irked with the war.*]

Irked is now used almost always impersonally. "It irks me." It formerly was used passively, as in this passage, and again in *l.* 743. and *Book IV.* line 595.

Line 22. *By the divine science of Minerva.*]

This line is entirely destitute of rhythm: many similar will be pointed out in the course of these notes, to confirm the opinion advanced in the Preliminary Dissertation, respecting the measure in which the translation was originally made.

Line 25. *So wandered it at point.*]

At point, seems to be "concerning that particular subject," the point in question.

Line 26. *In the dark bulk.*]

"Bulk" has been long disused in the sense which it bears in this passage. It now implies, magnitude of size or numbers: It originally meant the *body*, or the *chest* of a man or animal. Surrey frequently so employs the word:

——— whose lively heat with rest

Their charged *bulks* with change of meats" cannot so "soon digest."

Poems, page 76, *l.* 20.

So also does Turberville, the constant imitator of Surrey, whose merit is often limited to that of confirming the use of words:

Long stood I in a dump,

My heart began to ake;

My liver lept within my *bulk*,

My trembling hands did shake.

Eng. Poet. Vol. II. page 594. *Ed.* 1810.

Line 40. *Here fierce Achilles pight.*]

"Pight" is most commonly used as an active verb, and requires to be followed with some accusative case. It sometimes occurs as a neuter verb; as in the following passage in Chaucer:

—— The Ghost that in thee light,

Of whose virtue, when he in thine heart *pight*,

Conceived was the Father's Sapience.

Cant. Tales, fol. lxxxii. *Ed.* 1532.

Line 50. *Willed it to drown.*]

This is a singular use of the word "*drown*:" and as the horse was made of wood, it should seem to be an improper one. "*Præcipitare pelago*," to cast headlong into the sea, presents a general idea, and involves no impropriety. The *Ortus Vocabulorum*, however, renders "*mergo, aqua deprimere*," to *drown* or *sink*.

Line 52. *The hollow caves uncouth.*]

Uncouth means simply unknown, unexplored. *Couth* is the participle from the verb "konne," to know; whence all its derivatives; *sel-couth*, "seldom known; name-couth, famous, known by name, and many others. The modern meaning of "uncouth;" odd, strange, unusual, is but the secondary meaning of the word.

Line 55. *Hasted from the tower.*]

"Tower" here means the citadel, as at line 73. "And Priam's towers so high." "Priamique arx alta maneres," which would justify our reading that line,

Troy yet had stood, and Priam's tower so high.
for the tower was the "Pergamus," the "summa arx," rendered afterwards the "chiefest tower." Line 212.

Line 57. *What frenzy fretteth you.*]

To *fret*, or *freat*, means to consume, or destroy generally. See Note to l. 18, p. 42. "What madness is this which destroys you."

Line 66. *Yea! when the offer gifts.*]

"Et dona ferentes:" the word "*et*," in this passage, is rendered with great propriety, "*yea!*" It has the force here of, *even; although*. The conjunction copulative in Latin as well as in Greek, was frequently used by the best writers in this sense.

Line 71. *And for our blind forecast.*]

The original is doubtfully rendered in these words. Surrey may be supposed to have meant, "had it not been for our blindness, our inability to *forecast* the future." "Si mens non læva fuisset," implies considerably more.

Line 74. *Whereas the Phrygian herds.*]

An "herd" was simply the keeper of cattle. The word to which it was joined marked the nature of the charge, "goat-herd, cow-herd, swine-herd," &c. The word standing by itself generally meant shepherd. Whence Kings as keepers of their people, were called herds. In this sense the word was applied to *Him* who is indeed "THE SHEPHERD"—The Shepherd of our souls!

Almighty God, O! Jesu Christ, quoth he;
Sower of chaste counsel! *Herd* of us all!

Chaucer's Cant Tales. 15660. Ed. Or.

Line 80. *And mind determed.*]

A mind resolutely fixed on the pursuit of any object. So elsewhere.

"And patience wrought in a *determed* breast." p. 51. l. ult.

See also *Eneid*, Book IV, line 756. In the passage before us, the omission of the word "*on*," which ought to follow in regular construction, forms so harsh an ellipsis, that we might be authorized in reading

And mind determ'd *on* either of the twain.

Line 83. *At the captive scorn.*]

To scorn, is to insult at, to make a mock of. This use of the word was common formerly with the best writers;

He said mine eyes were black, and my hair black,

And now I am remember'd *scorn'd* at me.

As You Like it, A. III. S. 5.

And thus in Habington's Reign of Edward IV. "The universal acclamations of the people set the royal diadem upon his head, whose father's head at that time, like a traitor's, was fixed upon the walls of York, *scorned* with a paper crown."

Line 89. *Caitiff! what rests me now.*]

O! me, unhappy man! *Caitiff* seems to have been seldom used formerly in a bad sense. It meant either a captive, or one generally unhappy. Surrey frequently employs the word in this signification. See l. 252, and again 977.

Line 93. *With this regrete.*]

Regrete, or as it is otherwise spelt *regrate*, or *regret*, is simply sorrow. And so it is to be understood in the passage before us.

Yet they presumed for her high *regrate*,

And still mourning, she was of noble kin.

Test. of Cress. l. 397. Urry's Chaucer, p. 336.

To *graet*, or *greet*, is, to weep: a word of frequent occurrence in the best Scottish writers, and used in common conversation.

Line 117. *If my chance were ever to return.*]

"Chance" is put here for "good fortune;" the successful issue of any thing. It occurs frequently in this sense. See Tottel's Songs and Sonnets, page 74, l. 17, Ed. 1814. and page 129, line 15.

Line 123. *Weapons of wreak.*]

"Weapons of vengeance." The verb "to wreak," to revenge; as well as the substantive, occurs many times in this translation.

Line 129. *How would he this rejoice.*]

For a similar use of the word *rejoice*, see p. 13, l. 2, and the note upon it.

Line 131. *This kindled us to know.*]

"Inflamed us with the desire of knowing." Thus in the Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes :

This kindled will to know," strange things for to desire.

Poems, p. 67. l. 7. see l. 55.

Line 140. *Did them to stay.*]

To do, was descriptive of action generally ; the particular action being determined by the substantive, to which the verb "to do" was joined. It here means "made them to stay." Thus, "*he did* his armour on," l. 401; put his armour on, and l. 659. "*To do* to die," to put to death.

Line 144. *To weet the prophecy.*]

"To weet," must here signify "to learn," to "obtain knowledge of;" "prophecy," must mean "that which was to be foretold."

Line 147. *Ye peased the winds.*]

The printed edition reads, "Ye pleased the winds." *Peased*, for *appeased*, is a common contraction. See l. 230. Thus also Sackville:

He 'peas'd, and couched while that we past by. *Mir. for M. f. 212.*

Line 152. *Did over run their bones.*]

Bones seems to be used by Surrey here, as in another passage for limbs ;

When Hope hath thus his reason said,

Lord! how I feel me well apaid,

A new blood then o'erspreads my bones.

Poems, p. 64. l. 17.

Line 165. *They turned all, &c.*]

The sense of these lines is so obscure, if indeed any sense can be elicited from the words as they now stand, that we may safely conjecture we have not the passage now as it was originally written. It is one of those passages which, when the measure of the verse was altered, was left imperfect.

Line 171. *And lurked in a marish.*]

"A marsh," spelt indifferently *marris* and *mareis*. "For some of them wexen in fields, and some wexen in mountains, and other wexe in *mareis*." *Chaucer's Boethius, Ed. Urry, p. 383.*

And sith she durst tellen it to no man,

Down to a *marris* fast by she ran.

Cant. Tales, l. 970, p. 83. Urry's Ed.

I apprehend that the word ought to read in this passage, either *mareis* or *marris*. *Marish* is only a corrupt orthography, as "harish" for "harsh."

Line 196. *As yielden host.*]

"An host," a victim yielded up for sacrifice; from the Latin *Hostia*, which the *Ortus Vocabulorum* renders "an oste." There is something very spirited and elegant in the whole of this passage; the pauses are finely varied, and the words are well selected, so as to render the original faithfully, and yet retain an air of freedom and originality.

Line 216. *Their hope gan fail, their hope to fall.*]

This line is, I apprehend, corrupt. We might restore the sense by reading,
Since then their hope gan fail, *and backward* fall.

Ex illo fluere, ac retro sublapsa referri
Spes Danaum.

Line 220. *Sparkled eyes of flame.*]

Her eyes burning with fire scattered, diffused, over them.

Line 223. *In glances bright.*]

A glance, is usually descriptive of the action of the eye. It here must mean the motion of the body springing up into the air. *Ter solo emicuit*. I am not aware of any authority for this use of the word.

Line 234. *In Pallas stead.*]

"Instead of the Palladium," the sacred image of Pallas.

Line 258. *Come fleting.*]

"Come floating over the waters." See l. 11. p. 19, and the note upon it.

Line 266. *Whose waltring tongues.*]

"To weltre," is to move about with undulating or wavy motion. The same as to *waltre*, whence "*walwe* and *wallow*." Waltring tongues. Tongues which were in constant agitation. *Vibrantibus linguis*.

This Noes flood comes *waltring* as the sea.

Urry's *Chaucer*, p. 38, l. 508.

See Jamieson's *Dict. of Scot. Lang.* To *welt* and *welter*.

Line 284. *The serpents twain.*]

The printed copy reads "twine." The word was sometimes spelt *twene* and *tweyne*. The orthography in the text has been preserved for the sake of uniformity; the word occurring again when it is spelt *twain*.

Line 291. *The sacred bulk.*]

The body or carcass of the wooden horse consecrated to Minerva. See p. 90, l. 26, and the note upon it. *Bulk* is the same as *bouk*.

The clotted blood for any leche craft

Corumpeth and is in his *bouke* y laft.

Chaucer's Knights Tale, 2748, Ox. Ed.

Where the Edition of 1532 reads—

Corrumpeth and is in his *body* lafte.

See Jamieson's Scottish Dict. on the word *bouk*.

Line 313. *Dis-closed eft.*]

"Again disclosed." *Eft* means again. *Eft soon*, or *eft soon*s. Presently, soon coming again.

Line 316. *With this the sky gan whirle, &c.*]

"Gan," put before verbs, did not always denote the beginning of action: it was sometimes used to mark past action; as in the passage before us. The sky had whirl'd about the sphere, the revolution was complete, and night was come. Instances of this use of the word occur frequently in our early poets, both with and without the particle "to."

Line 324. *Silence of the quiet moon.*]

Surrey seems to have understood this passage of the silence of the night generally. Whereas, by the silence of the moon is meant, that the moon was in her first quarter, and, consequently, gave no light, the season chosen by the Greeks for the furthering their guile. Milton, who has borrowed the expression from the Latin writers, uses it in a way which shews that he understood it:

and silent eke the moon

Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.

Line 335. *Opeas eke.*]

The generality of editions read *Epeus*. Some, however, write the word *Opeas* as in the text.

Line 336. *They straight invade.*]

I have omitted a line which immediately precedes this in the printed copies.

By cords let fall, fast gan they slide adown.

It had been said but a few lines before,

With cords let down did slide unto the ground.

There is no necessity for this repetition; it is not justified by any thing in the original, and impedes the sense.

Line 338. *Then gates unfold, &c.*]

Unfold is here the participle for *unfolded*; a licence frequent in Surrey's writings, and in those of our early poets. See page 1, line 10, and the note upon the passage. The construction is, "Then the gates being unfolded to let in their companions, they join themselves to the bands in league to assist them."

Line 345. *Drawn at a cart as he of late had be.*]

This is one of those words which has suffered materially by the changes to which all languages are liable. It now presents a vulgar idea, and occurs only in common language. It formerly was thought adapted to the highest poetic style, and was used to convey an heroic idea. Thus Chaucer in one place mentions the "rosy cart of day." *Troilus and Cress.* Book v. line 278; and in the *Knight's Tale* he tells us,

The statue of Mars upon a *cart* stood
Armed, and looked grim as he were wode. Verse 2043.

He just before had said,

Nought was forgot by the infortune of Marte;
The *carter* over-ridden by his *cart*. Line 2023.

Where the idea designed to be expressed is "there also was the charioteer overthrown and destroyed by his own car." This is evident from the line in Boccaccio's *Theseide*, which Chaucer imitated.

Vidivi ancor le navi bellatrice;
In voti carri e li volti guastati

See Mr. Tyrwhitt's note on the place. The same observations which apply to the word "*cart*," apply equally to the word "*waggon*." Spenser uses it for *car* or *chariot* in one of the sublimest passages in the *Fairy Queen*:

Then to her iron *waggon* she betakes,
And with her bears, &c. B. i. c. v. s. 20.

It is afterwards called "the mournful chariot." S. 32.

Line 346. *Whose feet were bowlen.*]

"Whose feet were swollen." The word occurs again at line 610. It is frequently used by Chaucer. See Chaucer's *Black Knight*, l. 101. Urry's edition, p. 452. Tyrwhitt says, it is the participle of the Saxon verb to *bolge*, which gives the derivation of the common word to *bulge*.

Line 431. *As fury guided me, &c.*]

This line as it stands in the text is an Alexandrine; one of the many which remain to strengthen the conjecture advanced in the Preliminary Dissertation, respecting the measure in which this translation was originally made. It would be an obvious improvement if we might read

As fury guided and whereas I heard.

Of the redundant words omitted, one is not necessary to the sense; the other is injurious to it.

Line 346. *Mygdonius Son.*]

It ought to have been the *Son of Mygdon*, not *Mygdonius*.

Line 516. *From Pallas church.*]

This substitution of the particular word "Church" for the general word temple, or shrine, produces a bad effect. All that can be said in defence of Surrey is, that the word was so used by our early English writers. So in the Testament of Cressida.

As custom was, the people far and near
Before the none into the temple went,
With sacrifice devout in their manere:
But still Cresseida heavy in her intent,
Into the *church* would not herself present.

Urry's Chaucer, p. 334, l. 183.

This use of the word was continued much later than Surrey's time. We meet with it in the Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions:

And whiles to hearken thus she stands "a wonderous thing behold,
Poor Piramus in *Venus church*" that all his mind had told

Page 164; ed. 1814.

Line 602. *From that high seat which, &c.*]

The meaning of this line is obscured by the redundant word *which*. I apprehend, the passage does not stand as it was first written; nor can it now be restored. It would assist the sense to read,

From that high seat we raised it and threw down.

It is proper to remark, that from about the 430th verse to this place, the translation is neither as elegant, or as correct as at either the beginning or the end of the book. Within the above mentioned space more corrupt passages and inharmonious lines are to be found than in all the book besides. It seems probable, either that

Surrey did not live to bestow the last corrections upon that portion of his translation, or that it has suffered unusually from the inaccuracy of the transcriber.

Line 643. *The cotes and eke, &c.*]

Cote is the same as *cott*.

— She y-born and fed was in rudeness,
As in a *cote*, or in an ox's stall.

Urry's Chaucer, p. 99, l. 1428.

I believe the word was most commonly applied to the place where sheep are kept, the sheep-cote.

Line 644. *In the entry there.*]

The printed copies read,

In th' entry of slaughter furious.

The whole of this passage bears evident marks of imperfection. In almost every instance where the sense is defective, the addition of a foot will restore it.

Line 655. *Percase you will ask.*]

The same as *perchance*. Evidently derived from *casu*, in Latin, and not, at least certainly not in this instance, from the words "put case," suppose.

Line 666. — *with his shadow.*]

His for *its*, the personal for the indefinite pronoun, as at p. 74, l. 24, and in many other places.

Line 698. *Send thee eke thy just deserved hire.*]

"Hire" is here put generally for reward, as at p. 67, l. 8:

"God hath graft in our greedy breasts" a torment for our hire.

"When we encourage any forbidden desires, God suffers them to torment us, and thus they become our reward, our punishment for indulging them."

Line 714. *Is swerved out of kind.*]

"Is degenerate: is fallen from the natural valour of his family." See also *B. IV. l.*

Line 721. *This was the fatal fine.*]

"The destined end." *Fine*, for end may be found frequently in Chaucer.

— sprent is with bitterness,

Th' end of the joy of our worldly labour,

Woe occupieth the *fine* of our gladness. *Cant. Tales*, r. 4844.

Where the edition of 1532 reads,

Woe occupieth the end of our gladness,

We meet with it as a verb as well as a substantive.

If gentleness were planted naturally

Unto a certain linage down the line

Privy and apart, then would they never *fine*

To don of gentleness the fair office. *Ibid. l. 6716.*

The word continued to be used in this sense long after Surrey's time.

Line 750. *And dreading, &c.]*

The printed copy reads,

And of the Greeks the cruel wreaks also.

The connection of the whole sentence seems to require the addition made in the text. The reader will observe, that this necessary addition brings back the line to the Alexandrine form.

Line 772. *The Cinders of my fires.*

"Ashes." See the use of the word in *p. 47, l. ult.* and the note on the place.

Line 788. *Defensed by my cure.]*

"Care, providential regard." See *p. 2, l. 1*, and the note on the passage.

Line 802. *And overwhelms the whole town from his seat.]*

To overwhelm, means here to subvert, to overturn. So *Book IV. l. 585.*

Betwixt them strive to overwhelm with blasts.

—— nunc hinc, nunc flatibus illinc

Eruere inter se certant.

Line 805. *Near wode for wrath.]*

"Wode," or as it is sometimes spelt, "wood," means mad. The word is common to all our early writers.

Yet I saw *Wodeness* laughing in his rage.

Cant. Tales, Ox. Ed. 2103.

This vengeance thou shalt have therefore,

That if thou 'wray me thou shalt be *wood*. *Ibid. 3507.*

Line 287. *Till yold with strokes.]*

"Yold" for *yielded* must here mean subdued. *Yolden* frequently occurs for *yielden*.

Line 835. *Did him thereto treat.*]

“Did him *entreat*.” Such contractions were frequent in our old writers. Nor were they restrained to verbs beginning with a vowel: *’lieve* was as often used for *believe* as well as *’proach* for *approach*, and many similar.

Line 842. *This wonning place.*]

This place of residence; to “*wonne*” is to inhabit, to dwell.

Line 846. *When ye have said*]

The whole of this passage is obscurely rendered. The meaning is: “Lay out my body as if for sepulture, and having spoken over me the last valedictory words, depart, I shall soon meet my end. Some enemy will in pity kill me.” I have ventured to introduce the word “*Adieu*,” into the text. Though the line is made in consequence an Alexandrine. See *Note to line 750 and 431*.

Line 853. *And with levening blast.*]

“Struck with lightning.” *Leven* and *levening* were used indifferently.

With wild thunder dint and firy *leven*,

Mote thy welked neck be to-broke.

Chaucer Cant. Tales, l. 5858. Ox. Ed.

In my fall the *levening* smate,

I wend have brent; it was so hate.

Ritson’s Mel. Rom. Vol. I. p. 17.

Line 858. — to *perish all at once.*]

“Perish” must be understood here actively, to destroy.

Line 865. — that *I may once remove my foot.*

The printed copy reads “*a foot*.” I apprehend the emendation in the text gives the true reading. So at p. 16. l. 23.

Yet from my Lord shall not *my foot remove*.

Line 916. *Brand of flame.*]

The printed copy reads “*brand or flame*.” I believe corruptly: *facem ducens multâ cum luce*, would properly be rendered “*brand of flame*.”

Line 937. — do me any *dere.*]

That is, “Cause me any dread or annoyance.”

The constable, a feloun man of wer

That to the Scottis he did full *mickle der*.

Wallace, B. 1. l. 206.

To dere is to frighten. Thus the old bard :

———— none may bot angry greit.
Bot it be women [they] can wet
Their cheeks whenever them list with tears,
The whether well oft them nothing *deres*.

Barbour's Bruce, B. III. l. 514.

"Nobody can weep without cause, except it be woman. They, whenever they please, can wet their cheeks with tears, although there is often nothing to cause alarm."

Line 43. — *find on a hill.*

The words as they stand in the passage, although extremely perplexed, will just afford sense. "Ye shall find [that] there stands on a hill, without the town an old temple, whereas [where] worship was done to the goddess Ceres." I have therefore left the text as it stands in the printed copies. But the original is :

Est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum
Desertæ Cereris.

We might read, therefore, with very little alteration,

Without the town ye shall find a *small* hill;
There an old temple stands, whereas sometimes
Worship was done to Ceres.

Line 947. *Our forefathers' zeal.*

Zeal, is here religious reverence.

Religione patrum multos servata per annos.

Surrey seems to have attached this meaning to the word in more than one passage.

Line 992. *I then betook.*

Betook is here used in an unusual sense. The meaning is, "I gave him to them to take care of."

Line 955. *My layed neck.*

Colla subjecta. My neck bowed down to receive the burthen.

Line 967. *So much I dread my burthen.*

"Dread" must here bear a neuter signification, and purport; "So much am I in fear for." I do not know whether any instance occurs of the word used exactly in this sense. It is not of uncommon occurrence. "*To be afraid of*," we say "we dread death."

Line 1003. *The ugsome sights I saw.*]

Sights which were hideous to behold, causing terror.

And down a tempest sent as dark as night,

The stream wax *ugsum* of the dim sky.

Douglas Tran. of Virgil.

Ugsum to hear was her wild elrich screech.

Ibid.

Ugsumness, by a very natural extension of meaning, was sometimes used to denote horror.

The *ugsumness* and silence of the night.

In every place my sprete made sare aghast

Horror ubique animos simul ipsa silentia terrent. *Ibid.*

The verb *ug*, to feel horror at any thing, seems to be the root. Whence the English word *ugly*, which was formerly used to describe not only that which is deformed, but that which caused terror.

This *ugly* serjeant in the same wise

That he her daughter caught, right so he

Hath hent her son.

Cant. Tales, l. 8549. Or. Ed.

Line 1019. *The children orderly, and mothers, &c.*]

This is one of the lines which was left as originally written in the Alexandrine form; the sense not allowing any thing to be rejected.

———pueri et pavidæ longo ordine Matres
Stant circum.

Line 1026. *Th' unlucky figure.*]

Infelix simulacrum. *Unlucky* seems here put for ill-omened. But this is not the meaning intended in the passage. Nothing more appears to have been designed, than a general expression of sorrow at the loss of Creusa.

Line 1030. *My heart remove.*]

We ought most probably to read "my cares remove:" that is, my solicitude about herself. *Curas his demere dictis.* I have not ventured, however, to make any alteration, as some persons perhaps may think that the words might be understood as meaning "she changed my heart." "My feelings with respect to her fate."

Line 1055. *Thrice raught I with mine arms t'accoll her neck.*]

"I thrice stretched out my arms to embrace her neck." To coll and to accoll,

from "Collum," were words formerly in constant use. They were used indifferently, as well by the graver and heroic, as by the lighter poets.

So having said her in her armis twain,
She straitned straight, and *colled* tenderly.

Fai. Qu. B. III. C. II. St. 34.

Line 1065. *And now rose Lucifer, &c.]*

It can hardly be necessary to point out the beauty of the versification in these concluding lines. Surrey, not having time to give the finishing hand to the whole, may be very naturally supposed to have laboured the opening and the close of the translation; while many passages in the body of it were left for subsequent revision.



NOTES ON THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE ÆNEID.

Line 2. *She nourisheth the playe.*]

“Playe” means “wound,” a word retained in our language from the French.

La quinte eut à nom Beau-semlant :

Qui fut toute la moins grevant

Non pourtant fait-elle grande *playe*

A celui qui son coup essaye ;

Qui de ceste flesche et *playè*

Il en doit estre esmayè.

Roman de la Rose, V. 8.

The word is sometimes written *plage*. See Roquefort Glossaire de la Langue Romaine, *player* and *plague*.

Line 6. *His words and pictures form.*]

“The form of his countenance,” or rather of his whole person, as again at l. 679 of this book ; for such was then the meaning of the word *picture*, which was not limited to the representation of the figure by colours, but meant generally what we should now call an image. Thus Thomas, the second Duke of Norfolk, particularly provided in his will that there should be “*Pictures of us, and Agnes our wife, set together on our tomb as well as may be for the said sum of £132 6 8, as devised by us, Master Clerke, master of the King’s works at Cambridge : and Wassel, freemason of Bury.*” Those *pictures* are still to be seen in the shape of two recumbent figures, very well carved in free-stone, on the Duke’s monument at the church at Framlingham ; for what has been said already of this use of the word, and that of the word “*paint*,” see note to l. 16. at p. 4.

Line 9. *With Phæbus lamp the earth alightened clear.*]

The construction of this sentence is not clear, so that it is doubtful whether Surrey meant to say “the next morning enlightened the earth,” or “on the next

morning the earth was enlightened with Phœbus' lamp." I incline to believe that enlightened here stands as a neuter passive verb, and means, "became enlightened." In which sense it might seem to be formed in imitation of those verbs in Spanish, where the particle, *a*, in composition, marks the commencement of the action, as *anochecer*, "to begin to grow night;" *amanecer*, "to begin to grow day."

Line 18. *Hearts swerved out of kind.*]

"Degenerate; turned aside from natural goodness." Surrey uses the same expression before in the second book, line 715.

Line 34. *Ere I thee stain shamefastness.*]

Modesty. In the Promptuarium Parvulorum, "Shame" is rendered Verecundia, Pudor. The word was so used by our best early authors. It will be sufficient to cite Spencer.

And next to her sate goodly *Shamefastness*.

Ne ever durst her eyes from ground uprear;

Ne ever yet did look up from her desse

As if some blame of evil she did fear,

That in her cheeks made roses oft appear.

Fairy Queen, B. 4. C. 10. St. 50.

"Shamefacedness" is a corruption of shamefastness, and bears the same meaning.

Line 36. *My love with him, &c.*

The sense of this line is imperfect, unless we consider it as having been originally an Alexandrine.

My love with him; *let him* enjoy it in his grave.

The original calls for the addition

Ille meos primus qui me sibi junxit amores

Abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulchro.

We have seen several instances of Alexandrine verses retained, when they were necessary to the sense. See line 23.

Line 37. *And with surprised tears.*]

The printed copy reads "*suppressed*." We might suppose this to be an error for "*suppressed*," did it not militate against the sense of the passage. I have substituted "*surprised tears*;" by which may be understood "*sudden tears*;" tears into which Dido was surprised. The remaining part of the expression, "*Bained her breast*," seems to have been one to which Surrey was partial. See p. 23. l. 17.

Line 42. *Cinders thinks thou*]

"Thinkest thou the ashes of the dead regard this?" For the use of the word cinder see p. 47. *l. ult.* and the note on the place. By "graved ghosts" in this line, we are to understand the ghosts of those who have been laid in their graves. The expression, though seemingly inaccurate, was one of the times. "I must forgiveness crave, lest some shrewd heathen dame (for other doubt not) do from her grave cry out "all 'arme;" and then to fight for *buried ghosts*, my mankind will not serve."—*Painter's Palace of Pleasure*, Vol. II. p. 60. Ed. 1813.

Line 43. *Time of thy doole.*]

Doole here means the time of a widow's mourning. The *düel* of the French. "After proscription of the men, come sundry ladies of Scotland arrayed in *their dule habit* for dolour of their husbands which were slain in the last battle." Jamieson's Scot. Dictionary. In the more common acceptation of the word, *doole* or *dule* were used for grief generally.

Line 48. *Thy liked love*]

A love of thine own choice.

— placitone etiam pugnabis amori?

Line 53. *Unfriendly harbrough.*]

This line is defective, unless we read *harborough* for harbour, as a trisyllable. The verb occurs so written and pronounced in Chaucer.

Shortly I will *herberowe* me,

There I hope best to *hulstred* be.

And certainly *sickerest* hiding

Is underneath humblest clothing. *Rom. of R. l. 6143.*

Line 72. *And hogrels of two years*]

Hogs and *hogrels* are sheep of the second year; "bidentes." Of the line itself I will observe, that it is one of those Alexandrines which were suffered to remain, because it could not be reduced to the measure of ten syllables without injuring the sense.

Line 83. *Boot they in her rage.*]

We may suppose the line to have been originally written as an Alexandrine.

Temples or vows, *the Queen* what boot they in her rage.

It must otherwise be understood thus,

"Temples and vows, what boot they (benefit) her in the rage, the violence of her passion."

Line 93. *Amid whose side.*]

"Amid" here stands simply for "in." Our early writers were often careless in their manner of using the prepositions. The correct application of them, and the smaller particles of speech is seldom to be expected while a language is in its infancy.

Line 102. *And sliding stars, &c.*]

The printed copy reads "provoked unto sleep." The sense of the passage requires the verb should be in the present tense. But the word "*provoked*" being changed to *provoke*, another syllable was unnecessary to supply the measure; the word "sweet" has therefore been added.

Line 137. *But destinies I doubt, &c.*]

The sense of this line is extremely obscure, if not imperfect. The obscurity or imperfection might be easily removed by supplying what is evidently pointed out by the original.

Sed fatis incerta feror, si Jupiter unam,
Esse velit Tyriis urbem.

But destinies I *dread*, and doubt lest Jove nil grant.

It does not form an objection to the emendation that the line is thus made an Alexandrine. See note to line 36, in this Book, and line 22, and 131, in Book II.

Line 152. *The wings of youth.*]

Literally from the Latin *Alæ*; the general meaning is troops of horsemen, forming the wings of the army.

Line 166. *The hayes so rarely knit.*

"Hayes" are, hunting nets, "*retia rara*." The word occurs in Sir T. Wyatt's first Satire.

Nor none I trow that hath a wit so bad
To set his *haye* for conies over rivers.

Line 185. — and furnishing her choir.]

Surrey seems to have read the passage, "*Instaurantque choros*," referring to the Cretans (whom following the modern name of the island he calls Candians) and the Dryopes. Heyne gives this as the reading in some editions of Virgil.

Line 194. *Such lordly port in present countenance.*]

“So lordly was the appearance of Æneas then present.” For a similar use of this word, see the note on l. 16, p. 23. The passage is, however involved, so as to excite a suspicion that some lines of it are corrupt. There are parts of the simile which are rendered with much elegance and spirit.

Line 204. *A lion brown, &c.*]

The line ought, probably, to be read as, perhaps, it was originally written :

Or *that* a lion brown might from the hill descend.

It is thus connected with the governing verb in the sentence : Julius wisheth to encounter the foaming boar, or that a lion brown, &c.

Optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monti leonem.

See note to l. 22, and 72.

Line 230. *To Cæus and to Enceladus eke.*]

This and some other lines in this passage can be reduced to measure only by supplying words which would tend to confirm the conjecture that they were originally written as Alexandrines.

Line 263. *Kindled with bitter bruit.*]

“Inflamed to anger by the displeasing report.” This use of the word “kindled” Surrey seems to have affected. It occurs in several passages. See the Second Book of the Æneid, l. 55, and the note upon it.

Line 274. *And laws to rule her town our wedlock loathed.*]

The line stands in the printed copies,

And laws to rule her town *she* wedlock loathed.

The sense required some emendation : the original runs ; connubia nostra Repulit ; which suggested the alteration introduced into the text. I apprehend, however, that the line was first written as an Alexandrine, thus :

And laws to rule her town, *our* wedlock loathed, *she*

Hath chose Æneas ———

Line 276. — *his unmanly sort.*]

Troop, or company. The word was thus frequently used formerly. It occurs in other passages in Surrey's poems, and is still retained in the translation of the Scriptures. “Ye shall be slain all the sort of you.” Ps. lxii. 3.

Line 277. — *with bush and beard.*]

Bush, for head of hair, however inelegant the expression now be justly deemed, was frequently used by Surrey and the writers of his time. See again l. 751.

Line 298. — *ne that he lists, &c.*]

The word "that" in this line only embarrasses the construction and the sense. It might have been so easily avoided, that I have little doubt but the line is corrupt. The words which Mercury uses when he repeats the message would lead us to suppose that we ought to read,

Ne list he honour with some pain pursue. See l. 352.

Line 321. *Whose head for-grown with pine, &c.*]

This, and almost all the following lines, to the conclusion of the passage, bear the appearance of having been imperfectly altered from original Alexandrines. The reader, on comparing them with the Latin, would soon perceive that they might easily be rendered such by supplying words which would always improve either the sense or the construction.

Line 360. *Well near distraught.*]

This line is read in the printed copies,

"Well near *bestraught* upstart his hair for dread."

The alteration has been noted at the foot of the page, but it was unnecessary. I find that the word *bestraught*, as well as *distraught*, occurs in good authors for "distracted." So Spenser uses the word, as Johnson has noted. It occurs again at l. 615, and at 753, in this book.

Line 363. — *astoined sore.*]

I doubt whether we ought not to read "astonnied sore," which word occurs frequently used by Surrey in other parts of the translation, as at l. 889 of this book, and seems to have been a common word of the time. I have not ventured, however, to make any alteration. For "*astoined*," perhaps, some authority might be found. The sense, at all events, is clear.

Line 368. — *his rechless mind.*]

The sense requires, that instead of "his rechless mind," "his careful mind."

Line 387. — *ready to avale.*]

To lower down into the harbour from the shore on which the ships had been drawn up; for so I understand the passage. The orthography of the word in the printed copy is the same as in the text. See p. 12, l. 14. Virgil says simply, "armari classem." Surrey's paraphrase of the word shews him to have been conversant with antient usages.

Line 389. *And whisketh through the town.*]

The word "whisketh" has entirely changed its application. It is now used only in a light and familiar sense: consequently it will be thought to lower the dignity of the passage before us. Originally, however, it described violent and agitated motion, and was deemed fit for heroic poetry.

Line 89. *Like Bacchus Nun.*]

This application of a particular term to express a general idea produces a bad effect, as at B. ii. l. 518; and again in this book at l. 600. The word Nun recurs at l. 640 and 663.

Line 91. *With noise of dancing.*]

The whole of this simile is so confused and so inelegantly expressed as it now stands, and the measure is so defective, that I am persuaded it is greatly corrupted by the carelessness of either the printer or of the transcriber. We might transpose and correct the lines thus;

Like Bacchus Nun,
Thyas, *who* stirs, the sacred rites begun
When *as* the wonted third years sacrifice,
And that the feastful night [*of*] Citheron,
Hearing the name of Bacchus hallowed,
Doth prick her forth with noise of dancing loud.

Were we at liberty to have departed wider from the printed words, the passage might have been rendered more poetical. The reader will observe that the word Citheron in the translation is pronounced very differently from what it is in Virgil. Chaucer pronounces it as Surrey does. *K. Tale*, 1938. Our early writers seem to have paid little attention to this point. Achilles is frequently pronounced Achilēs.

Line 444. *My sorrow to redoub.*]

Redoub means here "to alleviate" my sorrow; "*componere curas.*" The word occurs in rather a different meaning, in a letter of Henry the eighth, given in the Appendix, No. XVII. "Use no more indirect excuses to cloak your ill favoured retreat, but rather study and be as to see our honour, herein somewhat touched, *redubbed.*" In another place he bids the Council "*redubbe* their faults;" and that if they act as he directs in future, "he shall think their former proceedings in some part *redubbed.*" *Ibid.* In all these passages the word means, *retrieved, atoned for, done away.*

Line 489. — — and *fonded eke.*]

"Rendered fond or doting, through my passion."

Line 508. ——— *thou shalt aby*].

I believe that the verb *aby* or *abide* is always found connected with some other word; as, "abye it dear." In this sense it corresponds accurately with the "pendere pœnas" of the Latin. The line before us ought, therefore, I conceive to be read, as an Alexandrine.

Thou shalt aby *it dear*, " and I shall hear thereof.

Line 525. *Now fletes the tallow'd keel.*]

"Floats upon the water:" "natat uncta carina." See Book ii. line 258; and Poems, page 9, line 11, and the note upon the passage.

Line 575. *Leave by my death redoubled.*]

The sense of this passage in the translation is much involved, and can be discovered only by referring to the original.

Extremam hanc oro veniam; miserere Sororis,
Quam mihi si dederis cumulatam morte relinquam.

"This is the last favour I ask, which, if you grant, at my death I will leave it repaid with accumulation of kindness." The expression, "leaving it redoubled with heaps," is extremely harsh and inelegant. The word "*remorse*," in the line above, means pity; as such it occurs in many passages of our early writers.

Line 581. *The Weirds withstand.*]

"The Fates." The Weird Sisters is an expression sanctioned by our best early writers: it is yet current, and needs no illustration.

Line 585. *To overwhelm with blasts.*]

"Not to overpower, but to root up" "Erudere." See B. ii. l. 803, and the note upon the passage.

Line 600. *The holy water-stocks waxe black within.*]

The "water-stocks" were, I doubt not, in Surrey's time, the excavations for the reception of the holy water, placed at the entrance to all Roman Catholic churches. The mention of "latices sacri," in Virgil, brought to Surrey's mind the idea of what he had been accustomed to see, and he therefore adopted the expression, which, from its manifest impropriety, he would have probably corrected had he lived to revise his translation. See the note on line 389 of this book; and on line 518 of Book ii.

Line 620. *Two suns remove.*]

"Remove" here is used for the word move simply. It often occurs without any reference to previous motion.

Line 621. *Or like Orestes, &c.*]

This simile is very confused. It has suffered, I doubt not, by being imperfectly altered from the Alexandrine measure: part of the obscurity, perhaps, is owing to the desire which Surrey might have had to preserve the turn of expression in the original.

Line 626. *Ugly furies.*]

"Inspiring terror." See note to line 1003, B. ii.

Line 634. *Him to return.*]

"To return" here may seem to mean, "to cause to return." But nothing can be inferred from this single passage. It is by no means certain, that the line was not originally an Alexandrine, and written thus,

To cause him to return, or loose me from his love.

If the line must stand as a common heroic line, we might read,

Him to restore, or loose me from his love.

Quæ mihi reddat eum, vel eo me solvat amantem.

Line 648. *And other some to pierce, &c.*]

The word "some" is here redundant. It is a pleonasm which Surrey makes use of on more than one occasion.

But that your will is such "to lure me to your trade,
As *other some* full many years" to trace by caft ye made.

Poems.

Line 666. *The pale her face gan 'tain.*]

"Paleness began to spread itself over her face." For the use of the word "*pale*," see Poems, line 7, page 1, and the note: and for the general turn of thought see Poems, page 24, line 5.

Line 672. *She put her will in ure.*]

"She carried her will into effect." See the use of the word *ure* explained in the note to page 6 of the Poems, line 24.

Line 679. *And on a bed his picture she bestows.*]

"His image, or statue:" probably one of those figures which were made in wax on these occasions. See the use of the word *picture* explained in the note to line 6 of this book. It is afterwards called "the Trojan statue;" line 856.

Line 693. *To reave that winneth, &c.]*

Surrey wishing to compress the thought, and to adhere as near as possible to the original, has made this line very obscure. The meaning is ; "The hippomanes also was sought for, that lump of flesh which grows between the eyes of the new born foal; which should it be taken off by any one before the dam can take it away herself, all love is bereaved from the dam towards the foal, and she refuses to nurse it." This idle superstitious notion, which is as well founded as our own popular notions of the virtues of the Mandrake, was generally credited among the antients.

Line 702. *It then was night.*

This is a very beautiful and highly laboured passage; there are many expressions in it which remind us of Surrey's sonnet;

"Alas! so all things now do hold their peace," p. 20.

He probably had it in his mind when he made the translation.

Line 714. *Her cares redouble.]*

This is another instance of an Alexandrine line, which could not be reduced to a line of ten syllables without injury to the sense.

Line 748. *Gan aye appear.]*

"Aye" must here be understood as "again."

Obtulit in somnis *rursusque* ita visa monere est.

The word seems to occur so used in the History of Beryn;

Now leave I Beryn with his mother till I come *aye*.

Urry's Chaucer, p. 605.

Aye, I apprehend, can be only considered as a contraction of "*ayen*," as the word "*again*" was frequently spelt. Perhaps we ought to read;

Gan *It* appear, returning in like shape.

A'inst, was a common contraction for "*against*."

Line 760. *And if the morrow.*

And if was frequently and more properly written "*an if*;" and is to be understood to mean no more than simply "*if*," the sign of the conditional mood.

Line 821. *Recover port.]*

"For recover" here means simply to "gain". The particle *re*, in composition, had sometimes no force, as in "remove," see l. 620. No repetition of action is intended to be denoted.

Line 827. —*ravished out of his arms.*]

The printed copy reads “rashed out of his arms,” and that reading ought to have been retained in the text. It is an old word evidently formed from the French “*arracher* ;” so in the History of Arthur of Little Brytayne ;” “But when Arthur saw the Earl at that mischief he spurred his horse thitherward ; and the first that he encountered he drove down flat to the earth, and the second he took in his arms, and *rasshed* him out of the saddle.” *P. 83, Ed. 1814.*

Line 873. *Lived and ran the course.*]

See the Elegy on the Death of Sir T. Wyatt, p. 46, l. 14.

Line 875. *Saw my walls.*]

Surrey has omitted a line,

Ultra virum, pœnas inimico à fratre recepi.

But it should be remarked, that this line is wanting in several of the early editions of Virgil.

Line 913. *Unto the high degrees.*]

Unto the high steps, gradus altos.

Who so that me could have brought

By ladders or else by *degree*,

It would well have liked me.

R. of Rose, 482.

The word was frequently spelt “gree.”

Line 921. *And thrice she overthrew.*]

The use of the word “overthrew,” as a verb neuter to fall backward was not uncommon formerly. Sackville, Surrey’s constant imitator, employs it in this sense. It occurs in the beautiful description of the death of Porrex :

But hear his ruthful end.

The noble prince, pierc’d with the sudden wound,

Out of his wretched slumber hast’ly start,

Whose strength now failing, strait *he overthrew.* *Act iv. Sc. ii.*

Line 929. *By kindly death.*]

Natural death ; a death according to the usual course of Kind, or Nature.

END OF THE NOTES.

MEMOIRS
OF
THE LIFE OF HENRY HOWARD,
EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

HENRY HOWARD, afterwards created Earl of Northampton, Surrey's second son, was one of the most remarkable personages of his time. He inherited in many respects his father's abilities; he was heir to his father's misfortunes. An accurate and detailed account of his life would form a work of considerable extent; it would comprehend in fact the private History of the English Court during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, and great part of the reign of James the First. But it would be a work that could not fail of inspiring interest. Nor would the undertaking be an unpleasing one to an ingenuous mind, as it would afford an opportunity of doing justice to the memory of a man whom it has been the fashion to load with much unmerited censure. The slight account now about to be offered, will shew that there never was any want of materials to ascertain the truth concerning Howard's character: the only thing wanting hitherto has been a disposition to treat the subject with candour and impartiality.

The Lord H. Howard was born at Shotisham in Norfolk, as he himself informs us, on the 25th of February 1539.^a Immediately upon his birth, his father

^a Northampton in his will directs that preference of admission into his hospital at Greenwich should be given to the poor of Shotisham, because he was born there. I was not aware of this authority when I suggested the doubt expressed in Surrey's Memoirs, p. xliii. note a. The day of Northampton's birth is mentioned in the inscription commemorative of his laying the first stone of his hospital at Greenwich. Deo Patri Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, Omnipotenti, Glorioso, Sempiterno, et Primæ Trinitatis Individuæ Personæ, Henricus Howard, Trinæ et Unius Magestatis Cultor obsequen-
tissimus Festo quo natus erat Matthiæ Apostoli devotissime suâ manu posuit. 1613 Feb. die 25.

Lysons's Environs, Vol. IV. p. 487.

directed his nativity to be cast by a celebrated Italian astrologer who foretold that Surrey's infant son was destined to encounter much misfortune in the middle of his life, "so as even to want a meal's meat:" he added however, "that his old age should make amends for all with a plentiful estate." The name of the astrologer has not been preserved; but the story is authenticated by Northampton himself, who related it to his private secretary, Mr. Penny. It is observable that he lived to verify in a remarkable manner all the circumstances of the prediction.^a

At the time of Surrey's death in January 1547, the Lord Henry Howard was not quite seven years old. It is not known by whom he had been educated till that period. It is probable however that Hadrian Junius, then living in his father's family, might have been his preceptor. After Surrey's death he was entrusted together with his brother and his sisters to the care of his aunt, the Duchess of Richmond, who immediately appointed Fox, the venerable martyrologist, to be their tutor. Fox remained with them the whole of Edward the Sixth's reign: by him we may be certain they were all educated in the principles of the Reformation.^b

One of Mary's first acts upon her accession to the throne, after she had released the Duke of Norfolk from the Tower, was to pay attention to Surrey's children. Fox was dismissed, and the Lord Henry Howard was placed as Page in the household of White, Bishop of Lincoln.^c White was a zealous Catholic, and therefore a favourite with Mary. Upon Gardiner's death he was translated in 1556 to the See of Winchester, and the Lord Henry still continued in his family. The great regard which he retained for White, and the respect he paid his memory are proofs that he experienced kindness in his family. Perhaps he imbibed from him that prepossession in favour of some of the Roman Catholic Tenets, which caused him, in the event, so much sorrow and vexation. However this may have been, he certainly acquired when living under White's care, those habits of application and methodical study which he practised ever after. He tells us that he began so early as in his sixteenth year to make collections from all the books he read, whether in Philosophy, Civil Law, Divinity, or History, and to arrange his extracts under their proper heads.^d White was disgraced, and deprived of his Bishoprick soon after Elizabeth's accession. His conduct had provoked severity. In his sermon at Mary's funeral he spoke of Elizabeth in terms which could not but

^a Lloyd's Worthies, Vol. II. p. 68.

^b See Surrey's Memoirs, p. cx.

^c See Surrey's Memoirs, p. xv. *note* b.

^d Dedication to Sir F. Walsingham, prefixed to the Defensative, p. 2.

have excited a Sovereign's displeasure.^a The Lord Henry was then withdrawn from under White's care, and Elizabeth charged herself with his education. He was sent to Cambridge and entered of King's College, where he took his degree of Master of Arts in 1564; he afterwards removed to Trinity Hall. During the first five years of his residence in the University, he was supported by the Queen's bounty. What the extent of her liberality was, we have not been informed. Howard always spoke of it in terms of gratitude: but there seems good reason for believing that the provision was barely sufficient for his support, and that he was far from being placed in a condition suitable to his high birth and rank in life. Whatever his circumstances were, he pursued his studies with the utmost ardour. To this he was led partly, no doubt, by his natural love of letters; but partly it may be feared by the conviction that his abilities were his sole inheritance, and that he had no other means of rising into consequence than what his learning and his talents might supply. Stimulated to exertion by motives powerful as these, and being of a quick apprehension and a retentive memory, Howard shortly grew to be reputed one of the most distinguished scholars in the University. But reputation was not the only profit he derived from his learning: he drew from it more substantial advantages. He found it necessary to increase his income; for the allowance granted by Elizabeth, probably insufficient for his support, was certainly irregularly paid. He therefore engaged as one of the public tutors, and read lectures first in Rhetoric, and afterwards in Civil Law.^b When we consider that the Lord Henry Howard was the Duke of Norfolk's only brother, and that he was nearly related to the Queen, it must be allowed that his lot was one of improper humiliation.

The Lord Henry Howard delivered his lectures in Latin, which language he wrote and spoke with great fluency and considerable elegance. The intervals of his studies he devoted to more elegant accomplishments. In one of his letters to his friend Mr. Hicks, he speaks of himself as having a little leisure, and commissions him to send him from London a master for the lute, as he wished to learn that instrument.^c He occupied himself also with other more serious pursuits in the intervals of his public duties. It is probable that he then gave his mind to the study of divinity; which led him to entertain, and it should seem in-

^a Having praised the late Queen Mary, White said; "She hath left a sister to succeed her; a lady of great worth also, whom we are bound to obey, for "Melior est canis vivus, leone mortuo." *Harington's Catalogue of Bishops. Nugæ Antiquæ, Vol. I. p. 85, Ed. 1804.*

^b See the letter from the University of Cambridge to King James, at the end of this article.

^c Letter from Lord Henry Howard to Mr. Hicks. *Lansdown MSS. No. 109, fo. 51.* Mr. Hicks seems to have occasionally lent Howard money; in another letter he says to him; "The clock is even upon the point to strike and I wholly unprepared for my lecture. You shall receive your money by this bearer with a thousand thanks." *Ibid. fo. 49.*

cautiously to express scruples respecting the sacrament of the altar.^a He found time also to write a treatise of Natural and Moral Philosophy for the use of his youngest sister Catherine, then married to Lord Berkley, which she had requested of him to direct her in her studies.^b This was in August 1569. On the 19th of April, in the preceding year, (1568,) he went to Oxford, where he received a Master of Arts degree by incorporation. His brother the Duke of Norfolk was at the same time created Master of Arts.^c

Had the contemplative habits and tranquil pleasures of a college life suited the Lord Henry Howard's disposition, he might have passed his days in peaceful independence at Cambridge, for he was beloved and respected in the place, and, as he told Elizabeth afterwards, he had made his situation there profitable to him. But the bias of his mind led him to active scenes of public business. We are told, indeed, that at this period he entertained thoughts of going into the Church, and that upon the death of Young, Archbishop of York, in June 1568, he aspired to succeed him in that dignity. It is intimated that he failed from being a papist, and that he became in consequence disaffected to the reigning government. We are not informed on what authority this story rests. I do not think that it is entitled to any credit. I apprehend it to be one of those many after stories which were raised to injure the Lord Henry Howard in public estimation, by that malevolence of party spirit which pursued him through every period of his life.^d

^a In a letter to Burleigh, from Cambridge, in 1568, the Lord H. Howard begs he may not be suspected on the ground of religion. *Cotton MSS. Titus, C. VI.* He must be understood here to say, that whatever his opinions were, they were not such as affected his duty to the Queen. Many persons of the highest virtue and conscience were in this respect situated as Howard was, entertaining doubts on some of the questions in dispute between ourselves and the church of Rome; yet in all practical points Protestants. No one could express greater reprobation of those horrid tenets by which the Popes claimed a right to absolve subjects from their obedience, and murder excommunicated sovereigns, than Northampton did. The manner of his delivering himself on this head deserves to be noted. "If then there be no other way to Heaven than by the destruction of God's anointed, and their heirs, I will conclude with you, Mr. Garnet, as Constantius did with Ascesius: *Erigito tibi scalam et in cælum solus ascendito.* Set up a ladder for yourself, and climb up to Heaven alone; for loyal minds will not suit themselves to such bad company." *State Trials*, Vol. I. p. 264.

^b *Bodleian MSS. Arch. D. 113.*

^c *Wood's Fasti Oxonienses*, p. 102, 103. The Duke had his degree "conferred upon him in a chamber of the house where he lodged, commonly called the Bear Inn." I do not find the Lord Henry Howard's name mentioned as bearing any particular part in the ceremonies used at Cambridge when Elizabeth was received there in 1564. It is probable, however, that he must have been noticed by the Queen, as his brother attended there and was greatly distinguished on the occasion. See *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*.

^d *Strype's Life of Grindal*, p. 157. Camden, who mentions the same report casually in his *Annals*, an. 1571, was probably Strype's authority: but Strype does not cite him; neither does he assign

What renders the story improbable is, that Howard always avowed it to be his sole ambition to live at Court, and appear before the world in a manner suited to his rank. On one occasion writing to Elizabeth he declared that these were his views, assigning at the same time his motives for the choice, though from the way in which the Queen had opposed his wishes, what he said was not likely to please her. "I vow to almighty God," he says, "that I would gladly shorten and abridge my wretched days, without offence to God, than live beneath the compass of my birth; and ever pine in want as I have been constrained to do, rather than I would estrange myself from the presence or the service of your Majesty."^a These are sentiments which do not argue that degeneracy of mind, that meanness and hypocrisy with which the Lord Henry Howard has been so liberally charged. They breathe on the contrary a spirit worthy the son of Henry of Surrey. "Let me die, but let me be seen to die nobly," has been ever considered a sentiment of heroic magnanimity.

Zeῦ πάτερ ἀλλὰ σὺ ῥῦσαι ὑπ' ἡέρος υἱας Ἀχαιῶν
Ποίησον δ' αἰῶρην, δὸς δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι.
Ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεσσον.^b

It is probable that the Lord Henry Howard quitted Cambridge, and indulged the favourite wish of his heart in going to live at Court about the year 1570:^c but the step does not seem to have had the Queen's approbation; it certainly was not attended with all the advantages he expected. His annuity was withdrawn, and he became dependant upon his brother's bounty, who allotted him apartments in Howard House, but does not seem to have given him any settled provision, or to have treated him with becoming liberality. Elizabeth soon afterwards forbade him to appear at Court altogether. The cause of the interdiction is not known. It probably was connected with the disgrace under which the Duke of Norfolk then lay on account of his intrigues with the Queen of Scots; though we are not told that the Lord Henry was implicated in them.

In 1571 the Lord Henry Howard was destined to experience misfortunes of a far more serious nature. His brother the Duke of Norfolk was again arrested and sent to the Tower for renewing his intrigues to marry the Queen of Scots.

the grounds whereon he founds the short but invidious account which he afterwards subjoins of the Lord H. Howard. *Ibid.* In some of the things he mentions he is evidently mistaken.

^a Cotton MSS. Titus C. VI. fo. 3.

^b *Iliad*, Book 17, l. 645. *Longinus de Sublim.* Ch. 9

^c He dates his Treatise of Philosophy to the Lady Berkley from Trinity Hall, Aug. 6th, 1569.

As soon as the Lord Henry heard that his brother was arrested, he wrote to Burleigh, and earnestly solicited leave to go to Court, that he might fling himself at Elizabeth's feet and intercede for him: if that was refused, he then said he should discontinue his journey, and go to comfort his brother's afflicted family.^a It is clear from this that the Lord Henry must have been innocent of all participation in the Duke of Norfolk's designs; and that he was in no shape the cause of those misfortunes which befel him. Lady Bacon's assertion on this head, therefore, respecting the Lord Henry Howard, is altogether unfounded, and proves nothing but the violence of her prejudices and the bitterness of her animosity against him.^b So far was he from seeking his brother's downfall, that he exposed himself to danger by too strenuously advocating his cause. Elizabeth was offended at the zeal which he shewed on that occasion, and marked her displeasure by ordering him into temporary confinement. Meanwhile the Duke of Norfolk was examined on the several charges which had been brought against him. For some time the Lord Henry's name was not called in question. At last Banister, the Duke's confidential agent, confessed "that the Duke being at first unwilling to attempt the marriage of the Queen of Scots himself, proposed his brother the Lord Henry for that object, to which the party objected as not being well assured of him."^c Upon this information the Lord Henry was arrested and committed to the custody of the Archbishop of York. After a long confinement and many examinations, he succeeded in establishing his innocence. In this instance the Queen seems to have stood his friend, and to have prevented his enemies from including him in the same sentence with the Duke his brother, which they were disposed to do. He often acknowledged afterwards, that he was indebted for his life to Elizabeth's personal interference on this occasion.^d She carried her favour and protection so far as to allow him a yearly pension for his support after his brother's death; and permitted him to appear at Court. But though the Lord Henry was acquitted, and restored to partial favour, and though

^a "Ad ædes Ducis quasi portum et refugium calamitatis remitti queam, animique ægritudinem Nepotum conspectu consolari. Nullum tamen onus aut laborem recuso, quo fidelem et salutarem operam charissimo Duci præstare possim. Summæ etiam Dominationi tuæ obtestor, ut, si Regina me tanquam supplicem pro Duce admitti nolit, summo tuo beneficio liceat, intermisso ad Aulam itinere, reverti, eamque à precibus à Deo contendere salutem, quam nullo prohibere consilio aut promoveri queam." *Cotton MSS. Cal. C. III.*

^b See the extracts from the Sydney MSS. Papers quoted by Birch in his *Reign of Elizabeth*, and copied from him by Sir E. Brydges, in his *Memoirs of the Peers of James the Ist.* p. 237, & *seq.* The Sydney Papers are to be found in the Lambeth Library, among the Codices Tenisoniani. They consist of sixteen folio volumes. Birch's extracts from these Papers are among his MS. Collections in the British Museum.

^c See Banister's Confession, Murden's State Papers, p. 134: and Camden's *Annals* in *An.* 1570.

^d Epistle Dedicatory to the Dutiful Defense of the Lawful Regiment of Women.

it must be clear from the very terms in which his name had been mentioned, that he had taken no part in his brother's intrigues, still a general prejudice on this head was raised against him which he could not for many years remove. The charge, as we shall hereafter see, was revived on more than one occasion, and combined with the belief of his being a Roman Catholic, was the cause of all the misfortunes and persecutions he encountered during the far greater part of Elizabeth's reign.^a

After the Duke of Norfolk's death the Lord Henry resided, as we find from his letters to Burleigh with whom he was always in the habit of correspondence, chiefly at Audley End. He there devoted himself to study and the care of his brother's children, whom throughout life he constantly seems to have regarded with fatherly affection. From Audley End we find him making occasional visits both to his friends in London, and at Cambridge. He attended at the Commemoration there in July 1573,^b and sent Burleigh a long account of it. We find him however soon after suffering from sickness, and involved in fresh calamity from a renewal of the old accusation on the subject of the Queen of Scots. That the charge should have been revived, proves only the virulence of his enemies. For he again succeeded in establishing his innocence, and in shewing that he had neither been made acquainted with his brother's designs, nor knew that more had passed between him and the Scottish Queen than private tokens of good will; "which had no regard whatever to matters of State." This fresh accusation and exculpation took place in 1574.^c For a short time after the Lord Henry Howard seems to have enjoyed comparative tranquillity, and to have prosecuted his private studies unmolested; though he was still kept in a state of dependence, amounting to humiliation, and was prohibited appearing at Court. He did not however omit any opportunity of expressing his loyalty, or of endeavouring to ingratiate himself with his Royal Mistress. When the nation, in 1580 and 1581, was agitated by the question of Elizabeth's marriage with the Duke of Anjou, he took the side perhaps of policy, certainly of the Queen's affections, and wrote a little Tract in favour of the match;^d and when about the same time a scurrilous

^a A person of the name of Herle writing from Cambridge to Burleigh, tells him that "the Lord Henry Howard was reputed a priest: that he was private Registrar to the Pope's Cardinals: that he had a notable Jesuit in his service: and that he had engaged to establish popery at the expense of the blood of some of the noblest houses in England." *Lansdown MSS. No. 49.* We shall find this same Herle, whoever he was, traducing the Lord Howard to Burleigh on another occasion. If character is to be estimated by the hearsay intelligence of underhand informers, whose reputation is secure?

^b *Cotton MS. Titus C. VI. fo. 13.*

^c *Cotton MSS. Cal. C. IV. fo. 209.*

^d See *Harl. MSS. No. 180.* His letter was written more particularly in answer to Stubbs' Pamphlet against the match, entitled, "A Discovery of a Gaping Gulp, whereunto England is like to be swallowed by another French Match, if the Lord forbid not the Bans by letting her Majesty see the Sin and Punishment thereof."

Pamphlet was written against female government, he was the person selected by Burleigh to answer it.^a But all these proofs of loyalty were not sufficient to conquer the prejudices which had been conceived against him. His enemies always contrived with malicious ingenuity to misrepresent his actions, and his zeal for the Queen's honour was wrested to his disadvantage. The sorrows and disappointments which he experienced at this period increased rapidly and pressed heavily upon him; they would have broken the spirit of any man less firm and patient than himself. His cousin the Earl of Oxford accused him to Elizabeth of disrespectful and undutiful conduct, repeated the old charge concerning the Queen of Scots, and attacked him on the score of his religion. Oxford's conduct evidently proceeded from personal retentment. He was offended with the Lord Henry Howard because he had reprov'd him publicly for his own irreverent and seditious behaviour towards the Queen; and had refused to go abroad with him, where he promised he should be enabled to live with greater comfort and independence than he could hope to do in England; telling him that "the Queen hated him, and sought to have his head more than that of any person living." The accusations preferred by Oxford against the Lord Henry Howard, laid him under the necessity of writing to the Queen to exculpate himself. This he did in the clearest manner, exposing the violence and ungoverned licence of Oxford's character, and adducing proof of the integrity of his own conduct; naming many persons with whom he was living in habits of the strictest intimacy, such as Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Howard, Lord Dunsanny, Sir Thomas and Lady Drury, Sir Henry Knevitt, and others of approved loyalty, who could all speak with certainty as to his behaviour. There is nothing servile in any part of Howard's defence on this occasion. On the contrary, it is strongly marked with a spirit of truth and independence. On the subject of religion he says, "I grant that by frequenting services not permitted by your laws I have offended. But if it please your Majesty to weigh that zeal unto my God, and not want of duty to my Prince, hath provoked me to take this way, *until I might be better satisfied in sacramentary points*, I hope you will the rather pardon my transgressing." On the subject of the Queen of Scots he says; "If I were so childish as to build upon the figure of such future hopes, it lies not in the talents of so mean a man as I to win her liking, or to bind her favour by a *merit of more weight* than the loss of my brother's head for dealing in her cause." I question whether there was any person about the Court then living, who pleading for favour, and even for life before the Queen on points where she was known to have been so susceptible, would have spoken with equal firmness.^b Howard succeeded in refuting all the charges adduced against him; which, it should be

^a Harleian MSS. No. 7021.

^b Cotton MSS. Titus. C. VI. fo. 2, et seq

noticed, were thought of sufficient importance to cause his being arrested and examined formally before the Chancellor.

After this the Lord Henry Howard enjoyed for a short time a little repose, and we find him pursuing his studies at a small house he had taken at St. Albans. It was there, in all probability, that he undertook and completed his *Preservative* against the poison of supposed prophecies; a work which was represented as dangerous and heretical by Howard's enemies at the time, and has since been stigmatized, I know not why, "as vain-glorious."^a It exhibits an extent and variety of reading, an acuteness of reasoning, and justness of observation, which few works in our language can equal, and ought to have entitled its author to praise and favour. He published it in 1583, with a dedication to Sir F. Walsingham, to whom he seems to have offered it as a mark of gratitude for the protection he had afforded him in his late misfortunes. He tells us that the work was the fruit of nearly one year's labour.^b

But Howard's tranquillity was not of long duration. In the latter end of the same year, 1583, he was again arrested on the charge of carrying on a secret correspondence with the Queen of Scots, and brought into the utmost peril of his life. It was said that he had corresponded with one Charles Paget, an emissary of the Queen of Scots; that he had communicated with the French ambassador concerning her: and had received a ring which she had sent him as a token of her regard, saying that she did "repute him as her brother." The Lord Henry Howard underwent two very close examinations before Lord Hunsdon on all these points; the one on the 13th of December, the other on the 1st of the ensuing January.^c Nothing was proved against him, but he was not liberated. On the contrary he was kept in close confinement in the Fleet, where he describes himself as suffering the utmost misery from want, neglect, and ill health. He wrote from thence many earnest supplicatory letters to his friends; particularly to Burleigh, his constant protector and adviser from his youth, as well as to the Secretary Cecil, conjuring them "for God's sake, and the compassion of their own good nature," to intercede for him with the Queen, and obtain at least a change of prison; professing himself willing to submit to any restraint until he should be able to satisfy Elizabeth of his integrity. He met with little

^a *Strypes Life of Grindall*, p. 157. It was in this spirit of detraction that Herle, whose name has been already mentioned, writing to Lord Burleigh from Cambridge, "desires him to take the opinion of some learned men respecting the Lord Howard's book, for that the said book is conceived by some of good judgment to contain seeming heresies: and that it was full of treason, though somewhat closely covered." *Lansdown MSS.* N^o 49.

^b *Epistle Dedicatory*, p. 1. and *ibid.* p. ult.

^c The two examinations are preserved among the Cotton MSS. *Caligula. VII. fol. 261. and fol. 269.*

kindness or assistance from Burleigh, who even told him that he could not attend to his letters, until he had finished some physic he was then taking. From Cecil he experienced more friendship and attention. By his assistance, and the good offices of Leicester, he was ultimately liberated and permitted to go to Redgrave, where however he seems to have been in some degree a prisoner.^a

It will be naturally inferred that the Lord Henry Howard could not have been an object of so much jealousy respecting the Queen of Scots, or have been so frequently arrested on her account, if he had not been in correspondence with her. The fact is, that he was during the whole of this time her secret and confidential adviser: and it must excite surprise, both that he was able to elude detection, and that knowing the danger to which he was exposed, he still should persist in hovering round the Court, and not rather retire to the Country, where, as he would excite less suspicion, he might enjoy greater security. We learn however from a very interesting letter written by him on the subject some years after to a Mr. Morgan, who had himself been one of Mary's servants, that he placed himself where he did that he might supply real information to the Queen of Scots, and not vague reports which could only mislead her and injure her cause. We learn also from the same letter that Howard was actuated in what he did by the purest motives, and that all the advice he gave was consistent with his duty to Elizabeth, and the best that could have been given for the common interests of all parties. He speaks thus of the line of conduct which he had recommended to the Scottish Queen. "I did ever advise her to win time; to abate the sails of her Royal spirit; to discourage practise with patience; pursuits with constancy. I presented often times by letters and discourses to herself, the purpose of her enemies to take advantage of the first occasion that might give colour to that bloody course which they meant to take with her. By setting near unto the helm I could, and did judge better by what compass her condition was carried, and in danger of how great rocks, than they living at a greater distance. To conclude; as

^a *Cotton MSS. Titus, C. VI. fol. 24. and fol. 26.* The following passage from Camden's *Annals* will shew the injustice of the whole proceeding. "There were at this time some subtle ways taken to try how men stood affected. Counterfeit letters were privately sent in the name of the Queen of Scots, and the fugitives, and left in Papists' houses; spies were sent abroad up and down the country to take notice of people's discourses, and lay hold of words: reporters of vain and idle stories were countenanced and credited. Hereupon many were brought into suspicion, and among the rest Henry Earl of Northumberland. Philip Earl of Arundel was confined to his own house; his wife committed to Sir Thomas Shirley's custody. William Howard the Earl's brother, and Henry Howard their uncle, the Duke of Norfolk's brother, were several times examined about letters from the Queen of Scots, and from Charles Paget, and about one Mope then unknown: their prudence and innocence could hardly protect them." *Anno 1584.* As Burleigh may be reasonably concluded to have been at the bottom of these practices, Howard, who suffered from them so unjustly, cannot be blamed for calling him "tortuosum colubrum." See *Brydges' Memoirs, &c. p. 241.*

I ever feared, so I fled those giddy counsellors of ill seasoned colours, which did not stick, out of the fervency of ambition, to put her life in hazard for the satisfaction of their vast desires; to run the ship on ground, for haste of better speed by chance; to loose the main, by snatching at the bye; and to cut off the reward of hope, by the anticipation of opportunity. Too many of those idle motives were conveyed by packets out of foreign parts, and seconded by sympathy of combining plots at home. But as I hope that you, Mr. Morgan, and know that I myself was never of that mind, so have we both just cause to lament that out of posting error, Satan and his Angels took a sober course to bring her to an end."^a

But though Howard eluded detection, it is not probable that he could deceive either Burleigh or Elizabeth. The latter, perhaps, was even piqued at being thus outwitted; and on that very ground might have resented a conduct which otherwise she would have overlooked: for, impartially considered, it was a conduct that merited the thanks of all parties. As it was, Elizabeth pursued Howard with unrelenting displeasure, and his situation became more destitute than ever. It was embittered too by sickness, as well as poverty and restraint. He suffered from frequent returns of a burning ague with which he had been first attacked in the autumn of 1573:^b and he was brought to the very brink of the grave by a fit of the stone, so violent "that for four days and nights together he took neither rest nor food." Reduced by these accumulated sufferings to the utmost misery, Howard wrote to Burleigh soliciting leave to go to the Wells at Warwick (those probably which now are called Leamington) telling him that the waters could be taken with effect only in July and August. In the same letter he acknowledges "a comfortable message" which had been communicated to him through Mr. Bacon: and after complaining of his having been treated with greater severity than others, he expresses an hope of enlargement, and of permission afterwards to travel. The letter is dated from Redgrave, July 19, 1585.^c Whether he obtained leave to go to the Wells at Warwick, has not been ascertained. It seems improbable that so small a favour should have been denied. Whether he had permission afterwards to travel, or not, I have been unable to discover. It has been asserted that he went to Italy, and that he spent some time in Rome and Florence.^d I have my doubts on this head, and am inclined to think that he never was out of England. At all events, if he did go abroad, it could only have been for a short time. For in 1587, when preparations were making to

^a *Cotton MSS. Titus, C. VI. fol. 138.* Morgan was a Roman Catholic, and had applied to be received at Court on the ground of his former attachment to the Queen of Scots, without subscribing. Northampton writes at considerable length to shew him how improper such a request was. That letter might be adduced as a proof that Northampton could not have been a Papist.

^b *Cotton MSS. Titus C. VI.*

^c *Cotton MSS. ut sup.*

^d *Lloyd's Worthies. Vol. I. p. 67.*

repel the Spanish invason, and all the noble youth of the country volunteered their services, we find that the Lord Henry Howard was among the first to tender his services also, avowing it to be one of his motives that he wished to refute the calumnies raised against him, and prove himself worthy of being trusted. His own words deserve to be transcribed. "My purpose," he says, writing to Lord Burleigh, "is to give no less evident and certain proof of my untamed loyalty upon the sea by hazard of my life, than I have already done of my obedience upon land, by conformity to orders. And albeit I could wish, if the choice were mine, to serve in the ship either of the Lord Admiral, a worthy member of our House, or of my nephew, whom next unto her Majesty I prefer unto all creatures alive, yet rather than their judgment or respect of my demeanour or desert should be doubted of by respect of partiality by natural good will, I would accept of any place under some less affected to myself, unto whom it shall please you to advise me by your opinion, or assign me by your authority." It is difficult to say what is the language of integrity if this be not allowed to be such. Yet the Lord H. Howard's offers were not accepted, though he wearied himself in repeating them, and, to use his own forcible expression, "had worn the steps of almost every counsellor with attendance." So hard is it to overcome prejudice.^a

The Lord Howard's situation seems to have been more destitute and dependent at this, than at any other period of his life. The pension that had been granted him was paid irregularly. It had once been withheld for more than thirteen months; and he was so generally deserted by his friends and relations that he had no longer any certain place of abode. If he had any thing like an asylum, it was what he called "his little cell at Greenwich, where, by the honourable favour of the Lord Admiral, I have," he says, "a roof to cover me from the rain, which elsewhere I have not any where."^b It is probable that this was the time of his being reduced to the distress which had been foretold, when it was said "he should live to want a meal's meat."^c From one of his letters it appears that he had some expectations from a Sir Roger Townsend, who had been strongly urged to provide for him by will. And indeed he did make him some bequest: but it was accompanied with such humiliating circumstances, that no generous mind could have accepted it. In a letter, dated Oct. 29, 1589, the Lord Henry tells us that he was driven to solicit pecuniary assistance from his friends rather than receive "the beggar's cloke" which Sir Roger Townsend had left him "to please his extraordinary humour," and to save himself the mortification of appearing as "one

^a *Cotton MSS. Titus. C. VI. fol. 28.* He expressly said, "I crave no charge; but as a private gentleman would learn to serve."

^b *Cotton MSS. ut sup.*

^c *Lloyd's Worthies. Vol. I. p. 68.*

of his almsmen."^a Under the pressure of so much accumulated suffering it is almost incredible that the Lord Henry Howard should have been able to apply his mind to study, or attempt any literary exertion. Nevertheless we find that in March 1589 he finished a Treatise on Prayer, which he dedicated to Burleigh, and that he wrote in the course of the same year his long and laborious work called "A Dutiful Defence of the Lawful Regiment of Women," with a dedication of considerable length to Queen Elizabeth. This work, like his "Preservative against the Poison of Supposed Prophecies," will be found to be replete with reading and argument, exhibiting an extensive knowledge of the common as well as of the civil law. Howard's chief object in undertaking this work was to offer a tribute of duty to the Queen. How she received it we do not know. The end proposed however was not effected. He was not permitted to appear at Court. He informs us in the course of the dedication, that at that time he had not been permitted to see the Queen for ten years.^b

The adverse stars that ruled at Howard's birth had not yet spent all their malignant influence. In 1591 the Lord Admiral, his near relation, and the only person who had been uniformly his friend, entrusted to his keeping a person called Don Louis, a prisoner of some importance who had engaged to give the English government such information as would facilitate the capture of the Spanish Plate Fleet. The Admiral's object in giving the Lord Henry this charge was to afford him an opportunity of shewing himself worthy confidence, and to give him the means of ingratiating himself with the Queen. The perverse conduct of the prisoner defeated the Admiral's friendly intentions, and even afforded an occasion to Howard's enemies of accusing him to Elizabeth. Complaints were made. He was called upon to justify his conduct. He did so to the satisfaction of the Queen and the Privy Council. Elizabeth however still remained obdurate: he was not permitted to appear at Court.^c

From this time the Lord Henry Howard seems to have renounced all hope of

^a *Cotton MSS. Titus. C. VI. fol. 30.*

^b In the Dedicatory Epistle to Elizabeth he tells her, that the work had been originally suggested to him by a Counsellor of high authority (probably Burleigh) and that he had entered upon it thirteen years before, but had desisted, thinking the arguments urged in the invective not deserving notice, and fearing that his intentions might be misconstrued. He told the Queen that his papers had been seized no less than five times, when he had been arrested on five different occasions; and that they had been as often examined and scattered, but that his collections for the work he then presented to her had always been preserved and returned to him in a manner so extraordinary as to give him a sort of predilection for the undertaking. The last time his papers were seized was at St. Albans. He mentions Justice Young to have been the person sent to inspect them, and describes him as being ignorant as well brutal in the execution of his office. The Dedication to the Dutiful Defence is replete with allusions to the past events of Northampton's life.

^c *Cotton MSS. Titus. C. VI. fol. 32.*

succeeding in the great object of his wishes, and to have yielded himself up to melancholy. Yet it is well deserving notice, that he never was betrayed into a single rash or discontented expression against the Queen, or her government. He asserted his innocence indeed, whenever he addressed Elizabeth, in the most unequivocal manner, but did it in the becoming language of dutiful submission. He ventures to remind her that "his actions had been liable to all kind of search and inquiry that could bolt out truth, yet no fault had ever been found in him; and says that "though she had often heard the voice of Jacob in his vows, she had never found the hand of Jacob in his examinations."^a But he did not presume to call her justice in question: he complains only of his enemies who had misrepresented his conduct; and professes himself willing to undergo any further probation the Queen might think fit to impose. The state of his mind at this period will be best described in his own words. Writing to Cecil an account of the disputations at Cambridge, whither he had gone in the summer of 1594 at the instance of a friend, he assigns this as his reason for accepting the invitation, "that his disgraceful state was ever like to be one with the peasant's in the common villages, who delights in the ordinary shews of market days because he finds so little in his own poor house to content or comfort him."^b On another occasion, being detained in London to render some service to Lady Essex during her husband's absence, he declares, that "for himself he would be content in the autumn of his unhappy age, till his bell rang out, to see nothing but a grove and a prayer-book."^c Yet even this dejection did not prevent him from pursuing his studies as before; and he assigns as his motive, "that though his long disgrace had utterly discouraged his mind from either hoping or soliciting any further favour, yet would he not desire to live after that either her Majesty, or any of her Majesty's ministers of State should find the smallest likelihood by his deserts, either *omittendo bonum*, or *committendo malum*, whereupon to ground a conclusion."^d It was on this principle that he never suffered a year to pass by without presenting some work of his own composition either to the Queen or to Burleigh. The melancholy reflections forced upon the Lord Henry Howard by his dependant situation did not prevent him from mixing with the world as usual, or cultivating those friendships which might be useful to him. The unkindness he had experienced from Burleigh during his imprisonment in 1584, had much

^a *Epistle Dedicatory to Dutiful Defence*, fol. 23. Urging Elizabeth to put his integrity to any proof she might devise, if she was not satisfied with what he had already undergone, he speaks confidently as to the result; and uses this expression, "gold loseth fashion in the fire, but not weight; enamel loseth both at once."

^b *Cotton MSS. Titus. C. VI. fol. 40.*

^c *Ibid. to Sir Robert Cecil. fol. 43.*

^d *Ibid. fol. 45.*

weakened the confidence which till then he had reposed in him. The active part he believed him to have taken in the Queen of Scot's death widened the separation; so that though he continued to correspond with Burleigh, he seems to have expected, and to have solicited little from him.^a He had not the same motives for estranging himself from Secretary Cecil. He therefore sought and obtained his friendship, and was entrusted with his most confidential secrets. He attached himself also warmly to the Earl of Essex, and stood so high in his confidence and good opinion that he was often charged with the important commission of communicating to him during his absence from Court, whatever it was necessary he should be informed of for the regulation of his conduct, either during his absence, or at his return.^b And yet though he cultivated the friendship of Essex, he was far from doing it, as some have ungenerously insinuated, upon base motives, or in a servile way.^c Those who advance this charge forget that Howard in point of birth was fully Essex's equal, and that his character stood so high for learning, abilities, and political knowledge, that there is reason to believe that Essex gained more from the Lord Howard's friendship than the Lord Howard could from his. One thing is certain, whatever favours he asked of Essex, they were for his friends and not for himself. On one occasion he solicited something for Sir R. Woodhouse; and on another for his nephew the Lord T. Howard. The manner in which Essex replied to the last of these applications proves that he thought himself under obligations to the Lord Henry Howard. "To yourself I say, that when you use defences (excuses) to me, you do both me and yourself wrong: for I both love you and owe too much; except I could pay more."^d

As Essex was obnoxious to a large party at Court, all who were attached to him became objects of jealousy and misrepresentation.^e The Lord Henry was

^a *Ibid.* fol. 24. Yet Howard never neglected on that account to pay Burleigh the same marks of personal respect he had done before. He seems to have attended him in his last illness, and to have paid him the parting offices of friendship, when he had nothing further to fear from his resentment, or hope from his favour. *Ut sup.* fol. 45.

^b See *Birch's Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. I. p. 245. and Vol. II. p. 118. p. 358. and p. 363. and *Cotton MSS. Titus C. VI.* fol. 43. In the Sydney Papers, Vol. XIII. is a letter from Howard to Anthony Bacon, inquiring after news to communicate to Essex, dated October 8, 1598. From the same Papers it appears also that Howard was in confidential correspondence with Lord Shrewsbury for the same object.

^c So far was the Lord Henry Howard from courting Essex's favour in a servile way, that he was jealous of his own independence, and quick in resenting any supposed neglect. See *Birch's Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. Vol. II. p. 325.

^d *Birch's Elizabeth*. Vol. I. p. 245. In the Sydney Papers is another letter from Essex to Howard on the same subject. Vol. V. fol. 97.

^e Essex was of the party which wished for peace with Spain. Those were not the popular politics of the day: which made Sir John Harington humorously enter into his Court Memorandums

among the number. We are not to be surprised therefore at the manner in which he is spoken of by Lady Bacon in the extracts made by Birch from the Sydney Papers. Lady Bacon was a woman of an austere turn of mind, violent in her resentments, implacable in her antipathies, and an avowed enemy to Essex and his party. She wished to deter her sons Anthony and Francis, (afterwards the great Lord Bacon) from engaging in it: and as they were both intimate with Howard, the known friend of Essex, she laboured to discredit him with them, that he might not have any influence over their conduct. She therefore insinuated that he was not to be trusted, for he had betrayed even the Duke of Norfolk his own brother, who, but for him, would not have been beheaded; that he was a Papist, and a Spaniard, and that he was lying in wait only to deceive.^a The first of these assertions is refuted by what has been already said on the subject of the Duke of Norfolk's conspiracy: the latter, by the conduct which both Anthony and Francis Bacon pursued. Their letters to Howard prove not only that they persisted in maintaining the strictest intimacy with him, but that they paid the highest deference to his abilities, and courted his good opinion.^b There is a long and very curious account preserved by Lord Bacon of a conversation between himself and his aunt Lady Russel, which shews how highly he estimated the Lord Henry, and how unfounded Lady Bacon's suspicions concerning him were.^c

But the time was now advancing when justice was to be no longer withheld, and the Lord Henry Howard was to be at last rewarded for his long patience and his sufferings. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign he succeeded in removing entirely the prejudices which she had conceived against him, and obtained her confidence to a very remarkable degree. We are told by a person who seems to

“not to talk more about Spanish grandeur and well shapen mustachoes,” *Nugæ Antiquæ, Vol. I. p. 166.*

^a The passages alluded to will be found in Birch's Elizabeth; they have been copied by Brydges in his *Memoirs, &c. p. 240.* All private letters of the description of those quoted, are to be received as evidences in history with great circumspection. In confidential correspondence we often repeat things which we do not perfectly believe; and say from the impulse of feelings, what on reflection we would not venture to affirm openly.

^b Anthony Bacon, writing to the Lord Henry Howard in 1594, uses these words, “I most earnestly beseech your good lordship to do me the honour to believe that I shall esteem it always one of the greatest happinesses that can befall me, to be able, by some acceptable service, to acknowledge your Lordship's good opinion and favour, and to deserve the increase.” At this time Howard was in no favour whatever at Court.

^c *Birch's Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 132.* The most striking proof that can be adduced of the respect paid by Sir Francis Bacon to Howard, is to be drawn from the letter which he wrote to him after the fall of Essex, in which he wishes to exculpate himself from all blame in the transaction; hoping not to be injured in Howard's good opinion, in consequence of any thing he had done. *Ibid. p. 460.*

have had personally no regard for the Lord Henry Howard, that in September 1600 he was so much graced by the Queen, that she was used to have much conference with him: that he was retained immediately about her person, and that on one occasion "she commanded his bed to be set up in the Council Chamber, when the other persons of her Court were exposed to the inconvenience of lying in tents."^a

To what particular circumstance he owed the Queen's favour we have not been told. We may conjecture that he was indebted for it in some degree to his friends, Cecil and Essex. They could not have made him the confidential repository of their secrets without having an high personal regard for him, and wishing to see him well received at Court.

In 1601 the ill-fated and misguided Essex fell a victim to his own imprudence, and the secret machinations of his enemies. He made it a point of conscience before he died to reveal the names of all who were any way implicated in his designs. Howard's does not appear among the number. Neither was he among those who came forward to accuse the fallen favourite.^b All this speaks highly in Howard's favour. It shews that he had been too good and loyal a subject to sacrifice the duty he owed the Queen to private friendship, and ambition; yet too generous to betray or injure a man whom he had once esteemed.

After the death of Essex, the Lord Henry Howard continued to remain at Court, and strengthened his intimacy with Cecil, with whom he entered into a confidential correspondence with the King of Scotland, conveying to him such information as was necessary for the regulation of his conduct.^c The jealousy of Elizabeth on the subject of succession had made it difficult for James to know how to act, and had rendered able advisers necessary. That he was the undoubted

^a *Sydney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 215.* Rowland White, the writer of that letter, on another occasion, calls the Lord Henry a "ranter," (I do not know the import of the term,) *ib. p. 129*; and afterwards cautions Sir R. Sydney against writing to him, *ib. p. 130*. But on another occasion we find him consulting confidentially with the Lord Henry, about the best means of promoting Sir R. Sydney's interest, in a point which he was anxious to accomplish. This fact proves that "honest Rowland," as Sir Philip Sydney called him, had a high opinion of Howard's judgment and interest at least. *Ibid. p. 49.*

^b The probability is, that Howard, perceiving how ungovernable Essex was, and finding from experience that no advice he could offer would be received, withdrew from him. This was the course Sir John Harington observed, and many, I doubt not, of Essex's most conscientious friends. Harington has given a very striking picture of what was passing in Essex's mind. *Nugæ Antiquæ, Vol. I. p. 179.*

^c Northampton, in his first speech on Garnet's trial, plainly intimates what the part was which he took in advising James some time previous to Elizabeth's death: and notices the attempts made to draw him from that prudent and conciliatory line of conduct which he had been led to adopt. See *State Trials, Vol. I. p. 245.*

heir to the English throne every one admitted. But had he ventured openly to form a party in consequence, as some ambitious persons advised his doing; or had he adopted any violent course of public measures, grounded on the presumption that he was soon to succeed to the English Crown, much inconvenience might have resulted both to himself and others. James was placed therefore in a situation of great difficulty. As he conducted himself in it with prudence, and as the Lord Henry Howard was one of his chief advisers, he must be entitled to the praise of having counselled him with ability, as well as integrity. The correspondence that passed on the occasion has been published. The style of Howard's letters is in many places dark and enigmatical; this arose of necessity out of the nature of the subject. Some of his letters are needlessly verbose and amplified, so as to deserve the title which James gave them, when he called them "Asiatic and endless volumes;" nevertheless they shew Lord Howard to have been a deep and steady observer of men's characters, and to have unravelled with great ability the secret intrigues of the times, especially those of Sir Walter Raleigh and the weak and fickle Cobham.^a From this period is to be dated that turn of fortune in Howard's favour, which sat in with a strong and steady current of increasing prosperity until the end of his life. How high he stood at that time in general opinion is evident from a letter written by Lord Bacon to him, with a tender of services, towards the close of Elizabeth's reign.^b

As soon as James was informed of Elizabeth's death, one of his first acts was to send the Lord Henry Howard a ruby "out of Scotland as a token," no doubt, of gratitude, and as a pledge of future favour.^c Nor did James balk any expectations he raised. Howard was one of the few noblemen who were permitted to attend at the first conference which James held with his ministers at Theobald's, when the plan of government was arranged. He was there made one of the Privy Council, and was afterwards called to places of the highest trust and emolument.

On the 1st of Jan. 1604, he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle; on the 13th of the ensuing August he was created Baron Howard of Marnhill, and Earl of Northampton. He was afterwards ap-

^a Howard's obscurity arose in great part from his fear of offending James on account of the Queen, whom he did not think a fit person to be trusted. It required some management to give him caution on this head. The Queen seems to have been aware of Howard's opinion, and to have become his enemy in consequence. He entreated that neither his name nor Cecil's might be ever mentioned to the Queen, as she was in the habit of confiding with those who were James's enemies. *p.* 216.

^b *Birch, MSS. Cot. No.* 4108.

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pointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal, and was installed Knight of the Garter on the 24th of Feb. 1605, and on the 29th of April 1608 he was made Lord Privy Seal.^a It has been confidently asserted, that the Lord Henry Howard obtained his honours by a sacrifice of his religious principles, and by the basest adulation.^b But his elevation may be accounted for on better grounds. James was predisposed to favour the Howard family generally on a principle of affection to the memory of his unfortunate Mother. They had suffered fatally on account of their attachment to her. The Lord Henry, in particular, owed to it in great measure all the misfortunes which he had encountered in Elizabeth's reign. It was reasonable to expect therefore that James should raise him to places of trust and emolument, especially as he had long received important services from him, had found him faithful and diligent, knew him to be one of the ablest scholars of the age, and heard on all sides, by the confession of even enemies, that he was an able politician; and that he had a thorough insight into the characters of those who were to form the future Court. To refer the Lord Henry Howard's advancement to sordid and ungenerous motives, seems rather a gratuitous exercise of ill will towards his memory, than any sober operation of judgment.

Though these were the principal marks of favour which Howard, now Lord Northampton, received from James, it is probable that he had other proofs of Royal bounty. We know for instance that he had a grant of the Tower in Greenwich Park, and the Baillewick of the Town.^c A grant of no great emolument indeed, but one which was particularly pleasing to him to receive; as he made Greenwich the principal place of his residence. Perhaps it might have been soothing to his feelings to be seen to live and close his days in honour and splendor, on the very spot which had afforded him an asylum in the time of his poverty and humiliation.

Nor was it from James alone that Northampton received marks of favour and respect. Lord Bacon paid him the singular compliment of selecting him as the

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person to present his famous work of the Advancement of Learning to the King; assigning as his reason, that he did it "of a kind of congruity: that as the Work was dedicated to the learnedest King that had reigned, it might be presented by the learnedest Counsellor in the kingdom."^a The University of Oxford likewise gave a proof of the estimation in which they held him, by appointing him unsolicited their High Steward on the death of Lord Lumley in 1609: and in 1612 upon the death of Salisbury, Cambridge elected him their Chancellor not only unsolicited, but in opposition to a party who had proposed the Duke of York, afterwards Charles the First. When Northampton heard of his election, and that the Duke of York had been proposed as a candidate, he wrote immediately to the University declining the honour that had been offered to him, in language that does not leave any doubt as to his sincerity, declaring that it became no one to act in opposition to the Royal Family, and least of all himself, who owed the King a more than common debt of gratitude and duty.^b The University then addressed the King on the subject; and having professed sentiments of loyalty and attachment to himself and to his family, stated their reasons for electing Northampton. James was pleased to reply, and having acquitted them of disrespect to himself, told them he should in no shape interfere with the liberty of their election. Left to exercise their free choice, the University confirmed their first appointment, and again elected Northampton. He then gratefully accepted the office. It is difficult to say on which of the parties this transaction reflects most honour, on the University, or on Northampton. One inference may be safely drawn from it. It cannot be supposed that both our Universities, Cambridge as well as Oxford, would have placed Northampton unsolicited in offices of such high trust, had there been any foundation for the report of his being a notorious Papist, or had they even suspected him upon reasonable grounds of being inclined to Popery. It is remarkable that James assigns it as one of the grounds, why he approved of Northampton's election, that he knew him to be faithfully attached to the Established Church.^c

^a *Bacon's Works*, Vol. V. p. 286.

^b *Sloane MSS. No. 3562*. The manner in which Northampton, addressing the King, speaks of his obligations to him is affecting; "To the place by birth my due, from which I was ejected rather by the wrongs of others than mine own deserts, your Majesty restored me. I was then esteemed as a forlorn hope, sine spe, sine re; I am now admitted, though unworthy, by extraordinary grace to be your Privy Councillor. I was branded with the mark of reprobation; you have signed me with the character of trust. I was esteemed, and so termed, a man dangerous; you have trusted me with one of the strongest locks of your estate. To be well affected to the best deserving Prince in Europe, was then my crime; it is now my credit. To have put myself in readiness against your golden day, was then my danger; it is now my gaol delivery." *Cotton MSS. Titus. C. VI. fol. 55*.

^c See the King's letter subjoined to this article.

If James was liberal in thus highly honouring and enriching Northampton, on the other hand Northampton repaid his Royal Master a full measure of gratitude and duty, by devoting himself wholly to his service. Northampton had now attained to an age when the love of business declines, and increasing years demand suspension of labour; nevertheless he gave himself up to the King's affairs with all the alacrity and vigour of youth. He was constantly at Court, even when public business did not require his presence, out of compliment to the King, who delighted in his conversation; for Northampton is said to have had a singularly elegant and insinuating manner of expressing himself, even on the most common topics.^a He was sedulous in his attendance at the Privy Council, in the Star Chamber, and in the Parliament House, in all of which places he spoke frequently and always with care and consideration. This we learn from the minutes of his speeches, of which a large number have been preserved.^b The fact is, that no public business of any importance occurred on which Northampton was not confidentially consulted and employed. It will suffice to enumerate the following. He was appointed, in 1603, one of the commissioners for the trial of Sir W. Raleigh. The part he took in those proceedings may be found in the State Trials. When we call to mind that Northampton had been long acquainted with Raleigh's intrigues during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and knew the party he was even then making in opposition to James's interests, we cannot but praise the candor and moderation with which he conducted himself in those proceedings. In 1605 he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the trial of Guy Faux, and the conspirators engaged in the Gun-Powder Plot, and spoke at some length on the occasion. In 1606 he was one of the Commissioners for the Trial of Garnet. The speech he then delivered is preserved in the State Trials. It is a speech of vast ability and learning; it exhibits great powers of language and thought, and frequent bursts of commanding eloquence. No one who reads that speech can I think suspect Northampton of being really a Papist. Should it be contended invidiously that he might have written that speech from motives of policy, the objection must be silenced when it is remembered, that he never would have spoken it at the trial, or have printed it as he did afterwards, or have taken the active part he bore in all the transaction, had it been in the power of any living to have charged him with acting either contrary to his conscience or his engagements.^c

^a If, however, we may believe Lloyd, Northampton had not a good delivery in his public speeches. "The Earl of Salisbury, Lloyd tells us, was wont to say, that Sir Walter Rawleigh was a good orator, but a bad writer; the Earl of Northampton a good writer, but a bad Orator; Sir Francis Bacon excelled in both." *Worthies, Vol. I. p. 118.*

^b *Cotton MSS. Titus. C. VI.*

^c One of the leading objects in Northampton's speech on Garnet's trial is, "to make it clear by the fairest evidence, the most pure and uncorrupted witnesses, that none of the Patriarchs before the

In the same year (1606) Northampton was one of the conference appointed to discuss the measure of the Union, a measure which James had much at heart to effect, and Northampton laboured long, though ineffectually, to accomplish.^a In 1609 he had a principal hand in the negotiations which led to the termination of the Spanish war: and he suggested the necessity, and was actively employed in conducting the inquiry made into the frauds of the Navy Agents. The memorial which he addressed to the King on that subject is extant, and proves him to have executed his commission with zeal and fidelity.^b

But however varied and important Northampton's public avocations were, he still found leisure for literary pursuits, the cultivation of the arts, and the exercise of private benevolence. It was during this period that he engaged in planning and in building the three hospitals he endowed, one at Clun in Shropshire, another at Castle Rising in Norfolk, and a third at Greenwich. It was at this time also, that he wrote some of his own works: that he afforded protection to the works of others, is evident from the frequent dedications which we find addressed to his name.^c A striking proof of his readiness to support learned

Law, none of the Priests and Prophets under the Law, nor Christ, nor his Apostles under the expiring of the old Law, nor any of the godly Bishops that governed the Church of God for the space of one thousand years by the new Law, did ever exercise, or approve, or claim that kind of jurisdiction, or any branch of it, that is extended to deprivation of right, suspension from rule, or sequestration from royalty. For this I take to be that ball of wildfire which hath caused so great loss of lives and states by combustion in monarchies." *State Trials, Vol. I. p. 273.*

^a *Somers' Tracts, Vol. II. p. 132. Ed. 1809.*

^b *British Museum, King's MSS. 18. A. xxiv.* The inquiry began in 1608. Birch expresses himself as if he wished some imputation should be thrown on Northampton in this business. *Life of Prince Henry, p. 151.*

^c The following quaint poem addressed to Northampton, is given as a curious specimen of the manner in which ingenuity was tortured formerly to pay compliments.

Good fortune is th' Horizon of thine eye,
Thy Zenith, fame; thy Nadir, hate of ease;
Thy Pole-star, is approved theory;
Thy Chart, firm hope in this world's doubtful seas.
The Tropics which thine endless motions end,
The one is Virtue, th' other is Renown;
The Equinoctium whence the beams perpend,
Is equal poize, smile Chance, or let Chance frown;
Thine Altitude is height of fiery thought;
Thy Latitude large scope of health's nobility;
Thy Zodiac by thy sun-like sovereign wrought,
Is, (famous Peer) thy garter of nobility.
Thou, thus a sphere, wherein Heaven's favours shine,
Yet dark my fortunes, who have long been thine.

E. B.

Cotton MSS. Titus C. VI.

men and the cause of learning generally, will be found in the application made to him in 1608, by the Warden and Fellows of New College, Oxford. Some of their privileges had been disputed by a party in the University, and as the question seemed doubtful it was deemed expedient to find some person to advocate their cause. They applied to Northampton, grounding their petition on his known love of literature in general; and on the hope that he would retain some affection for the memory of White his early preceptor, who had been successively Fellow of New College, and Warden of Winchester College. The appellation with which they addressed him shews that he was known generally by the title which Godwin gives him, as the "learnedest among the noble, and noblest among the learned." They styled him "*Literatorum nobilissime, Nobilium literatissime Comes.*" It is remarkable that Cambridge, when speaking of him some years after, used nearly the same terms. "*Northamptonium è Nobilibus literatissimum, et è Literatis nobilissimum esse fatentur omnes.*" From the letter of acknowledgment written to Northampton in 1609, by the Warden and Fellows of New College, we find that he succeeded in obtaining for them a formal confirmation of their privileges, and that he modestly endeavoured to do away the appearance of obligation by saying "that he considered himself indebted to New College for his own education, through White, whom he spoke of in terms of affection, and therefore deemed it to be his duty to attend to the interests of the Society." It is a very amiable trait in Northampton's character, that after an interval of nearly fifty years he should retain such a lively sentiment of regard for the preceptor of his youth. It is only for noble minds to appreciate duly the value of education, and to cherish in their old age those by whom the blessings of knowledge have been first imparted.^a

Until this period nothing has occurred in Northampton's life to make us look upon him with any other sentiments than those of pity, for his early and unmerited misfortunes; admiration at the patience and equanimity with which he supported the extremes of adversity and prosperity; and respect at all times for his learning, his political prudence, his firmness, and sagacity.

I come now to notice some transactions in which, if Northampton bore the part that has been imputed to him, no terms of reprehension can be too strong to mark the detestation his conduct ought to excite. But it should be no light proof to make us believe that a nobleman of Northampton's age and dignity, would commit crimes of such enormity as few men, even upon the direst compulsion of want, could be induced to undertake: crimes from which he could not propose to himself any real advantage, and which were in opposition to the gene-

^a See the letters alluded to at the end of this article.

ral tenor of his conduct during a life of more than seventy years. The transactions alluded to, are the part which Northampton is said to have taken in the intrigue between his niece, the Lady Frances Howard, and the Earl of Somerset; and in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. These charges have found their way from hearsay evidence and private Memoirs into General History. It will be difficult to remove at once prejudices sanctioned by the authority of Hume's name; especially as the object may not be deemed of sufficient magnitude to repay investigation. It can now be pursued on no other ground than simply the love of justice; and is to look for no other reward than the solitary but transcendant gratification of having discovered Truth. But whoever will take the trouble to weigh impartially the evidence adduced in proof of Northampton's guilt, will find, I am confident, good reason to acquit him of every thing to which criminality attaches.*

* It may be necessary to say here, once for all, that the accusations against Northampton on this point rest principally on the authority of the anonymous work before alluded to, entitled "Truth brought to light, or a Discourse and historical narration of the first xiv years of King James' Reign." This book is nothing more than a republication, with some additions and a few alterations in the original text, of a previous work called "The first five years of James the First," attributed, but falsely, to Sir Fulk Greville, Lord Brook, for the purpose of giving to it something like authority. Who the real author was we have now no means of ascertaining. The coincidence however that reigns throughout between that work and Wilson's Life and Reign of James the First, in all that respects Northampton, is such as leads me to think, that if they were not both written by the same pen, they both emanated from the same source, and may be considered as forming only one authority. Wilson professes to have written his history from the information he received from Essex, whose confidential friend he was. What the feelings of personal resentment were which Essex must have had against Northampton, whom he considered as the chief cause of his disgrace in the matter of the divorce, we cannot be at a loss to determine. Without imputing studied detraction to Essex, we may believe him disposed to credit every report that was raised to Northampton's disadvantage, and to impute to him many things upon suspicion only. That the history of the first five, or fourteen years of James was likewise written by one of Essex's friends, cannot be doubted. I should have suspected that it was written under Essex's direction, were it not that it contains so many gross errors and misrepresentations. It is unpleasing to see with what avidity Walpole, in his account of Northampton, seizes on the very offal of detraction flung in his way by that anonymous writer. We lament the circumstance the more as Walpole's authority seems to have misled the ingenious author of the Memoirs of the Peers in the Reign of James the First. The most impartial account of Northampton is given by Mr. Lodge, in his Portraits of Illustrious Personages: I owe to him the obligation that he directed my attention particularly to the Cotton MSS. so often referred to. Weldon's Account of the Court, and Character of James, can be viewed only as a gross libel on both for the purpose of lowering them in the eyes of the nation, to answer a political purpose. Northampton was the supporter of the Court and Royalty. That he should have been evil spoken of in that work, is therefore nothing wonderful. But the motive once ascertained, the credit of the writer falls. In such a work as Weldon's we may be sure that all unfavourable reports would be preserved without any nice examination of their credibility in the first instance; and cannot be sure that they would not be repeated without exaggeration.

That Northampton forwarded his niece's divorce from Essex, and her subsequent union with Somerset, is admitted. In this there was no guilt; or if there were, it was a guilt which Northampton shared in common with the King, who seems to have had the marriage so much at heart as to have been the prime mover in it. The Court, and the public at large, also partook in the blame; for never was there any event of a similar nature hailed with more general testimony of approbation and delight.^a The King promoted and rejoiced at Somerset's marriage from motives of personal regard towards him. The motives that influenced Northampton are obvious. He must have been scandalized in common with every serious thinking person at the open manner in which the intrigue was carried on between his niece and Somerset: he must have known also that she had avowed her intention of separating herself from her husband, and that there was no hope of effecting any thing like a real reconciliation between them. Under these circumstances Northampton argued, that if such a divorce were obtained as would enable Somerset to marry the Lady Frances, the union might ensure his niece's happiness, and, by preventing further scandal, repair the honour of his family. In acting thus Northampton did not act indeed with that stern

^a Wilson tells us that "all the splendid equipage and magnificent decoration that could either fill the court with delight, or people with admiration, were not wanting to the wedding;" and "that the Lady Frances appeared at the ceremony, in the habit of a virgin, with her hair pendant almost to her feet." See *Kennett's Hist. Vol. II. p. 693*. For the eagerness which James expressed to have the marriage forwarded, and his joy at the conclusion, see *Hume's Reign of James the First, ch. iii*. Roger Coke, in his *Detection*, is minute in his description of the rejoicings that took place on the occasion. He says that Somerset and the Lady Frances were married at Whitehall, in the presence of the King, Queen, Prince, and a great confluence of the Bishops and temporal nobility. The Bishop of Bath and Wells married them, and Dr. Mountain, Dean of Westminster, preached the nuptial sermon, and that night there was a gallant masque of Lords; but upon the Wednesday following, the 29th, there was another of the Prince's Gentlemen which quite outdid this, and pleased the King so well that he caused it to be acted again on the Monday following, being the 3d of January. But Whitehall was too narrow to contain the triumphs of this marriage: they must be extended into the city, and upon the 4th of January the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by the Duke of Lennox, my Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earls of Worcester, Pembroke, and Montgomery, with a numerous train of nobility and gentry, were invited to a treat in the city at Merchant Tailors' Hall, where my Lord and Aldermen entertained them in their scarlet gowns. At their entrance they were accosted by a gratulatory speech and music. The feast, which was most sumptuous, served by the choicest citizens selected out of the twelve companies, in their gowns and rich furs. After supper they were entertained with a wassaile, two pleasant masks, a play and dancing; and after all the bride and bridegroom with all this noble crew were invited to a princely banquet, and at three in the morning the bride and bridegroom returned to Whitehall. Before this surfeit of pleasure was well digested, the Gentlemen of Grays' Inn upon the Twelfth Day invited the bride and bridegroom to a masque."

adherence to principle which disdains to qualify what is morally wrong on the ground of expediency; but he acted with what the world esteems prudence. He did what I apprehend most would have done, and therefore few can blame. Thus far therefore no real criminality attaches to Northampton. Could it be proved indeed that he acted the base and unnatural part of pander in the adulterous commerce between his niece and Somerset, which rendered those after-steps necessary, then no censure could be passed on his conduct which would not be merited. But what is there that authorises such a supposition? I know that accusations to this effect have been made; but they are so nefarious, that it argues something like depravity of mind to believe them. Thus one writer tells us that Northampton, dreading the rising influence of Somerset, plotted deliberately to draw him into a criminal intercourse with his niece, hoping that he might be led in the course of it to the perpetration of some guilty action which might prove ultimately his ruin. Another writer tells us that Northampton forwarded the divorce, and the plea of nullity, hoping, that as the bishops would be unavoidably consulted, it might be an occasion of disgracing them, and of rendering the established clergy contemptible to the kingdom at large. But who can for a moment admit these imputations to be true? Besides which, had Northampton wished to see all this effected, there was no reason why he should take any steps to advance it. All he wanted done in this case was done by Overbury; who, in one of the letters written a short time before his death, scruples not to say that he had been the instrument to facilitate and carry on the intrigue, so as even to write for Somerset those letters by which he was to win his mistress.^a Why then must Northampton be supposed so unnaturally depraved as to incur guilt gratuitously? What further end could he accomplish by his own interference, that Overbury's officious wickedness had not already done for him? Or again; if connivance is to be inferred, ought not the suspicion of connivance to fall rather on Suffolk, the Lady Frances's father, than on Northampton her uncle?^b The fact seems to be clearly this. The Lady Frances was one of those unhappy women, who, proud of their beauty and personal attractions, for she was eminently lovely, are at all times ready to sacrifice every consideration of principle and duty to the indulgence of vanity, and the gratification of passion. She was a person, as the event proved, whom no advice could have governed, no restraint have moderated; and whom opposition only exasperated to render more daring in the prosecution of vengeance.

^a See *State Trials*, Vol. I.

^b Weldon does not scruple to accuse Suffolk of plotting deliberately with Northampton to prostitute his daughter to Somerset, "making a Moabitish woman of her," to inveigle Somerset and ruin Overbury. p. 378. It argues almost as great depravity of mind to believe these horrid stories, as to record them.

There can be no doubt but that all her family must have seen and deplored her depravity, and having vainly endeavoured to resist it, hoped by yielding to her attachment for Somerset to have secured future decency at least, if not amendment.

The remainder of that disgraceful story is so well known that it need not here be minutely detailed. Suffice it to say, that Somerset having formed the design of marrying the Lady Frances, imparted his intention to Overbury: that Overbury dissuaded him from it in terms of the strongest reprobation and disgust: that Somerset communicated Overbury's opposition to the Lady Frances, who thereupon conceiving an implacable hatred against him, wrought upon Somerset to procure his commitment to the Tower: that when there he was closely guarded, and an order obtained that none should wait upon him but those creatures whom the Lady Frances and Somerset appointed: and that to these their instruments was given the horrid commission of destroying Overbury by poison: a commission which they effected in a manner that rendered, if possible, their guilt more atrocious. All these facts appeared in the course of the Lady Frances's and Somerset's trial: and the question is, how far Northampton participated in their designs.

The only points that can be proved against Northampton are, that he several times charged the Lieutenant of the Tower to keep a particularly strict and watchful eye over Overbury; that he gave him moreover some secret instructions respecting his prisoner, which the Lieutenant "received with much caution," but promised to observe; and lastly, that after the event, he directed Overbury's body to be buried as soon as decency permitted, to prevent any malicious reports which a set of factious persons, hostile to the Court, might raise on the subject of his death. This is all that Northampton was ever proved to have done in the transaction. Taken in its utmost latitude, it amounts only to a presumptive proof of guilt: and before it can affect his character it ought to be corroborated by strong circumstantial evidence, without which it cannot, according to any established principle of either justice or reason, be admitted to prove any thing at all.

What then are the corroborating circumstances which make the above facts bear on Northampton's guilt? I have not been able to discover any. Had Northampton any particular reason to wish for Overbury's death? He had none whatever! Why then should he be supposed to have sought it? He had been offended with Overbury for opposing the marriage, but the marriage was now completed; he had nothing further to fear from Overbury's opposition. He was not in Overbury's power. He had never made him the depositary of his secrets! He had never made him privy to any thing of which he dreaded the disclosure. Did Overbury in his conversations with his friends, or in his letters during his confinement, complain of Northampton, or say any thing to criminate him? Cer-

tainly not! And yet Overbury was not of a temper, as his letters shew, to suppress his suspicion. He made no scruple of charging Lady Suffolk as being the cause of his confinement: but he does not once glance at Northampton.

But it has been said that Northampton, though he himself had no motive for killing Overbury, did it to please Somerset, that so he might engross his favour. This also is devoid of probability. At that very period Somerset himself was declining in favour with the King, and had more need of Northampton's support than Northampton could have of his. But supposing that Somerset had been in the very zenith of favour, what had Northampton to wish for that Somerset could give? Northampton was in his seventy-third year, and had more than once declared that he felt himself fast approaching towards his end: he had long ceased to solicit any thing for himself. He had no children for whom he was anxious to provide, and all his brother's children were amply taken care of: so that nothing but a wanton love of murder could have made Northampton engage in Overbury's death: and what is there in Northampton's character to make us believe such a supposition as this, which in itself is repugnant to the common course of nature?

But there was something which Northampton confessedly did undertake to persuade the Lieutenant of the Tower to do with Overbury. What was this? To kill him? No! It was a far other commission, if we may trust Northampton's own words writing confidentially to Somerset on the subject. "I cannot deliver," he says, "with what caution and discretion the Lieutenant hath undertaken Overbury. But for his conclusion I do and ever will love him the better, which was this. That either he shall recover and do good offices between my Lord of Suffolk and you, which if he do not you shall have reason to count him a knave; or else he shall not recover at all; which *he thinks* the most sure and happy change of all, for *he finds* sometimes from Overbury many flashes of a strong affection to some *enemies of his*." It is evident from this, that all Northampton had undertaken was to engage a promise from Overbury during his confinement by means of the Lieutenant, that he would do Somerset good offices with the Lord Treasurer Suffolk. So far was Northampton from taking part in any plot to poison Overbury, that he tells Somerset he had his approaching enlargement in contemplation; which shews that he considered the illness he was labouring under to be a casual illness, from which he thought it probable he would recover. As for the conclusions drawn by the Lieutenant in the event of Overbury's death, with these Northampton was by no means concerned. They were the Lieutenant's own private opinions and feelings on this subject, and Northampton simply reports them as such. How was Northampton concerned in the Lieutenant's conclusions? Had he been a partner in them, would not the Lieutenant have taken care for his own security, so to have expressed himself as to make it appear that he was? Why then does he talk only of

his own conclusions? Evidently because Northampton had no part in them. If he had not, then he could have had no suspicion that it was in contemplation to poison Overbury; and if so, how could he have been an accomplice in the design? In further confirmation of Northampton's innocence, I would adduce a letter written by him to the Lieutenant during Overbury's last illness, which has been fortunately preserved. In that letter he directs the Lieutenant to admit the "bearer of it, Mr. Doctor Cragg, to attend upon Sir Thomas Overbury during the time of his infirmity, that he might take care of him; and that as often as in his judgment to this end he shall find reason." Now I would ask, is it not morally impossible that Northampton should have given this order, if he had been concerned in poisoning Overbury; for, by allowing a physician to attend upon Overbury appointed by his own family, he did the only thing that would frustrate the design in hand, and lead to a detection of it.^a Again; when Overbury's death was told to Northampton, he gave positive orders to the Lieutenant not to bury the body until it had been seen by Sir John Lidcote, Overbury's brother-in-law, and by as many of his other friends as wished to see it; and after that to bury it with all convenient speed; for it had been "reported to him," that the disorder of which Overbury died would not allow the body to be kept long. Here also we may ask, was it possible that Northampton should have given these directions had he been conscious to the cause of Overbury's death? In both the letters he wrote, he grounds his orders upon what he had been "informed of by Weston;" and says that he wrote and took the part he did at Somerset's "earnest desire."^b There is not the smallest trace of Northampton's having done any thing in this business as from himself; there is no allusion made by him to any previous understanding with the other parties; no hint dropped that the Lieutenant was to act according to any agreement between themselves: and if these things do not appear, what ground of presumption is there for Northampton's guilt? It seems clear to me that Northampton had no knowledge whatever of what was passing, and that he was an unconscious tool in the hands of Somerset, and his revengeful Countess.

I am aware that the author of *The First Fourteen Years of James the First* charges Northampton openly with having contrived Overbury's murder. But that work is written in a spirit of such inveterate malignity against James and the

^a *Cotton MSS. Titus. B. VII. fo. 483.* Mr. Lodge is, I believe, the first person who has noticed that letter, and urged the argument to be drawn from it in Northampton's favour. That it was not noticed before, proves the reluctance felt generally to relinquish preconceived opinions; for it is in the same volume whence the letters were taken which have hitherto been adduced as conclusive on the subject of Northampton's guilt.

^b See the letters alluded to in Sir Egerton Brydges' *Memoirs of the Peers of England in the Reign of James the First*, p. 237.

Court, it contains so many errors and contradictions, and misrepresents facts so grossly, that no one reading it with an impartial judgment can allow it to be of any authority. Besides which, that history narrates secret conversations, and details the motives and the reasonings of the parties with a degree of minuteness which of itself is sufficient to destroy the credit of the writer. For how could he have known all the private plottings, all the confidential communications, the contrivances, the hopes, the wishes, and the fears which he so minutely describes of the conspiring murderers? To have known them he must have either been one of the conspirators, or have had the account from Northampton himself. The first of these positions is what was never pretended; the last, is manifestly absurd. At all events, if that writer knew what he narrated to be real facts, and reprobated the whole proceedings with honest indignation, why did he not appear as an honourable witness in court, rather than an anonymous accuser after Northampton's death? I am persuaded that the absurd fictions introduced by Savage into his tragedy of Sir Thomas Overbury, are of hardly less authority against Northampton's character, than the extravagant assertions and idle rumours recorded in the First Fourteen Years of James the First.^a

The only evidence which can be considered of real weight against Northampton, may be drawn from some passages in Bacon's charge against Somerset. Among others is the following. Stating that there were two streams of hatred against Overbury, Somerset's fears, and the Lady Frances's resentments, Bacon says, "I might add a third stream, from the Earl of Northampton's ambition; who desires to be first in favour with my Lord of Somerset; and knowing Overbury's malice to himself and his house, thought that man must be removed and cut off. So it was among them resolved and decreed that Overbury must die."^b

^a The "First Five Years of James the First," is reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol. VII. last ed. and "The Fourteen Years, &c." in the Somers's tracts, Vol. II. last ed. The errors respecting Northampton in these libels are so numerous and gross, that it cannot be necessary to point them out, further than as a proof either of the ignorance or the carelessness of the writer, who ever he were. The following may serve as a specimen. He calls Northampton youngest son to the Duke of Norfolk: he says that he was created a Peer upon his abjuring papacy: that he was Lord Treasurer; that he opposed the Prince of Wales at Cambridge, and was elected because the King wrote in his behalf: that he died of poison, though in another place he says that he died of vexation at being discovered to be a Papist: and that he was buried at Rochester at his own request, "because it was the chiefest sea-port town in his office."

^b *Bacon's Works*, Vol. IV. p. 479. It may be reasonably asked, why was Northampton's name brought into question. He was dead! The parties concerned had never mentioned him as a partaker of their guilt! Nothing had been noticed in the prosecution concerning him: and the case was in no shape affected by the part which Northampton was said to have taken in it. A charge so gratuitously introduced, and so ill supported, takes nothing from the character of the accused, though it flings a strong suspicion of malice and resentment upon that of the accuser. As for any expressions of indecency in Northampton's letters to Somerset, these nothing can excuse or palliate.

After this assertion made in open court we shall expect to find some substantial evidence of Northampton's guilt adduced. What Bacon said courted accusation. But nothing transpired to criminate Northampton; not a single witness was produced against him. And yet Northampton was dead! What, or whom had an accuser to fear? But Bacon at least brought some proof of his assertion? He did! But what was the proof? Some letters written by Northampton to Somerset upon the subject of Overbury's murder? No! Well! but at least they allude to it. People conscious of mutual guilt, writing to one another in confidence, never fail to drop some hint which may lead to a conclusion. No! not even this. What then are these letters? What do they confess?—Nothing!—They are the very letters which have been already considered. Those letters of which the Lieutenant had acknowledged, when examined concerning them, that they related only to the keeping Overbury closely guarded: letters which cannot be made to bear upon the murder but by the previous assumption that they do relate to it: which is the thing to be proved. How far this is consistent with reason or justice, let any one of common honesty decide. Well! but surely some admission was made by either the Lady Frances, or Somerset, in the course of their trial. Their guilt was clear! They could not avoid punishment. But punishment might be moderated if pity could be excited, or any circumstance of mitigation adduced. For instance; if the Lady Frances could have shewn that she had acted under the guidance, or even with the connivance of Northampton, she might have urged that a weak woman, unacquainted with the world, might be well supposed to surrender her better judgment into the hands of her uncle, a person of high credit and experience. No! No such plea is urged! The Lady Frances does not once mention Northampton's name to criminate him: no more does Somerset. A strange delicacy this, to be observed towards Northampton, if he had been in any shape a partner in the murder! Northampton had never been a popular character! he was dead moreover; and had they exculpated themselves at his expense, who was to have contradicted them? The judge had even put the words into their mouth! he had gone before them in this point! and yet they say nothing against Northampton! I confess it appears to me wholly incredible that any one, all these circumstances considered, should really think him guilty! It seems clear that he had no further concern in the business than that of having consented to Overbury's imprisonment as one of the Privy Council, the usual mode of proceeding in those times against persons who had given offence at Court: and of having

Still it must be remembered we have only Bacon's word for this fact: and no one ever accused Northampton of being a vicious man, or addicted to sensual pursuits. On the contrary, he seems to have been pious, austere, and chaste.

charged the Lieutenant to keep him strictly confined, an injunction which the licence then often granted to state prisoners made necessary, whenever confinement was to be rigidly enforced. Northampton's letters to the Lieutenant can be fairly construed as going to no greater length than this. The Lieutenant himself declared that those letters were to be so understood: and that they had no regard whatever to the poisoning of Overbury. That Somerset, or, at all events, that his guilty Countess availed herself of the opportunity which this close confinement afforded to execute the horrid purpose of murder, is notorious: but in this respect Northampton was the dupe: and so it might be said that the King himself was, for he consented to Overbury's imprisonment, and gave directions for it, having nothing more in contemplation, however, than to humble his proud and overbearing disposition.^a Nor is this a novel conclusion. It was the conclusion of Sanderson, a cotemporary writer, and one who wrote of those times with great impartiality and candour. Speaking of Northampton, he says, "he was *thought*, as some *do lately publish*, to be a setter in the monstrous murder of Sir Thomas Overbury; though the Lieutenant of the Tower, Elwis, in his examinations and confessions, cleared him. Which *suspicion* is since grounded upon the *interpretation of his familiar Epistles to the Earl of Somerset*; and indeed but *bruited since his death*: and where no proofs *precede*, we may be sparing to note him, so noble a person, with that or any other infamy."^b

^a Some persons did not scruple to say that James himself was privy to Overbury's murder; and an idle story is told of his kneeling down in the Privy Chamber, and in the presence of all the Privy Counsellors, imprecating vengeance upon himself and his family if he had any concern in the transaction. See preface to *Weldon's Court and Character of James the First*. It has been insinuated that Somerset was privy to some of James's secrets, of which he dreaded the discovery: and that this in particular was one of them.

^b Page 393. Ed. 1656. Overbury's fate must be lamented by every one, and his murder execrated: but it is no more than just to state, that his character was studiously raised higher than it ought to have stood, to serve the purpose of a party who espoused his cause as it afforded an opportunity of declaiming against the Court. This explains an expression in one of Northampton's letters, where he says it was time that Overbury were buried; "considering the humours of that damned crew, that only desire to move pity and raise scandal," i. e. those factious persons who were seeking for occasion to decry the King and his ministers. Overbury was a man of considerable talent, and had become a popular character at the close of his life by his quarrel with Somerset; but he was otherwise generally disliked, from his haughtiness and presumption. He was a man of very lax notions both in morals and religion. The poem entitled *Sir Thomas Overbury's Ghost*, a poem of considerable merit, proves how high he was raised in the common opinion. It is there said, "Only for virtue Overbury died." The whole poem will be found reprinted in the VIIth. Vol. of the *Harleian Miscellany*, p. 176. It should be remarked, that no mention is made in it of Northampton, and yet the writer of it wrote immediately upon the event, and was minutely acquainted with all the circumstances connected with it. He seems to have known all the agents in the business. His description of their persons is very particular and striking.

During the latter part of his life Northampton seems to have suffered considerably from ill health and those infirmities which ultimately caused his death. This did not prevent him however from attending to all his ordinary concerns at Court, or to those other designs in which the activity of his mind led him to engage. The extensive buildings which he carried on about this period; are a proof of this. He greatly enlarged and beautified the Castle at Greenwich, which he made the principal place of his residence.^a He built the college at Greenwich, the foundation stone of which he laid with his own hand, the 25th of February, 1613.^b He raised from the ground his magnificent house at Charing Cross, now Northumberland House, which we are told he presented with a spirit of more than common liberality to Lord Walden, Suffolk's eldest son, as a new year's gift:^c and he assisted Suffolk himself to build Audley End, both by giving him the design for that magnificent fabric, and by contributing largely to the expense of building it.^d It would be difficult to find an example of greater works done, and larger magnificence displayed in the course of a long life than Northampton exhibited in the few short years of prosperity by which his was closed.

In the spring of 1614 Northampton was taken with an illness which he foresaw would terminate fatally, and prepared himself for death. Having made the final disposition of his property, he waited the event with piety and chearful resignation. Writing to Somerset, he tells him he had been attacked by a fever, and calls it the "right gentleman usher that leads a man to his long home." He adds, "the doctors think the fever will go away, but I submit all to God's disposition and his pleasure."^e The points which seem to have most engaged his mind were his desire to approve his gratitude to the King, to evince his friendship for Somerset, and to secure a provision to those for whom he had designed to provide, and to the servants who had been faithful to him.^f The fol-

^a Lysons's *Environs*, Vol. IV. p. 454.

^b See note ^a p. 427.

^c *Sanderson's Hist.* ut sup.

^d A minute account of this magnificent structure is preserved by Winstanley. From his plates it appears to have been an edifice of uncommon grandeur. The present house at Audley End, formed but a small part of the original palace. It is said to have cost more than 190,000 *l.* in building; and that the model alone cost 500 *l.* See *Winstanley's Views of the Royal Palaces*; and *Morant's Essex*.

^e *Cotton MSS. Titus C. VI. fo. 95.*

^f *Cotton MSS.* ut sup. Northampton describing Somerset in his will, calls him "my very good Lord." Every body knows that this was formerly the usual style of addressing persons of high rank. Yet these words have been perverted, to make it seem as if Northampton called Somerset "a very good man:" and thence an inference is drawn that Northampton viewed Somerset's crimes with indifference. *Royal and Noble Authors*, Vol. II. p. 167.

lowing letter to Somerset will give a pleasing and a just picture of Northampton's mind in his last moments.

SWEET LORD,

Pardon a posting letter from a weary body and a weak hand: but my comfort is it cannot be long before either I feel or know the uttermost.

I send this gentleman back again by your direction as an object of your favour; not to him only, but more to me, who would have been loth to have had my credit fall so low before the taking of my leave, in the eye of envious amplification.

All the service I shall do you in this world will be to pray for you. And so for the present, being far out of frame, I take my leave, resting while I am any thing, as I was at my last, your Lordship's affectionate and constant friend to serve you,

H. NORTHAMPTON.^a

The complaint of which he died was not grief and mortification at being

^a *Cotton MSS. ut sup. fo. 95.* On another occasion, writing to Somerset, he says, "So long as I can hold a pen I will write; and when I can do no more I will pray for you." *Ib. fo. 114.* Northampton's friendship for Somerset was sincere. He preserved it to the last: nor can we trace in it any character of guilt. Northampton left Somerset by will his second George, accompanied with expressions of esteem. This too has been condemned as an act of peculiar baseness, considering Somerset's character. But until it can be proved that Northampton was privy to Overbury's murder, no unfavourable inference can be drawn from this circumstance. Somerset was not suspected of that murder till after Northampton's death: Northampton consequently must have died in the persuasion that Somerset had not done any thing to forfeit his esteem. Besides which, it should be remembered that some cotemporary writers have acquitted Somerset himself of any direct attempt on Overbury's life. They suppose the guilt lay wholly on the Countess, and that she had availed herself of Somerset's interest to place her own creatures about Overbury in the Tower, to whom she had given her instructions unknown to Somerset. See *Weldon*, p. 121. It is certain that Somerset maintained his innocence as to Overbury's murder; and that when the Countess confessed it, she threw no part of the blame on her husband.

^b Northampton in one of his letters to Somerset, thus expresses himself: "By the bearer I will only let you know out of my bed, that in one of the muscles of my right thigh I have had such an extreme pain, that as I kneeled with torture when the King was here, so since I felt not much less in walking. The surgeon tells me it is a rheumatism in a part extremely sensitive. To-morrow, by God's grace, I will either creep to the Court, or else be carried." *Cotton MSS. Titus. C. VI. fo. 112.* The story of Northampton's being reprov'd at the Star Chamber, for being a Papist, will be found in "The First Fourteen Years, &c." Ch. xxxi. Walpole, in his *Royal and Noble Authors*, Vol. II. p. 154, repeats the story, but contrives to misrepresent it.

discovered to be a papist, as some would insinuate,^b but a wennish tumor in his thigh, which had for a long time given him considerable pain, and had been at first mistaken for the rheumatism. It was afterwards opened injudiciously. We are told that so great was the natural strength of Northampton's constitution, that he lingered longer than it was supposed even a younger person could have done.^a One of the last acts of his life was to write with a trembling hand a letter descriptive of his gratitude and loyalty to the King, desiring it might be told him that he died praying for his happiness.^b Sir Henry Wooton, who was at Greenwich when Northampton breathed his last, informs us, "it was believed by some that Northampton died opportunely for his safety, for there went a general voice through the Court that he was implicated in some designs which were then discovered for advancing the Roman Catholic cause. Sir Charles Cornwallis was the principal person concerned in that business. He was arrested and minutely questioned concerning Northampton: he cleared him "*from all manner of understanding with him therein, upon his salvation;*" yet this was not enough, to use Wooton's words, "to sweep the dust from Northampton's grave."^c

Northampton was no sooner dead, than a variety of strange reports were circulated concerning him. Some said that he was a traitor; others, that he had filled the kingdom from one end to the other with Romish priests whom he had suffered to come over unnoticed; and that his house in London was the common receptacle of papists. One while it was affirmed that he had engaged to carry over the English fleet into a Spanish port; and at another that he was not dead, but conveyed secretly beyond sea. Absurd as these reports were they must have had some believers at the time, or they would not have been circulated: and there must have been some who wished them to be believed, or they would not have been recorded. He was interred at Dover, and a handsome monument of white marble, which has been since removed to Greenwich, was raised to his memory, bearing the following inscription.

^a *Wooton's Remains*, p. 434.

^b *Lord Hailes' Memorials*, Vol. I. p. 49, ed. 1766.

^c *Wooton ut sup.* It is expressly said that the suspicion excited against Northampton was on account of his having had some knowledge of a popish correspondence in which Sir Charles Cornwallis was concerned. Overbury's murder was not in contemplation: no surmise on that head had then been raised, and yet it has been since assumed that Wooton speaks of suspicions then entertained against Northampton on Overbury's account. The phrase accidentally used "that Northampton had made an end of his reckonings," which meant no more than that he was dead, is invidiously pointed out as if Wooton intended to say that Northampton was gone to receive the punishment due to his crimes.

HENRICUS · HOWARDUS · HENRICI · COMITIS · SURRIÆ
 FILIUS · THOMÆ · SECUNDI · DUCIS · NORFOLCIÆ · NEPOS · ET
 THOMÆ · TERTII · FRATER · COMES · NORTHAMPTONIÆ · BARO
 HOWARD · DE · MARNHILL · PRIVATI · SIGILLI · CUSTOS
 CASTRI · DOVERNENSIS · CONSTABULARIUS · QUINQUE · PORTUUM ·
 CUSTOS · CANCELLARIUS · ET · ADMIRALLUS · JACOBO · MAGNÆ
 BRITANNIÆ · REGI · AB · INTIMIS · CONSILIIS · ORDINIS
 PERISCELLIDIS · EQUES · AURATUS · ET · ACADEMIÆ · CANTABRI
 GIENSIS · CANCELLARIUS · INTER · NOBILES · LITERATISSIMUS
 IN · SPEM · RESURGENDI · IN · CHRISTO · HIC · CONDITUR
 OBIT · XV^o · DIE · JUNII · ANNO · DNI · M · DC · XIV
 VITA · LABOR · FUIT · MORS · REQUIES
 JOHANNÆ · GRIFFITHO · HUIC · COMITI · AB · EPISTOLIS · CURANTE
 POSITUM^a

Northampton's will is in many respects curious, as it affords a picture of his mind. He was large and beneficent in his bequests to all his attendants; as well to those gentlemen who were about his person, as to his menial servants and domestics. There is one circumstance in it that is of importance. He declares that he died in the faith in which he had been born. This is nearly conclusive that he died a protestant, for he was born in the same faith with his brother and sisters, and they were unequivocally protestants. Besides which he tells us, that his religious opinions and scruples respecting papacy were matters of his own choice, and taken up when he was of an age to think for

^a This inscription is given from *Harl. MSS.* No. 1759: as it appears in Hawes' *Hist. of Framlingham*. It has the following addition:

Inclutus hic Comes tria Hospitalia fundavit, et latis fundis dotavit. Unum, Grenovici in Cantio in quo xx Egeni et Præfectus: alterum Cluni, in Comitatu Salopiæ in quo xii Egeni cum Præfecto: tertium ad Castrum Rising in Comitatu Norfolciæ in quo xii Pauperculæ cum Gubernatrice in perpetuum alantur.

It is not improbable but that the first part of this inscription might have been written by Northampton himself; and that the second was added by the person who was employed to raise the tomb.

^b Walpole tells us that "Northampton died *confessing himself a papist*," and quotes the *First Five Years of James the First* as his authority. The words of that author are, "he published himself to die in the faith he was baptized." Walpole here creates a fact, by putting an arbitrary construction upon an author's words, and then cites the author as the authority on which the fact rests. I apprehend that a more flagrant breach of good faith in quotation cannot be adduced than this. Perhaps the reader will be pleased to see Northampton's words. "First, I do acknowledge that no sinner hath been more bound to Almighty God for his gracious Providence in delivering me many and sundry times from the most subtle and entrapping combinations and practises of mine enemies. But,

himself. This declaration is utterly irreconcilable to the notion of his having been born a papist.^b Another article of Northampton's will deserves to be noticed. "I recognize," he said, "with all the loyalness of my heart the exceeding extraordinary love, favour, and bounty of my most dear and gracious Sovereign, whom I have found ever so constant to me, his unworthy servant, as no devices of mine enemies could ever draw or divert his goodness from me. I most humbly beseech his excellent Majesty to accept, as a poor remembrance of me his faithful servant, an ewer of gold of one hundred pounds value, with one hundred Jacobine pieces of twenty-two shillings a-piece therein, on which ewer my desire is there should be this inscription; *Detur Dignissimo.*" Perhaps the same uncharitable eye which saw only the pedant and the flatterer in Northampton's dying letter, may discover pedantry and adulation here also.^a There is something like sacrilege in thus ripping open the cearments of the dead, and ransacking the very grave to discover deformity. Alas! what character may hope to go down unsullied to posterity, if charges of guilt may be advanced when all human means of ascertaining truth have perished; and conjectures and surmises are to hold the place of proof. That the language of Northampton was frequently pedantic will be readily granted. But this cannot be condemned as a fault in him; it was the general fault of the times. The whole nation at that period wrote and spoke the language of pedantry. It was approved and sanctioned by the King himself; and when any Sovereign marks the style in which he wishes to be addressed, that must become the fashionable style of the day.

The same observation applies likewise to the charge of flattery so unsparingly brought against Northampton; as far at least as concerns those adulatory expressions which occur so frequently in his writings.^b We admit that they are repugnant equally to good taste and moral feeling. Still they were sanctioned by the usages of those times. Before any particular blame attach to Northampton on this head, let the address be read which the House of Commons, with the Speaker at their head, presented to Elizabeth when she remitted the monopolies. It will be found detailed in Hume. I believe that it would be difficult to find in any of

Quid retribuam? only my soul! in steadfast faith unto his blessed hands that gave it, trusting to be saved only by the merits of the bitter passion of our sweet Saviour: protesting that I do die a true and constant servant of his, and a member of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, saying with St. Jerom: "In quâ fide puer natus fui, in eâdem senex morior." *Cotton MSS. Julius F. VI.* Our separation from the Roman Catholic Church was complete in 1539, the time of Northampton's birth. Though some points of doctrine were not then fully discussed, or finally settled until some time after, no one has doubted our Church being at that very period a Protestant Church.

^a *Harleian MSS. No. 6693.* For Lord Hailes' invidious remark, see his *Memorials*, referred to above.

^b We are told that Beaumont, the French Ambassador, called him "one of the greatest flatterers" that ever lived. *Birch's Elizabeth, Vol. II. p. 501.* Northampton was adverse to the French party. What Beaumont reports must be received with caution.

Northampton's writings terms of greater adulation, or more offensive to feeling and propriety than will be found in that solemn act of the House of Commons. The excuse both for Northampton and the House of Commons will be the same. They spoke what was then considered to be the proper language of ceremony; and the excuse, as far as the individuals are concerned, is valid. We should act unjustly if we were to form our opinion of a nobleman of the Court of Persia by his ceremonial language, and estimate his private principles by the hyperbolical terms of respect with which he has been taught to address his Sovereign.

Such are the leading circumstances of Northampton's life; such the imputations which have been thrown upon him. Let us now consider his character as it stands authenticated by facts. Those who disliked him most, and endeavoured to prevent his rising in the world, speak of him as a man of extraordinary penetration; as a person who possessed a profound knowledge of human nature, and read at a single glance the character of those with whom he conversed. They describe him to have had an insinuating address and a persuasive mode of speaking, and with it the happy art of describing things with a grace peculiar to himself, so that whatever he narrated was set off to the best advantage. The charm of his conversation was such, that King James constantly retained him near his person from the pleasure he derived in his society. Lord Bacon has recorded two of his speeches, which prove him to have had great presence of mind, and promptitude in repartee.

“When peace was renewed with the French in England, divers of the great counsellors were presented from the French with jewels: the Lord Henry Howard, being then Earl of Northampton and a counsellor, was omitted; whereupon the King said to him, ‘My Lord, how happens it that you have not a jewel as well as the rest?’ He answered, according to the fable in Æsop, ‘Non sum Gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam.’ Another time, being at the table where commonly he entertained the King with discourse, the King asked him upon the sudden, ‘My Lord, have you not a desire to see Rome?’ He answered, ‘Yes, indeed, Sir.’ ‘And why?’ returned the King; ‘Because, if it please your Majesty,’ he replied, ‘it was the seat of the greatest monarchy and the seminary of the bravest men, while it was heathen; and then, secondly, because afterwards it was the See of so many holy bishops in the primitive church, most of them martyrs.’ The King would not give it over, but said, ‘And for nothing else?’ He answered, ‘Yes, if it please your Majesty, for two things more. The one to see him, who they say hath so great a power to forgive other men their sins, confess his own sins upon his knees before his chaplain; and the other to hear Antichrist say his creed.’”^a

^a *Bacon's Works*, Vol. II. p. 408. From the last of these stories it may be fairly inferred that Northampton had never been at Rome. Bacon records another of his sayings which might lead us to

It is admitted by all that he was a shrewd and wise politician. No public measure passed in which he had not a principal concern; yet he never incurred any disgrace in failure. It was said indeed that he built Northampton House with Spanish gold; but there is no proof of his venality. One of the anecdotes just cited would rather prove that he was known to be unassailable by corruption.

The many lucrative places he held enabled him to realize within a short time a large estate. He did this not by parsimony or rapacity, but by exercising a wise and well regulated economy. Yet though he was prudent in the regulation of his expences, he was liberal and magnificent in his mode of living. This praise is allowed him by one of even his bitterest accusers, who says, "he had a great mind tending towards eminent things; and was always attended, and he loved it, with gentlemen of quality, to whom he was very bountiful."^a He is acknowledged to have supported the honour of the ancient nobility by his dignified appearance in public, and by the sumptuous establishment of his household. It was a general observation that the spirit of old English hospitality died with him. The magnificence of his public works, and the extensiveness of his charities, have been already noticed.

It has been mentioned also, to Northampton's praise, that the unjust and ungenerous treatment which he experienced from Elizabeth never betrayed him into faction or discontent. Nor is it less to his honour, that when he attained to power he never exerted it in a single instance to revenge himself on those by whom he had been previously injured.

Whether he possessed the heroic virtues of personal courage and contempt of danger, we have no means of ascertaining. But as we find that in one instance he fought a duel on the ground of a private quarrel^b; and that in another when traduced by his enemies, he entreated permission to defend his innocence hand to hand against his accusers, at the peril of his life: as we know moreover that he earnestly importuned to serve on board the fleet as a volunteer at the time of the invasion, the presumption is that in point of courage he had not degenerated from the gallant Surrey. That he supported his last painful illness with patience and firmness, and that he died with composure and dignity is certain. In all this we see traces of a character of no common excellence. The virtues which North-

suspect he did not approve of the war which Elizabeth supported in the Low Countries. The Dutch agent, who solicited Elizabeth for more troops, was called Caroon. "His office agrees well with his name," said Northampton, "Charon always seeks for men to increase Regnum Umbrarum." *Ibid.* p. 426.

^a *Wilson's Life of James the First.* See Kennett, Vol. II. p. 694.

^b *Cotton MSS. Titus C. VI. fo. 5.* The person he fought with was Mr. F. Southwell.

amptton had were all his own: his defects, for we are not justified in imputing to him without better proof the crimes with which he has been charged, were either those of his times, or such as grew out of the circumstances by which during the greater part of his life he was unjustly depressed.

Compared with his father, Northampton may not appear always to advantage. But it should be remembered that every thing smiled on Henry of Surrey's early day; and that the gifts of fortune and the fostering smiles of royal favour contributed to strengthen and to draw forth his virtuous propensities. Henry of Northampton was the child of misfortune; he was educated in dependence, and lived a pensioner on the scanty bounty of a brother who never seems to have loved him, and a Queen, his cousin, who regarded him with jealousy and distrust.^a These were circumstances to have chilled and blighted the growth of every generous sentiment. Dependence is the death of all moral and intellectual excellence.

Ἡμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποάινυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς

Ἀνέρος, εὖτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἡμᾶρ ἔλυσιν.

That Northampton did not, under the pressure of his complicated sufferings, become gloomy, unsocial and vindictive, what is it but a convincing proof that the love of virtue was congenial to his nature, and that he was formed for great, and good, and generous actions?^b

^a It is a remarkable circumstance that the Duke of Norfolk does not once mention his brother in his dying instructions to his children: and does not seem to have ever had it in contemplation to provide for him. And yet he proposed him, in the first instance, as the person to marry the Queen of Scots. Surely he must have had an high opinion of a person whom he recommended for an adventure in which he afterwards risked his own life! Or was the proposition an insidious one?

^b One of the most common accusations alleged against Northampton was that of being of a servile spirit, which led him to sacrifice his own opinions and feelings to the will of those to whom he wished to pay court. But this opinion is in direct opposition to uncontested facts. We have seen with what independence Northampton maintained his private opinions in religion to Queen Elizabeth, even after he knew that he had displeased her in so doing. [p. 434.] We have seen also with what independence he carried himself towards Essex at the time when he might have been supposed to have most needed his assistance. (p. 441. notes c and d). In the *Colton MSS. Titus C. VI.* is a long letter from Northampton to Somerset, where he shews the same degree of independence in maintaining the grant that had been made to him of Greenwich, in opposition to the Queen, who endeavoured to take it from him. He preserved the same spirit of independence where his personal feelings were concerned towards James himself. He had quarrelled with Lord Hay, one of the King's great favourites, on what ground is not known. Northampton felt himself the party injured, and had so expressed himself. The King interfered to effect a reconciliation. Northampton replied, "Though the rack cannot be so grievous to my body as this offer is to my mind, yet I will use my Lord Hay with courtesy; I will salute him with kindness, but my heart can never love him." The King urged him again; Northampton maintained the same language. "It is enough for me," he said, writing to Somerset on the subject, "to use

As he was never married, we have no means of ascertaining what he would have been in the tenderer relations of domestic life. It may be reasonably inferred that as a father and an husband he would have been amiable and affectionate. His conduct towards his brother in his afflictions shews him to have had a feeling heart; while the veneration in which he held his father's memory, and the monument he raised over his parents' remains, proves him to have had an high sense of filial affection.^a

As for Northampton's learning and abilities as a writer, these were unquestionably of the highest rank. He was one of the most eminent scholars of his times; and he lived in an age of learned men.

courtesy, and for the King's sake to continue good manners, but hearts are only subject to God; against thoughts there is no force, nor act of parliament." "I will die at the King's foot," he adds, but let not my heart be overthrown with dejection into slavery now when it is ready to leave the world, that cannot, I protest, accuse itself so much as of once dissembling, nor till now was ever called upon to dissemble." His concluding words contain an expression I do not understand, "for what good receives the King of my courting Jupiter of Memphis in a gilt cassoc?" *Titus. C. VI. ut sup* Whether the quarrel justified these expressions of anger cannot now be ascertained. One inference to be drawn from the occurrence is, that Northampton had not that mean spirit of servile compliance with which he has been so constantly charged.

^a For the inscription on the monument see *Surrey's Memoirs*, p. civ. It is easy to account for the violence of the prejudices raised against Northampton. He was an object of jealousy to the two great contending parties of the times. He was a known enemy to the puritans. Hutton, Archbishop of York, in a letter, dated the 26th of Jan. 1604, wrote to him, recommending it to "his earnest care now that he was likely to become a great counsellor to exert his influence against them." This he never omitted doing, and they to discredit him with the nation at large, represented him as a papist. As for the papists, knowing that Northampton had leaned to some of the Roman Catholic doctrines in points of opinion, they built upon him as their champion; but, finding in the event that he reprobated their proceedings, as well as their sentiments in the great points then in agitation, they joined from motives of personal resentment in traducing him. Nothing speaks more in Northampton's favour than his incurring the displeasure of both these parties. It proves him to have been an incorrupt servant to the King, and a steady upholder of the then established Church. It should be remembered that those days were days of detraction beyond any other in our history. That subversion of the Crown was then in contemplation which was soon afterwards accomplished. Every report which lessened the character of the King or the Court was studiously propagated, and greedily received. Hence those horrid imputations upon the King himself which scrupled not to fix upon him the murder of his own son. Northampton, the known supporter of the Court, could not reasonably expect to escape defamation. To call him a papist was a certain mode of making him unpopular. The jealousy of the common people was so great on this head, that the slightest grounds of suspicion were admitted as evidence with the blindest credulity. Burleigh, when at the point of yielding up his spirit, used some pious ejaculations in Latin, and repeated part of the Lord's Prayer in that language. Upon no other proof than this it was confidently reported, and by some believed, that Burleigh died a Roman Catholic.

The following is a Catalogue of his Works, as given by Walpole, in his Royal and Noble Authors.

1. A Defensative against the Poison of supposed Prophecies, dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, printed first in 4to. in 1583; and in fol. in 1620, by J. Charlewood, printer to the Earl of Arundel, Northampton's great nephew. This is a work which shews the great extent of Northampton's reading. There is hardly any branch of learning, antient or modern, which he does not bring to bear upon his subject.
2. An Apology for the Government of Women. Mr. Park justly complains of the inaccuracy of this title, when Lord Orford had the means of giving it complete from the MS. in his possession.

The complete title is as follows. A dutiful Defence of the Lawful Regiment of Women; divided into three books. The first containeth reasons and examples grounded on the law of nature. The second reasons and examples grounded on the civil laws. The third reasons and examples grounded on the sacred law of God with an answer to all the false and frivolous objections which have been most unjustly countenanced with deceitful colours forced out of these laws in disgrace of their approved and sufficient authority.

Dan. xiii. 57.

Sic faciebatis filiabus Israel, et illæ timentes loquebantur vobis:
sed filia Juda non sustinuit iniquitatem vestram.

It exists only in manuscript. There is a copy in the Bodleian, Arch. A. 170. I have a copy in my possession in folio. It consists of 496 pages closely written, whereof fifty form an Epistle Dedicatory to Queen Elizabeth.

3. An Abstract of the Frauds of the Officers of the Navy, MS. Reg. 18, A. xxiv. Dedicated to King James.
4. A Devotional Piece, with the Judgments of Primitive Interpreters.
5. Another treatise of devotion.

These two latter pieces are so vaguely described, that it is not possible to say with any precision what they are. Probably one of them is that Book of Devotion which Northampton submitted to Archbishop Whitgift for his approbation, desiring him to refer it to Bancroft, and any other person he might approve to ascertain whether if published it were likely to be of general utility. Walpole calls this an act of hypocrisy. On what can he ground so harsh a censure? I view it rather as a proof that Howard's scruples on the subject of the Sacrament

had at that time subsided; he could not well have ventured otherwise to submit a book of devotion to a Protestant Archbishop.

To this List the following Pieces have been added by Mr. Park, the industrious and respected editor of the last edition of the Royal and Noble Authors.

6. An answer to the Copy of a railing Invective against the Regiment of Women in general, with certain male-pert exceptions to divers and sundry matters of state, written unto Queen Elizabeth by the Right Honourable Henry Lord Howard, late Earl of Northampton. *Harl. MSS. No. 7021.* I suspect this will be found to be, not a separate work, but only some part of the Dutiful defence.
7. The Lord Henry Howard, after Earl of Northampton, his defence of the French Monsieur's desiring Queen Elizabeth in marriage. *Harl. MSS. No. 180.*
8. A copy of the last instructions which the Emperor Charles the Fifth gave to his son Philip the Second, King of Spain, before his death, translated out of Spanish by the Lord Henry Howard; with a Dedicatory Epistle to Elizabeth. *Harl. MSS. No. 836, and No. 1506.* The Dedicatory Epistle occurs separate in the Lambeth MSS. dccxi. 20.

To these may be added the following:

9. A Treatise of Philosophy, written by the Lord Henry Howard, for the use of his sister the Lady Katherine Berkley, dated from Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Aug. 6, 1569. *Bodleian MS. Arch. D. 113.*
10. "An History of the Gunpowder Plot." This is mentioned by Speed, p. 1236. Some writers have taken upon themselves to say, that nothing more was meant than Northampton's speech at Garnet's trial. But a letter from Northampton to Sir Robert Cotton, *Cotton MSS. Titus C. 6*, puts the question beyond a doubt. That letter contains the title-page, as Northampton wishes it should be printed, with his final corrections. Cotton was employed to see the work through the press.
11. "A Speech which the Earl of Northampton delivered at the Trial of Garnet the Jesuit." This may be found in the State Trials, Vol. I. p. 266, where it is said to be considerably enlarged from what it was when spoken, and printed as given by Northampton himself to the printer. It is of sufficient magnitude to form a very large pamphlet. In the State Trials is preserved his speech on the trial of Guy Faux, Vol. I. p. 245, and in Somers's Tracts, Vol. II. p. 132, ed. 1809, is a pamphlet where the substance of what he said in the discussion respecting the Union is recorded.
12. "A Work on the Trinity." The dedication of which seems to have been written from Ivy Bridge, March 27, 1589. This work was nearly lost

when Northampton's papers were seized in 1583, on the suspicion of his being in correspondence with Mary Queen of Scots. Justice Young was the person employed for that purpose, and he got possession of this work; but it was saved, as Northampton tells us quaintly, "because, although by arithmetical distinction the Justice numbered the leaves, yet he happily left them behind, because by geometrical proportion, as I find since my coming home, he understood no word of them." *Cotton MSS. Titus, C. 6*, is a devotional Treatise on the Trinity, but that appears to have been another work from this in question.

13. "Devotional Exercises, one on the Passion, and another on Confession." *Cotton MSS. Titus, C. 6*.
14. "A Book of the Inventions of other Men." This the Lord Henry Howard presented, on the 25th of July, 1593, to Burleigh, fancifully calling it "A bundle of flowers which he had neither planted, nor watered, nor was able to afford any measure of increase to, but still offered as a mark of duty." In the Sydney Papers mention is made of a Book of Prayers which Howard dedicated to Burleigh in 1596. *Vol. XIV. p. 183. Lambeth MSS. 660*.
15. "A prayer to God the Father, first person of the Trinity, suitable to the psalms made and practised by Henry Earl of Northampton." *Harl. MSS. No. 255*.
16. "A Treatise on Government." *Cotton MSS. Titus, C. 6*. In the same volume are preserved the heads of many of the speeches he delivered either in Parliament, or in the Star Chamber, and a great many short observations on men and manners, the result of his experience and observation.

Besides these, Northampton wrote many other pieces, the very names of which are now lost. During the time of his banishment from the Court he made it a practice to send to the Queen every year a work on some subject which he thought might be acceptable, as a proof of his loyalty and duty. In one of his letters addressed to Elizabeth, he mentions having undertaken to write the Memoirs of her reign; and says that he only waited for some notes from Mr. Heneage to complete the design. And in another letter he speaks of a work sent by him to Lord Burleigh of his original composition in 1594; and another in 1596.

Of Northampton's letters many have been published in various collections. Those which relate to the secret correspondence carried on by him with James the First during the last two years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, have been published by Lord Hailes in 1766. A much larger number of his letters remain yet unpublished, either in the British Museum, or our other public or private libraries.

The best specimen of Northampton's style may be found in his speeches on the Gunpowder Plot; and particularly on that against Garnet. In many passages of that speech he is eloquent and impressive to a very high degree: his language there is simple and vigorous, and free from all the puerile affectation of the times. The account he gives of the gradual incroachments of the Popes upon the civil liberties of Europe, until they effected "the subtle union of St. Peter's keys with St. Paul's sword, to this end, that while the one did open locks, the other might cut off impediments," is done with a strong and masterly hand. Afterwards, when he accounts for that sort of deference that was paid to the see of Rome generally by the western churches, he speaks the sentiments of the best protestant writers. The following passage is equally original and beautiful. The thought in the last period is expressed with singular force and precision. "The strongest adamant," he says, "that drew reverence and love to the Church of Rome in the first spring of religion, was the constancy of so many bishops as with the streams of their blood watered the plants of their profession; desiring rather to die with honour, than to deny with infamy. Besides, it is certain that during the short time of their sitting in that seat, their chiefest end was to bind subjects to superiors with so great obedience, and superiors to subjects with so great conscience, as those men were esteemed most godly and most happy, as were either inspired with their piety, or grounded upon their principles. St. Peter's galley might very well hold on a constant and happy course for a while, after the main stroke of oars did cease, that was set out at first with the force and industry of so many worthy mariners, as made for no other port than heaven." The modern advocates for the Roman Catholic cause, would do well to read Northampton's speech.

Of his general style, the following passage from his letter to Elizabeth, prefixed to his Dutiful Defence, may serve as a favourable specimen. He is speaking to the Queen on the subject of his misfortunes.

"Touching mine house," he says, "of whatever estimation it hath been holden in time past, yet now I must acknowledge that it is one of the meanest in Manasses, and I myself, all things considered, *in domo patris mei, infimus*. Time hath filed away some part of that slender force, whate'er I had; the stream of my declining comforts ebbeth very low; my mind is out of temper; my body out of health; my pen out of exercise. The broken musick that delights mine ear sounds by the streams of Babylon. My harp is hanged on a willow tree; my condition like to them that were permitted to sing *canticum Domini*, but, *in terrâ alienâ*. All meditations are memories of favours past; my present sorrows, monuments of griefs persevering. The small encouragement I find at any time, is but the dim reflection of a wasted hope; my reason, like a flash of lightning in a winter's night, which serveth not so much to guide my steps, as to manifest my misery."

There is some quaintness in this passage, and some tincture of that pedantry which distinguished all the writings of those days; but there is a lively vein of fancy running throughout, and many of the expressions are both original and forcible.

Northampton's genius did not lead him to poetic composition. I believe he has left no work in verse of any consequence. The following lines are taken from the preface to his treatise on philosophy, addressed to his sister the Lady Berkley. They are thus introduced.

"How every thing in itself profitable may by evil dispositions be made pernicious doth very well appear by those verses of Ovid, which I have here translated as near as the phrase would permit, word for word.

Nothing applied to common use " by daily proof we see,
Which by the sleights of subtle head, " abused may not be.

Our life by fire sustained is " yet seeks the secret foe
With hurtful hands his neighbours house " by flame to overthrow.

Sometime a med'cine easeth pain, " sometime encreaseth grief;
Some pois'ned herb enfeebleth, some " by virtue grants relief.

The thief and eke the wary wight, " both passing by the way,
Have weapons prest for their defence " to serve at all assay.

The fact is one, but diverse ends; " the one to save his life,
The thief to spoil and vital spri'tes " to reave with bloody knife.

A flowing tongue with sugred words " oft times defends the right,
Some times the guiltless blood to shed " is prest with all his might.

Had this been Northampton's only attempt at poetry, he could not have claimed to possess any portion whatever of his father's poetic talent. The Latin verses he wrote on Mary Queen of Scots, have more merit. They are engraved on a monument which James raised in Westminster Abbey to his mother's memory, though it might seem that they were designed by Northampton as an elegy, and not as an epitaph. The title stood originally thus.

IN · OBITUM · POTENTISSIMÆ · PRINCIPIS · D
MARIE · STUARTÆ · SCOTORUM · REGINÆ
FRANCIÆ · DOTARIÆ · ET · CORONÆ · ANGLI
CANÆ · HÆREDIS · INDUBITATÆ · ATQUE
PROXIMÆ · HENRICUS · NORTHAMPT
COMES · MEMORIÆ · SUÆ · CELEBRITATI
DEVOTISSIMUS · CARMEN · LUGUBRE
POSUIT.

It is probable that James having seen and admired the verses, directed them to be used for the monumental inscription. The title was then altered, and the whole arranged as follows.

BONÆ . MEMORIÆ

ET SPEI . ÆTERNÆ

DOM.

MARIÆ . SCOTORUM . REGINÆ . ET . GALLIÆ . DOTARIÆ . JACOBI

V . REGIS . SCOTORUM . FILIÆ . HENRICI . VII . REGIS

ANGLORUM . EX . MARGARITA . MAJORE . NATU . FILIA

JACOBO . IIII . MATRIMONIO . CONJUNCTA . PRONEPTIS

EDWARDI . IIII . ANGLORUM . REGIS . EX . ELIZABETHA

FILIA . MAXIMA . NATU . ET . HÆREDE . ABNEPTIS . FRANCISCI

II . GALLIARUM . REGIS . CONJUGIS . JACOBI . MAGNÆ

BRITANNIÆ . MONARCHÆ . MATRIS . QUÆ . ETIAMSI

STIRPE . VERE . REGIA . ET . ANTIQUISSIMA . PROGNATA

MAXIMIS . TOTIUS . EUROPÆ . PRINCIPIBUS . AGNATA

ET . COGNATA . ESSET . TEMPORIS . TAMEN

INJURIA

ET . IN . POSTERUM . NON . NOMINANDO . IN . REGUM

DEDECUS . EXEMPLO . SECURI . MACTATA

Si generis splendor, raræ si gratia formæ,

Mens sceleris expers, inviolata fides;

Pectoris invicti robur, sapientia, candor,

Nixaque solantis spes pietate Dei;

Si morum probitas, duri patientia fræni,

Majestas, bonitas, pura benigna manus

Pallida Fortunæ possint vitare tonantis

Fulmina, quæ turre templaque sancta petunt,

Non præmaturâ fatorum sorte perisset,

Nec fieret mæstis tristis imago genis.

Jure Scotos, thalamo Francos, spe possidet Anglos:

Triplix sic triplex jure corona beat.

Fœlix! heu nimium fœlix, si turbine pulsâ

Vicinam serò consulisset opem.

Sed cadit ut terram teneat: nunc luce triumphat,

Ut sua stirps lætos fructus in orbe ferat.

Victa nequit vinci, nec carcere clausa teneri;

Non occisa mori, sed neque capta capi.

didit eximium fato properante Jacobum
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 Sic ferro succisa vitis fœcundior uvis;
 Sculptaque purpureo gemma decore micat.
 Obruta fœcundo sensim sic cespite surgunt
 Semina, per multos quæ latuere dies.
 Sanguine sanxivit fœdus cum plebe Jehovah;
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 Sit Reges mactare nefas, ut sanguine posthac
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 Dum meliore sui post mortem parte triumphat
 Carnifices sileant, tormina, claustra, cruces.
 Quem dederant cursum Superi Regina peregit:
 Tempora læta Deus, tempora dura dedit.
 Magna viro, major natu, sed maxima partu
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The following letters to Northampton are added as tending to illustrate the preceding Memoir, and to shew how high he stood in general estimation.

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To our Right trusty and Right well beloved Cousin and Chancellor, the Earl of Northampton.

"MY faithful, &c. if I had had any particular occasion worthy the troubling you with, to have recommended unto you all this time of my absence, your letters should not have been answerless. But, if for fault of other matter I had desired you to have been diligent and careful in my affairs, it had been but to bid a running man go faster; which is both unnecessary and injurious: for I may easily judge of your ability by your account. If the unjust steward in the Gospel could have given as good a *reddere rationem* for his diligence, as ye have given to the chief of the stewards, he had never been cast into utter darkness. And yet my eyes saw all your letters consumed with fire, though without weeping or gnashing of teeth; by reading of them carrying likewise that other acherontic quality, which is, that like as I had drunken of Lethe flood when any point contained in any of them is told me by any other person, I can never remember to have heard it before.

But now I must turn my pen to a far contrary style, repenting me of that epithet I give you in the first words hereof. For what can I think of your affection for me, and the Union, when as your works declare the contrary? I must judge of your mind by your actions; and not by your words. Your orations in Parliament in the advancement of the Union, are but words: but your officer's severity in Dover, are actions. A strange thing that your natural avarice, and innate hatred to me, and all Scotland for my cause, should make you to cause your officers, at such a time pyke shillings from poor Scottishmen! Well! I protest to God I thought you, at my parting from you, as honest a servant as ever King had; but, what now I think of you since the discovery of this your great hypocrisy, judge ye. According to your faith, so be it unto you. As ever it be I am glad that I have gotten this ground to pay you home upon, for your often cruel and malicious speeches against baby Charles and his honest Father. But I know ye are now so proud of your new Patron as ye little care your old Friends.

I know this letter will be the more welcome, that it is my precursor, being shortly to shew forth; who, like the sun in this season, am mounting in my sphere and approaching to shine upon your horizon. And so praying you to believe the contrary either to the first, or the last part of this letter, I bid you heartily farewell, for all our great quarrel.

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 In dedecus præceps author et actor eat.
 Sit Reges mactare nefas, ut sanguine posthac
 Purpureo nusquam terra Britannia fluat.
 Dum meliore sui post mortem parte triumphat
 Carnifices sileant, tormina, claustra, cruces.
 Quem dederant cursum Superi Regina peregit:
 Tempora læta Deus, tempora dura dedit.
 Magna viro, major natu, sed maxima partu
 Conditur hic Regum filia, sponsa, parens.
 Det Deus ut nati, et qui nascentur ab illâ
 Æternos videant hinc sine nube dies.

Cotton, Titus, B. VI. p. 174.^a

The following letters to Northampton are added as tending to illustrate the preceding Memoir, and to shew how high he stood in general estimation.

^a The two last lines are marked in the MS. as if Northampton had intended to omit them. The couplet which precedes them is borrowed. The whole inscription is given, but very inaccurately, in Sandford's Genealogical History. I have followed Northampton's MS. copy. The reader in comparing the two will observe that the opening to the inscription is much shorter in Northampton's copy than as it stands in Sandford. I apprehend the additions were made by James. Howard was too good a scholar not to have been sensible that conciseness and simplicity are essential in monumental inscriptions. Northampton's inscriptions have all great merit. It is somewhat singular that Walpole should have omitted to note this epitaph as of Northampton's composition, for at the bottom of it is this signature, "H. N. Gemens."

I.

James the First to the Earl of Northampton.

To our Right trusty and Right well beloved Cousin and Chancellor, the Earl of Northampton.

"MY faithful, &c. if I had had any particular occasion worthy the troubling you with, to have recommended unto you all this time of my absence, your letters should not have been answerless. But, if for fault of other matter I had desired you to have been diligent and careful in my affairs, it had been but to bid a running man go faster; which is both unnecessary and injurious: for I may easily judge of your ability by your account. If the unjust steward in the Gospel could have given as good a *reddere rationem* for his diligence, as ye have given to the chief of the stewards, he had never been cast into utter darkness. And yet my eyes saw all your letters consumed with fire, though without weeping or gnashing of teeth; by reading of them carrying likewise that other acherontic quality, which is, that like as I had drunken of Lethe flood when any point contained in any of them is told me by any other person, I can never remember to have heard it before.

But now I must turn my pen to a far contrary style, repenting me of that epithet I give you in the first words hereof. For what can I think of your affection for me, and the Union, when as your works declare the contrary? I must judge of your mind by your actions; and not by your words. Your orations in Parliament in the advancement of the Union, are but words: but your officer's severity in Dover, are actions. A strange thing that your natural avarice, and innate hatred to me, and all Scotland for my cause, should make you to cause your officers, at such a time pyke shillings from poor Scottishmen! Well! I protest to God I thought you, at my parting from you, as honest a servant as ever King had; but, what now I think of you since the discovery of this your great hypocrisy, judge ye. According to your faith, so be it unto you. As ever it be I am glad that I have gotten this ground to pay you home upon, for your often cruel and malicious speeches against baby Charles and his honest Father. But I know ye are now so proud of your new Patron as ye little care your old Friends.

I know this letter will be the more welcome, that it is my precursor, being shortly to shew forth; who, like the sun in this season, am mounting in my sphere and approaching to shine upon your horizon. And so praying you to believe the contrary either to the first, or the last part of this letter, I bid you heartily farewell, for all our great quarrel.

JAMES R.

Cotton MSS. Titus C. VI. fo. 174.

II.

Christian IV. King of Denmark, to the Earl of Northampton.

Christianus Quartus Dei Gratia Daniæ, Norwegiæ, Vandalorum, Gothorumque Rex; Dux Slesuici, Holstatæ, Stormariæ ac Dethmarsiæ; Comes in Oldenburgh, &c.

REGIA gratiâ et singulari favore nostro præmissis, Generose Comes, cum variis hactenus occasionibus optimæ affectionis et observantiæ studium Gentilitatis Vestræ non modo probè nobis perspectum sit, sed quâ constantiâ in eodem instituto pergit ac perseverat haud pridem ex Roberti Ambstrutteri litteris intellexerimus, prætermittere noluimus quin Gentilitas Vestra quam accepta gratæque optimi hæc animi sui documenta reputamus, præsentî mittendarum nostrarum occasione, comperiat. Quibus etiam Gentilitati vestræ plurimas agimus gratias quod ita in nos affecta sit, ac pridem de ejusdem candore persuasum habemus officia quæ suâ quavis promptitudine præstanda per dictum Ambstruttum nobis obtulerit. Nos vicissim Gentilitati vestræ memoris et benigni Principis benevolentiam pollicemur, ejusque retribuendæ opportunitatem apprimè gratam censebimus.

Interim semperque Gentilitatem Vestram incolumi rerum statu longum diuque felicem optamus. Dabantur —. XIII Novembris. Anno M.DC.XIII.

Illustri et Generoso, sincere
gratèque Nobis dilecto Domino
Comiti de Northampton Equiti
Aurato et ex Privatis Regiæ Majestatis Consiliis.^a

CHRISTIANUS.

Cotton MSS. Titus C. VI. p. 158.

^a Christian IV. king of Denmark, brother to Anne, James's queen, came first to England in July 1606. He staid then only a month. The manner in which he was received at court, and the dissolute rejoicings that took place on the occasion are described by Sir John Harington with great humour and spirit in the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, Vol. I. p. 348. It is observable that Northampton is not mentioned as joining in these strange excesses. He seems to have been temperate himself, though magnificent in his mode of living. I do not know that he was ever charged with personal vice or sensuality by any of his enemies.

III.

The University of Cambridge to James the First.

Serenissimo et Potentissimo Principi in Domino, Domino secundum Deum supremo nostro Jacobo, D. Dei gratiâ Magnæ Britanniae Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, &c.

Etsi nobis conscii simus, Rex Clementissime, nihil nos in Cancellario novo surrogando admississe quod serenissimæ fronti tuæ nebulam inducere debeat, acerbissimo tamen dolore afficimur ita res cecidisse ut apud Sacratissimam Majestatem Vestram in suspicionem aliquam non venisse quidem, sed adduci poterimus. Criminibus enim parum putamus, criminationi etiam ab omni vacare volumus, quam nos effugere posse confidimus si rem omnem ordine ita uti gesta est paucis referamus.

Honoratissimi Cancellarii nostrius morte nunciatâ conveniēre pro more qui apud nos tam prudentia quam dignitate cæteris præsent. Sermone de novo Successore instituto, Honoratissimum Northamptoniæ Comitem ad hoc munus optari ideo omnibus placuit quod illum Majestati Vestræ placere intelligebant. Sperabant namque haud ingratum Majestati Vestræ fore si ei, in quem tot tantosque honores cumulasses, nos quoque dignitatem quam habemus maximam adjecere-mus. Huic accessit, quod cum è gremio Academiae Cantabrigiensis, quum commodè fieri possit, eligere soleamus, hunc se, non solum sinu sed etiam utero gestasse gloriatur Mater Alma, nec Matrem Academiam agnoscere illustri licet ortus familiâ, unquam erubuit Filius. Nam et quum et olim apud nos mansit primò Rhetoricam, deinde Jus Civile publice docere haud dedignatus est; atque ex quo tempore decessit causas nostras quas omnes optime intellexit libentissime semper recepit. Tempestivum ergo putavimus Cancellarium Academiae nostræ illum aliquando suffragiis nostris facere qui beneficiis suis jam diu fuit. Et cui potius quam Literatorum Principi, Principatum in Literatos deferre oportuit? *Δεί γὰρ τῶν φυλάκων ἄρχοντα φυλακτικώτατον εἶναι.* Northamptonium autem e Nobilibus Literatissimum, et e Literatis Nobilissimum esse fatentur omnes. Hæc dum uno animo cogitat uno ore loquitur Academia, nec quidquam proprius fuit quam ut Honorabilis Northamptoniensis singulorum universorumque suffragiis Cancellarius renunciaretur, extitēre aliqui, paucissimi quidem illi, qui præter spem contraque voluntatem et consensum omnium, totius etiam Antiquitatis exemplum ruentes, Suavissimum Filiolum tuum Illust. Ducem Eboraciæ in Cancellarium nominare haud verebantur. Hic Nostri quâ docuit instantiâ rogare animos consideratos parum audaces nimium mutarent, nec enim fas est

aut Celsitudinem illius ad nostra onera deprimi, aut hanc nostram humi repentem hederam inter victrices illius lauros, serpere. Quis non sperasset paucos multis, minores Majoribus, subditos præfectis, cum pares esse non possent, obtemperaturos? Quos tamen, si obstinatâ mente quod fecêre facturos providere potuisset quisquam, prohibere potuisset nemo. Ex Statutis enim nostris liberum cuique suffragium permittitur. Iisdem tenentur Magistratus nostri suffragia omnium recipere, perlegere; eumque Cancellarium Electum renunciare in quem plurima consenserint.

Vides, Rex Clementissime, quâ simplicitate, quâ confidentiâ cum Majestate Vestrâ agimus. Illis artificio opus est qui facta turpia oratione fallaci tegunt. Innocentia nostra veritati soli confidens illam nudam proposuisse sat habet apud Majestatem Vestram: præcipue, Clementissime Rex, quum pro singulari quâ polles prudentiâ privatorum culpam à publicâ causâ segregaturum scimus, et pro eximiâ in nos indulgentiâ etiam si quid imprudentiâ peccatum fuisset condonaturum confidimus.

Liceat ergo nobis ad Sacratissimæ Majestatis Vestræ pedes procumbere; nosque, nostraque omnia quæ fecimus aut facturi sumus voluntati tuæ probanda improbanda committere. Ut de nobis statues ita aut miseri aut felices erimus. Quæcunque nos manet Fortuna precari Dominum Optimum Maximum non desinemus, ut Majestatem Vestram Nobis, tuisque, Ecclesiæ, Reipublicæ quam diutissime servet incolumem.

Serenissimæ Majestatis Vestræ
devotissimi Servi

Dat. e frequenti
Senatu nostro
Nonis Junii.

Procancellarius
et reliquus Cœtus
Academiæ Cantabrigiensis.

Cotton MSS. Titus, C. VI.

IV.

King James to the University of Cambridge.

TRUSTY and well beloved, we greet you well. We would not have you to misconceive of us that we are offended for that which hath passed about the election of your new Chancellor; for as in all other things since our coming into this realm we have found in you a ready and forward disposition to shew your love and affection to us; so doubt we not but in this your intent was to do that which you thought should be well liked by us. And for the interruption made by nominating our son the Duke of York we do not impute it to the body of the University,

but to some few of that rash and factious humour, whose condition is always to be apt to interrupt unity and conformity in public actions. As for the choice you intended of our cousin the Earl of Northampton, we cannot but therein highly commend your judgments in setting your *eyne* (eyes) upon a person so fit for such a place in all manner of considerations, whether you look to his birth, his education in that University, his continual favouring of all learned men, and of things that tend to the furtherance of learning, or good of the Church, and his inward trust and confidence in us: which giveth us just cause of sorrow that by offering of our son to be opposed in election against him, he hath, out of reverence to us and our children, cast his mind so far from accepting that which our said son is of necessity to leave, as we can by no persuasion or entreaty move him to embrace it. And seeing that our said son is, in regard of his minority, not capable of it in his own person, nor can your Vice Chancellor substitute another, neither the University be long without a principal officer, we have thought it fittest to leave you to a new election; wherein we require you to proceed speedily and freely; and on whomsoever your choice shall light, we shall use our authority to cause him to accept it, and be willing to leave him in all things that shall concern the good of the University: assuring ourself that now none of you will take upon him to propose any of our children again without our licence obtained.

Dated the — of June 1612.

Cotton MSS. Titus, C. VI.

V.

The Earl of Northampton to the University of Cambridge.

NESCIO profecto, Gravissimi Patres, Virique ornatissimi, quibus verbis, aut quo orationis cultu valeam exprimere quantum vestræ humanitati debeam, quòd hoc tempore vetustæ memores necessitudinis, me vix ex vultu agnitum in ipso ætatis meæ flexu, vel potius crepusculo, Cancellarium eligeritis.

Videtis enim ex istis literis me non dico eò audaciæ sed amentię humanitate vestrâ provectum esse, ut, post intermissam longo temporis intervallo dicendi scribendique exercitationem, illius etiam penitus oblitus linguæ quâ Matris Academiæ præcepta olim audire, eamque alloqui et affari solebam, vestrâ tamen fretus indulgentiâ balbutire atque hæsitare quam tacere malim.

Fateor sane valdè paucos hodierno die in hoc Regno, ne dicam in vestrâ Academiâ superesse, qui me gradus apud vos in artibus suscepti antiquitate præcedant, quamvis dignitate multi superent; ideoque miror magis quod post exhaustum mei ingenii, si quando quicquam in me tale fuerit, et eruditionis succum, non in-

dignus tantorum tamque illustrium virorum iudicio, et in publico omnium ordinum consessu hâc dignitate videar.

Si quid in me vel artis sit vel doctrinæ, quod quam sit exiguum agnosco ingenuè, illud aut à vestris hausi fontibus, aut vestris expetivi institutis, vobis cum, et in vestrâ scholâ per septennium me exercui. In umbratili illo artium et literarum curriculo cum summâ voluptate primum adolescentiæ meæ peregi tyrocinium: denique totus eram Academicus. A vobis institutus, à vobis ornatus, à vobis multorum opinioni commendatus novam acturus personam in novum prosilii theatrum majore cum periculo, minore per multos annos commodo, etiamsi Deo sint agendæ gratiæ quod jam tempestas abierit, Castor appareat, et audita sit vox turturis in terrâ nostrâ. Sed cum idem in Vobis amor maneat facillime quidem adducor ut credam Academiam Cantabrigiensem aut, exemplo Pigmalionis, conceptâ mente sui operis pulchritudine captam, et errore opinionis ac amoris incredibilis imbutam in me sua contulisse suffragia; aut Deum præpotentem et immortalem in hoc saltem imitatum esse, quod sua in me coronet opera.

Mihi igitur è memoriâ nunquam excidet hoc tam immensum vestri ergà me amoris argumentum. Nam quamvis ego locum, animi corporisque statum sæpe cum fortunâ mutaverim, æque tamen in ætatis meæ flexu ac in primordio, vos mihi constanter, intrepide, fideliter astiteritis: nec tam levi apud vos momento mea apud vos adhuc pendet existimatio, ut ubi nunc sim, quam ubi aliquando fuerim magis referat.

Vestrum igitur discipulum agnoscite; alumnum in hac castrensi Musarum militiâ amplexamini; mihi etiam vobis infinitis nominibus devincti quod libet imperate. Aut enim quod imponitis sustinebo, quod est officii; aut oneri officii succumbam, quod est infirmitatis; nullam aut vestri commodi aut mei officii declinabo rationem; nunquam committam ut magis honoris cupidus, quam erga vos gratus videar, nec me fides citius quam vita deseret. Hoc uno et vobis et mihi gratulor quod sub illo, vos floreatis, ego vivam Mæcenate, Philosopho, Theologo, Salomone, qui non modo universis sui temporis Principibus ingenio, doctrinâ, et pietate præcellat, sed in promovendis etiam bonarum literarum Professoribus suam exercet munificentiam. Regiam more regio navet operam, et majorum suorum non modo æquet sed longe superet et vincat industriam.

Ego interim gloriosissimam obtestor Triadem, ut Regem vobis diù Mæcenatem, Vos fideles diù Regi ministros conservet incolumes; et ut mihi prius quam ex hac vitâ discedam aliqua detur occasio quâ erga utramque, Majestatem et Academiam, grati et devoti animi propensionem testificari valeam.

Vestro amori, humanitati,

Ex Aulâ, Maii 2°.

et indulgentiæ deditissimus.

H. NORTHAMPTON.

Sloane MSS. 3562. No. 71.

VI.

The Warden and Fellows of New College to the Earl of Northampton.

To the Right Honourable my very good Lord the Earl of Northampton, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

QUOD semper polliceri nobis visa est tum virtus et humanitas, tum propensissima in nos voluntas tua, Literatorum Nobilissime, Nobilium Literatissime Comes, id in eâ quæ cum magistris quibusdam Academiae nostræ de privilegio nobis erat controversiâ, non ita pridem abundè præstitit. Perfecisti enim, perfecisti rem et tuâ virtute dignam, et nostrâ omnium qui sumus erimusque memoriâ sempiternâ. Veterem hujus Collegii, nomine magis quam re Novi, libertatem propugnasti; et ab injuriis quorundam juvenum rebus novis in Academiâ temerè studentium vindicasti.

Moribus antiquis stat res nostra: neque nostra modò privata res, sed Academia, sed publica. Næ! Tu igitur antiquâ laude dignissimus es, cui nihil est antiquius quam hos antiquos mores defendere et stabilire. Quod si non minor est virtus quam quærere, parta tueri, non minus profecto tibi debetur cujus virtute conservatum, quam ei cujus operâ primo nobis acquisitum est hoc privilegium. O! utinam! aut noster Fundator Wicchamus, aut tuus Præceptor Whitus nunc reviviscerit. Quales, quantas illi tibi gratias pro tali tanto in Collegium suum beneficio redderent. Sed hi jam mortui sunt. Nunc igitur, pulcherrima primum pro facto pulcherrimo vobis præmia Dii, moresque dabunt vestri. Nos etiam quod habemus tibi damus; Animos nimirum et linguas. Animos, futuros in æternum tibi devotissimos, et hujus maximè beneficii memores; linguas verò, ad laudes virtutum tuarum celebrandas inter homines, et preces pro salute tuâ fundendas apud Deum, ut pergat tibi benedicere quemadmodum tu nobis benefacere; ut, cum summos tibi dederit in hâc vitâ honores, vitam in honoribus longam, et in Cælo sempiternam det.

Amplitudinis Vestræ Studiosissimi,

Custos, et Socii

Collegii Beatae Mariæ

Dat. Oxon. è Collegio nostro

ad xiii. Calend. Maii

A. D. 1609.

Winton in Oxon.

Cotton MSS. Titus C. VI.

IN the foregoing account of the Earl of Northampton, no notice has been taken of the testimony of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, which, as it appears quoted in the Biographical Mirror, is unfavourable to Northampton's memory, for it charges him expressly, as well with having deliberately contrived Sir Thomas Overbury's murder, as with having basely prostituted his innocent niece to Somerset. But I consider D'Ewes's narrative, though apparently circumstantial, to be unworthy credit; and such I am persuaded will be the opinion of every impartial person who reads it. I therefore should have passed it by altogether in silence, had I not feared that I might be supposed to have suppressed the narrative, because it tended to criminate the person whom I was endeavouring to exculpate. I will therefore give the passage entire, hoping that the reader, should he deem the extract one that might have been spared, will excuse the insertion of it for the cause I have assigned.

The reasons why I attribute no credit to Sir Symonds D'Ewes' account, are plain and easily detailed. In the first place, his narrative contradicts itself in more than one instance, and is frequently in direct opposition as well to the accounts given by other writers, as to the facts which came out on the trial. Besides which it has all the appearance of having been made up of several stories, such as we may be certain were rumoured about at the time, and formed the idle gossip of the day. But were his narrative free from contradiction, the very circumstance on which it is founded is sufficient to discredit its authenticity. Sir Symonds tells us, that at the time of the discovery of the murder "he was fourteen years old,"^a and by reason of his living in London heard daily, and exact relations of most of the occurrences, and therefore," he continues, "in imitation of that unmatched historian Thuanus, or De Thou, I have interlarded them with the narration of my own life." Now, who will for a moment admit that what a boy at fourteen believed, ought to be received as historical evidence; especially when the point in question is not a simple fact, which any one might have been competent to speak to, but the truth of a dark mysterious secret locked up in the breast of the King himself, and in that of persons of the highest rank at Court, to whom a boy of fourteen, unconnected with them, could have had no access whatever? To this must be added, what materially affects the question, that Sir Symonds appears to have been a man of a very credulous and superstitious disposition, and therefore not likely to have examined impartially the grounds of the story's probability, or to have discussed and weighed the proofs of

^a M. S. fol. 25. b. I apprehend that Sir Symonds makes himself inadvertently to have been older than he really was. He tells us that he was born Dec. 18, 1602. The discovery was made in October 1615. Instead therefore of having been "then fourteen," he was only in his thirteenth year. Every year diminishes in an increased proportion the weight of his testimony.

its credibility. The more marvellous the report, the more likely was it to gain acceptance with him. Of this we have a proof in the extract before us, where he so gravely tells us the portentous tumbling down of a cup at Cambridge, which announced Sir Jervis Elwis' execution at Tyburn. That, however, is by no means a solitary instance of his superstitious credulity. The early part of his *Memoirs* is entirely occupied with an account of his escapes from dangers which threatened his existence as a child: escapes so miraculous, as proved him to have been, in his own opinion at least, the object of some particular providence.^a On one occasion he tells us he had a terrible tumble indeed from his nurse's arms, which dented in his skull, and left so deep an impression, that he says he thinks verily he shall carry the mark of it with him to the grave, if he does but die a natural death, *fol.* 9. But this was nothing to the tumble he had at the sign of the Red Lion, Brentford, for there he tumbled into a dunghill, and might have been swallowed up alive. Providentially, however, he escaped with only dirtying his clothes, *fol.* 11. How can a person of a disposition so credulous, writing with no other authority than that of common rumours heard and believed by him as a boy of fourteen, be admitted as an evidence of any weight against Northampton's character?

Extract from Sir Symonds D'Ewes's Life; written by himself.

Harleian MSS. No. 646. fol. 21.

"This year, 1615, was first certainly revealed and brought to a public trial the merciless and inhuman murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, Knight, son and heir apparent of Thomas Overbury, Esq. one of the antient Benchers of the Middle Temple, poisoned at least two years before in the Tower of London. It came to light by a strange accident of Sir Ralph Winwood's, Knight, one of the Secretaries of State, his dining with Sir Jervis Elwis, Lieutenant of the said Tower, at a great man's table not far from Whitehall. For that great man commending the same Sir Jervis to Sir Ralph Winwood, as a person in respect of his many good qualities very worthy of his acquaintance, Sir Ralph answered him, that he should willingly embrace his acquaintance, but that he could wish he had first cleared himself of a foul suspicion the world generally conceived of him, touching the

^a If we might hazard any conjecture on a point of mere opinion, I should be tempted to think that Sir Symonds D'Ewes thought himself raised up to be the great British Historian, as Thuanus was that of the French nation. He seems however to have early had some apprehensions as to his success. Having mentioned with some complacency his success in imitating de Thou, "in interlarding the narration of his life," with the events of the times, (for such I conceive to have been his meaning, though he expresses the direct contrary,) he says, I fear "that now I shall not attain to his, ('Thuanus') other happiness, to finish any part of these public histories, either chronological, or chorographical, by which I intended to have rendered and restored to this British empire its true lustre." *M. S. fol.* 25. l.

death of Sir Thomas Overbury. As soon as Sir Jervis heard that, being very ambitious of the Secretary's friendship, he took occasion to enter into private conference with him,^a and therein to excuse himself to have been forced to connive at the said murder. With much abhorring of it, he confessed the whole circumstance of the execution of it in general, and the instruments to have been set on work by Robert Earl of Somerset and his wife. Sir R. Winwood having gained the true discovery of this bloody practice from one of the actors even beyond his expectation,^b parted from the Lieutenant of the Tower in a very friendly and familiar manner, as if he had received good satisfaction for the excuse he had framed for himself. But soon after acquainted the King's Majesty with it, who having at that time fixed his eyes upon the delicate personage and features of Mr. George Villiers, a younger son of Sir George Villiers, of Brokesby, in the County of Leicester, Knight, he was the more easily induced to suffer the Earl of Somerset, then his potent favourite and Lord Chamberlain of his Household (whom he had so highly advanced from the condition of a mean page) to be removed from his Court and presence to the Tower of London. This murder had been long suspected; but the Lady Frances, the Earl's Countess, being daughter to the Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk and Lord Treasurer of England, and allied to the Earls of Arundel, Nottingham, and Northampton, all Howards and in great place and esteem at Court, none at first dared to call the matter in question, especially whilst her husband was master of the King's ear, and could advance or depress whom he listed: and therefore when he afterwards learned about the beginning of his troubles, that Sir Ralph Winwood had been the chief discoverer of his bloody sin, he upbraided him with ingratitude, that having been advanced by his only means to the Secretary's place, he would now become the instrument of his ruin. But Sir Ralph answered him; that for his Secretary's place he might thank £7000 (if I mistake not the sum a little) which he gave him: and as for the business in question, he could neither with the safety of his

^a D'Ewes's account of Elwis' confessing the murder, unsolicited, to a perfect stranger, and thus betraying Somerset, is direct contradiction to what he says hereafter; for he expressly tells us that Elwis with the other agents in the business "all rested secure to be borne out, should any thing be questioned." It seems hardly necessary to remark, that it is altogether improbable to suppose that Elwis should prefer Sir R. Winwood's friendship to Somerset's: or that he should sacrifice a person who had the means of serving and protecting him greatly, in the hope of gaining the friendship of one from whose interest he had little or nothing to expect.

^b There were various reports as to the manner in which the murder was brought to light. Some say that Sir Thomas Overbury's servant told the circumstances to Sir Edward Coke: others that the Archbishop of Canterbury discovered it, and told it to Sir Ralph Winwood. See *Roger Coke's Detection*, Vol. I. p. 82. Both of the above accounts are improbable: but not so incredible as that of D'Ewes! The account most generally believed is, that some letters fell into Winwood's hands when resident in Holland, which satisfied him that Overbury had been murdered, and induced him on his return to England to prosecute an inquiry, as to the authors of the murder.

life or conscience have concealed it; or words to that effect. Sir Thomas Overbury had been highly esteemed of the Earl of Somerset, to whom he ever performed the office of a fast friend and faithful counsellor; and when the said Earl being then but Viscount Rochester, ([for he] was created Earl of Somerset in 1614, after Sir Thomas Overbury's decease) had begun in the year 1612 to frequent the Countess of Essex' bed, whom he after married, and that he often met her at the several houses of one Mrs. Anne Turner, in Pater Noster Row, in London, and at Hammersmith, and so continued the frequent commission of that abominable sin with her, the said Sir Thomas often dehorted him from it,^a and seeing that no good counsel would prevail, at length he told him plainly he would have no longer entireness with him, knowing that his unlawful accompanying with another man's wife would be the means to ruin him and his fortunes. Upon which Viscount Rochester fell into hot terms, telling Sir Thomas Overbury he could stand of his own legs, and would be even with him; and not long after revealing Overbury's words to the Countess of Essex, his advouteress, she was much enraged with it, and took up doubtless thereon at that instant a resolution of revenge; which should be prosecuted with loss of his life that had in such broad terms branded her honour. At first she broke the matter to Sir David Wood, a servant of Queen Anne's, whom she knew to have a particular quarrel with Sir Thomas Overbury, promising him that if he would by way of duel or otherwise kill him, she would give him £1000. He was willing to undertake to bastinado the said Sir Thomas, but for killing him, he said he was loth to be carried to Tyburn for any lady's pleasure. Then it was advised by the subtlety of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, Lord Privy Seal, her great uncle, that Viscount Rochester should outwardly reconcile himself to Sir Thomas Overbury, and that some means should be used to send Sir Thomas Overbury to the Tower, after which they might at leisure advise what further course to take. I cannot affirm the said Earl was privy and consenting to the murder, for he died in the year 1614, before the business came to an open trial; but there were several letters of his produced at the trial of Sir Jervis Elwis, which left a foul stain of suspicion upon him.^b About the beginning of April in the year 1613, King James was moved by Rochester, or some

^a This is contradicted by every thing that appeared in the course of the several trials, and even by Overbury's letters. Overbury was privy to the whole of Rochester's adulterous intercourse with Lady Essex, approved of it, and furthered it; nay he even wrote Rochester's letters for him to the Countess, by which he was to gain her consent. The only thing he opposed was Rochester's marriage with the Lady Frances, and that on the ground of the dissoluteness of her character.

^b If Sir Symonds D'Ewes allows that nothing more than suspicion ever fell on Northampton, and that too after his death, in consequence of the letters which were produced in court on Elwis's trial, how can he with such confidence assert that Northampton in the early stage of the business plotted the murder, and detail his contrivances for that purpose with Lady Essex? If those points were true, then it were absurd to say that only the stain of suspicion attached to him.

instrument set at work by him, to make choice of Sir Thomas Overbury to send as his Ambassador into Russia; which he, having advised with Sir Dudley Diggs and some other of his friends, was resolved to have undertaken, when the same Viscount Rochester, whom Sir Thomas called his precious chief, dissuaded him from accepting that employment, promising him better preferment at home within a short space, and that if he were committed to prison for his refusal, he would speedily procure his enlargement. Sir Thomas Overbury therefore believing his Lord had spoken sincerely and cordially unto him, did peremptorily refuse to take upon him the said Embassy, and was thereupon committed to the Tower of London, April 21, in the year 1613. As soon as the Countess of Essex had gotten him safe cooped up there, she began to plot with Mrs. Anne Turner, by what means she might make him away. Sir William Wade, Knight, an upright and honest man, was then Lieutenant in the Tower, during whose continuance in his place, which was but a few days after, he had fair and noble usage. But the Countess's revenge brooking no delay (intending also about this time to be divorced from the Earl of Essex, and to marry Viscount Rochester) and finding Sir William Wade's integrity to be corruption proof, so as there remained no hope of making him an instrument of murder, she used means at Court to remove him out of his place, and settled Sir Jervis Elwis, Knight, in his room, upon the 6th day of May next following, being about 15 days after Sir Thomas Overbury's imprisonment. This man's ambition, void of all piety and pity, was content to purchase preferment at the price of innocent blood. His sad prisoner never saw good day after his attaining that Lieutenantship; for the Countess having fitted him to her lure, resolved with Mrs. Turner not only to poison Sir Thomas Overbury, but to effect it by a tormenting and lingering death, which she might as easily have effected speedily.^a To this end, on the 8th day of the same May, one Richard Weston, servant to Mrs. Turner, was placed as the keeper of Sir Thomas Overbury with the Lieutenant, and a direct bargain struck with him to be his empoisoner; upon the finishing of which a messenger's place at Court was promised him, or a good sum of money. By this example, as in many other, we may see plainly, that the conscience being once emasculated and cauterized by lust, is then prepared and fitted for the commission of witchcraft, murder, or any other villany. And this inhuman cruelty in the Countess of Essex is the more to be admired; for I have heard one Captain Field, a faithful votary of the Earl of Suffolk her father, protest that having known her from her infancy, he had ever observed her to be of the best nature and sweetest disposition of all her father's children, exceeding them all also in the delicacy and comeliness of her person; execrating also in his bitter expressions my Lord Northampton's wicked practices, by which she was first

^a This is altogether untrue. It appeared on the trial that the Lady Frances was impatient at the delay, and severely reprov'd her agents for not being more expeditious in dispatching Overbury.

drawn to become the Earl of Somerset's advouteress,^a and afterwards to be his wife. Upon the ninth day of the same month, Weston being yet hardly of two days standing in his new office, had a little glass full of rosaker sent him, being a water of a yellowish green colour, with which he that very day poisoned Sir Thomas Overbury's broth, from which time, for the space of three months and six days, he had general poisons administered unto him in tarts, jellies, physic, and almost in every thing he took, so as the stronger his body and constitution were, the more horrible were his torments.

"Certainly this gentleman's extreme misery is scarce to be paralleled by any exemplar of former ages; being cut off in the midst of his hopes, and the flower of his youth; betrayed by his friend, and prostituted to the cruelty of his fatal enemy: sent to prison, as it were in a jest, and there undergoing many deaths to satiate the implacable malice of one cruel murderess; debarred from the sight of friends, divines, and physicians, and only cumbred with the daily converse of his treacherous executioner. His own father, being not able to entertain the least speech with him, no nor so much as to see him, petitioned the King for remedy; from whom he received a gracious answer, but was prevented by Viscount Rochester from ever reaping any good effect by it, or happy issue from it; on whom he yet relied for relief and help. But he that had betrayed the son, did as easily delude the father. Towards his end, to fill his soul yet with greater horror, they conveyed him to a dark and unwholesome prison, where he scarce beheld the light of the sun to refresh him. His youth indeed, even to the day of his imprisonment, had been spent vainly enough, according to the Court garb,^b and he now found need of comfort from Heaven, before he had fully studied the way thither. And in this appears the devilish and barbarous fury of his enemies, who, by debarring him from the sight and conference of all godly ministers, did, as much as in them lay, endeavour to destroy both his body and soul together. At first he thought all these practices to have been without Rochester's knowledge, and therefore in a letter he wrote to him, had this passage amongst others: 'Alas, will you let me be thus murdered!' But at last he too surely perceived that he was a partaker in all their bloody packings. The last poison that was administered to him was in a clyster, soon after the taking of which he died in horrible torment and agony upon the 15th day of September, the same year 1613. The apothecary that administered it was liberally rewarded for his pains, and received twenty pounds, but could not be afterwards heard of. Weston also received from the

^a In another place he says, that Northampton first prostituted his niece to Prince Henry. The story is too monstrous to be believed, and is in direct opposition to what all the other writers of the times have asserted; which was, that Prince Henry had been struck with the beauty of the Lady Frances, but having obtained knowledge of her ill conduct with Somerset, he immediately conquered his passion for her.

^b Though D'Ewes speaks lightly here of Overbury's irregularities, in another place he says he had been charged with having proposed to poison Prince Henry; and that himself having perished by poison was considered as a judgment upon him from Heaven.

Countess, either by her own hand or Mrs. Turner's, at two payments, one hundred and fourscore pounds. But for the said Countess of Essex and the Earl of Northampton,^a their horrible malice exceeded all belief; for, not contented with his merciless and long protracted murder by those several poisons which had eaten out his entrails within, and caused great boils to break out on his body without, they intended to entomb his good name with his miserable carcase, which doth to this day survive him, [and] caused it to be generally bruited and reported that he died of vicious living, and that the boils and sores on his body procured by it, made the stench after his death intolerable. After his murder, by the Lieutenant's means it was found by a coroner's inquest, consisting half of prisoners within the Tower, and half of others, upon view of the body, that he died a natural death, and thereupon it was suddenly and obscurely buried, neither his father or his friends being permitted so much as to see it.^b And now the great ones thought all future danger to be entombed with the dead body, and therefore shortly after, in the year 1614, the Viscount Rochester, then created Earl of Somerset, married the Lady Frances Howard, who had been divorced from the Earl of Essex the year before. Sir Jervis Elwis, Mrs. Turner, Weston, and Franklin all rested secure to be borne out by Somerset's power, if any thing should be questioned: and so were all the actors in this tragedy, the Apothecary excepted that administered the last fatal clyster, all in a moment seized upon, as soon as the thing itself was discovered, although Weston presently left the Lieutenant's service after he had dispatched the work he had undertaken. Had Sir Thomas Overbury accepted and undertaken the embassy into Russia he had perhaps been poisoned before his return, and the matter might have been more secretly carried. After Sir Ralph Winwood had by a mere compliment, as is before observed, drawn the confession of that murder from Sir Jervis Elwis, and had acquainted the King with it, his Majesty presently caused him to set down a true discourse of all

^a D'Ewes here again assumes Northampton's guilt as a thing notorious, forgetting that he has before allowed that there never was but a suspicion of his having taken any part in the murder; which suspicion was not grounded upon any known fact, but solely on an interpretation put on some of his letters produced on Elwis's trial: though Elwis declared solemnly, that the letters in question had no relation whatever to Overbury's death. As for the mention made by Northampton of the appearance of Overbury's body, that cannot with any justice be imputed to him as a circumstance of blame: for he wrote to Somerset to inform him only of what he had heard from Weston. The inference drawn, is chargeable on Somerset and his guilty Countess. They knew the cause of the appearances on Overbury's body, and to do away the suspicion of poison, might have raised the report alluded to in the text.

^b This is in direct opposition to incontestable facts. Northampton gave orders that the body should not be buried till Sir John Lidcote, Overbury's brother in law, had seen it, and as many of his other friends as wished to see it: and he wrote expressly to the Lieutenant to suffer Dr. Cragg, the physician appointed by Sir T. Overbury's father, to have access to him as often as he pleased, that he might take care of him during his illness. As for the account of the Inquest, half prisoners, half freemen, it is too preposterous to need any refutation. The cry was, that Overbury had been buried without any inquest at all.

that had passed in it; which he did, but very imperfectly; and thereupon he and the rest being taken and committed to several custodies or prisons, Richard Weston was first brought to the bar before Sir Thomas Hayes then Lord Mayor of London, and divers others in the Guildhall upon the 19th day of October this present year 1615, at which time he stood mute, but on the Monday following was judicially tried and condemned, and so was one Frankland an actor in the same murder, and both of them executed at Tyburn. Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice of England, pronounced the sentence of condemnation upon them, as he did also upon Mrs. Turner, arraigned and condemned Nov. 9; and on Sir Jervis Elwis, arraigned and condemned Nov. 16, both of them in the Guildhall the same year. He took great pains in several examinations to find out the truth of this dark business, and had promised those that went before to execution that the great ones should not break through the net, though it afterwards fell out otherwise. Mrs. Turner had first brought up that vain and foolish use of yellow starch, coming herself to her trial in a yellow band and cuffs; and therefore when she was afterwards executed at Tyburn the hangman had his bands and cuffs of the same colour, which made many after that day of either sex to forbear the use of that coloured starch, until at last it grew to be generally detested and disused. At Sir Jervis Elwis' execution at Tower Hill, there fell out a more strange accident, though far removed from the place of his execution: for having been formerly a Fellow Commoner at St. John's College in Cambridge, and given a silver bowl there, it fell down that very day he suffered, and as was supposed that very hour, and brake in sunder, just at the place where the handle was joined to the cup or upper part of it. Being myself a Fellow Commoner of the same College a few years after I was informed very assuredly of this accident. This fatal business had almost swallowed up Sir Robert Cotton that famous English antiquary, in whose acquaintance I was many years after very happy. For he, being highly esteemed by the Earl of Somerset (so as if he had but stood a while longer 'tis very probable he had made him one of the Secretaries of State) was acquainted with this murder by him a little before it now came to light, and had advised him what he took to be the best course for his safety. Sir Robert had his pardon and never came to his open trial, yet was in the Christmas holidays this year committed to prison. Notwithstanding all the great friends he had it cost him £500, and wrought a very good effect upon him: for presently upon his escape out of this danger, he took home his lady to his own house, and cohabited with her ever afterwards, from whom he had divers years before lived separated."

Such is Sir Symonds D'Ewes' narrative: I have not noted by any means all the inconsistencies and contradictions that occur in the course of it. Those I have pointed out must be sufficient, I think, to satisfy the impartial reader that D'Ewes' testimony is of no weight whatever against Northampton's reputation.

Roger Coke's account of the transaction is also unfavourable to Northampton. But to cite him, is to multiply names without increasing authorities; for he

himself tells us that he did nothing more than follow the author of the First fourteen years of the Reign of James the First; and adds, that if he has erred in these points, the writer of that work has misled him. From which words we may suspect that he did not feel altogether satisfied with what he had advanced. See Vol. 1. p. 77; and p. 80.

The more I consider the subject, therefore, the stronger is my conviction that the great, if not the sole source of all the accusations against Northampton, will be discovered to be "The History of the First fourteen years:" the author of which work seems to have been actuated by an inveterate hatred against the King, and the Court; in consequence of which he relates as facts, not only the current reports of the day, however extravagant or inconsistent; but, where facts are wanting, boldly substitutes surmises as facts, and exercises all his ingenuity to mould the several discordant rumours he had heard, into something that might bear the shape of consistent narrative. The troubles that ensued, ending in the fatal Rebellion and the subversion of the legitimate government of the country, did not allow time for Northampton's exculpation. The popular tide of opinion for nearly half a century ran clean the contrary way: by degrees the error became inveterate; and if a suspicion was sometimes excited that Northampton's defects might have been exaggerated, and his name calumniated, the point was deemed perhaps not worth the labour of investigation, and as no one was injured by thinking him criminal, the long received prejudices were the more easily retained. It is difficult to say, whether the human mind shews at times a greater promptitude in adopting novel opinions, or pertinacity in maintaining old.*

* In the Library of Winchester College is; "The description of the Mask presented in the Banqueting Room at Whitehall, on St. Stephen's night last, at the marriage of the Right Hon. the Earl of Somerset, and the right noble the Lady Frances Howard. Written by Thomas Campion. Whereunto are annexed divers choice airs composed for this Mask, that may be sung with a single voice to the Lute or Base Viol. London, printed by E. & A. for Laurence Lisle, dwelling in Paul's Church Yard, at the sign of the Tiger's Head. 1614."

Pulchro pulchra datur : sociali fœdere amanti

Tandem nubit amans ! ecquid amabilius ?

Veræ ut supersint Nuptiæ

Præite duplici face.

Prætendat alteram necesse est

Hymen ; alteram par est Amor.

The names of the Maskers were, 1. The Duke of Lennox. 2. The Earl of Pembroke. 3. The Earl of Dorset. 4. The Earl of Salisbury. 5. The Earl of Montgomery. 6. The Lord Walden. 7. The Lord Scroop. 8. The Lord North. 9. The Lord Hayes. 10. Sir Thomas Howard. 11. Sir Henry Howard. 12. Sir Charles Howard. Would persons of such eminence have so graced the marriage, had it been considered one of disgrace and murder ? The Music was by Laneir and Coprario.

APPENDIX.

...and only to show the author of the First four-
 ...and add, that if he has erred in these
 ...From which words we may see
 ...what he had advanced. See

The next book is the History of the rebellion, the design of which is my conviction that
 the author of the History of the rebellion against Northampton, will be
 ...the author of which
 ...the King, and the
 ...not only the current reports
 ...but, where facts are wanting,
 ...in his indignity to mould the
 ...something that might bear the shape
 of evidence. The author's design in the fatal Rebellion and
 the rebellion of the country, did not allow time for
 ...for nearly half a cen-
 ...became inveterate; and if a
 ...might have been
 ...perhaps not worth
 ...him criminal,
 ...It is difficult to say,
 ...in adopting novel

APPENDIX

The first of these is the History of the rebellion, the design of which is my conviction that
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- 1. The History of the rebellion, the design of which is my conviction that
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- 9. of evidence.
- 10. The author's design in the fatal Rebellion and
- 11. the rebellion of the country, did not allow time for
- 12. for nearly half a cen-
- 13. became inveterate; and if a
- 14. might have been
- 15. perhaps not worth
- 16. him criminal,
- 17. It is difficult to say,
- 18. in adopting novel

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE title of the Marquess of Northampton's celebrated Manuscript is as follows :

The
Genealogy of the Princely
Family of the
Howards,
exactly deduced in a right line from the
xvth year of the reign of King
Edward

Sole Monarch of England, in the year
Of our Redemption D.cccc. LXX^o before
the Norman Conquest XCVI years
to this present XIIIth year of the
Reign of our dread Sovereign

Charles
by the grace of God, King of England,
Scotland, France and Ireland, Defen-
der of the Faith

M.D.C.XXXVIII.

Collected and disposed
by the industry of
Hen. Lilly; Rouge Dragon.

The following account of this book was taken out of a MS. book of Heraldry collected by Gregory King, Lancaster Herald, 1689.

“ Le livre de la Famille de Howard recuillè par Hen. Lilly; fort curieux à cause du quel, le dit Hen. Lilly fut fait un poursuivant des armes. Demeurant chez le dit Hen. Lilly, par accident a l'heure de son mort, il fut après achetè par Compton, Comte de Northampton pour cent livres sterling; ou il demeure à cette heure, 1684.

It has remained ever since in the possession of that noble family; and is preserved by the present Marquess of Northampton, among his Archives at Castle Ashby. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the hand writing or the splendour of the emblazoning. The following is the account there given of the origin of the Howard family

“Howard, an English Saxon, lived at the same time that Duke Oslac was accused to King Edgar. Thereupon the said King gave command that he should be sequestered from all his land, and deprived of his whole estate; he therefore submissively besought bishop Athelwald to be his advocate to the King; and that he would vouchsafe to petition his Majesty for him: who did so; and the King in his love to the Bishop, and at his earnest suit, restored all again to Oslac, on this condition; that Oslac should pay 100 crowns to the King: who, not having as much money of his own, borrowed 40 crowns of the Bishop; and because he had been often times assistant to him, promised to bestow upon him 40 acres of land about Cambridge; as also one farm, and a third part of a wood at Duttingham; and sent his cousin Howard to Ely, who should in the presence of all them by, give possession on Oslac’s behalf, of the said lands to the said Bishop.”

The manner in which the Howards are deduced from the Earls of Poissy, is as follows.

Auber, Earl of Poissy, married Adelina, daughter of Hubert Earl of Carens, of whom he begat thee sons, whose names were William, Eustace, and Valeryns. William was surnamed Bretville, and was Earl of Poissy, and died without issue. Eustace had a son, called William, and he came into England with William the Conqueror, who made him Earl of Gloster, and Steward of England. He was slain at Cardiff in Wales by the Welchmen, and had no lawful issue; wherefore, Roger Fitz Valeryns, that was the son of Valeryns de Beauson, Lord of Vernon, which was the son of Lord Auber Earl of Poissy; came into England and challenged to be heir to his cousin William that was Earl of Gloster, to whom William the Conqueror gave divers manors and castles; whereof, the castle of Howard was one, where he had continual wars with the Welchmen: and for that he was very often times saved by the strength of his castle, he would often times call it his den; whereupon it took the nick name of Hawarden Castle, of Howard: and so it is to this day. He had a son called William, and for that he was born within the castle of Howard he took the name of Howard after the name of his father’s castle. He was well esteemed for his great learning, of King Henry the Ist.

“Ex pergamena, scripta tempore Ric. III. Regis, ut videtur; quam mihi accommodavit illustriss: Norfolcie Dux anno 1570; quæ illi dabatur per Ric. Cooke Clarenceux, stemmatis sui altiolem repetitionem continens quam unquam adhuc in aliis libris reperiri possit.”

M S.S. Coll. Arm. Philpot.

No. II.

" This curious household book of Thomas, Earl of Surrey, contains an exact daily account of every Breakfast, Dinner, and Supper throughout the year: the provisions of every course, at every table; the name of every stranger at each table, and the quantity of victuals consumed every day. At the end of each week is an account of the price of every article of provision expended; including beer, and together with the total of the weekly expense, the remainder in hand.

It mentions every absence and return of the Earl and Countess of Surrey. The account was kept at their residence at Tendring Hall, in Stoke by Neyland in Suffolk; each year closes on the 29th of October; on which day my Lady and her household removed to Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, a residence nearer London, for the winter. Thirteen carters are mentioned as being employed to convey the furniture and hangings from Stoke to Hunsdon.

The Countess eat fish only on Wednesdays throughout the year; on Fridays the whole family did the same: and on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in Rogation week, when no breakfast or supper was provided; except for my Lord Howard in the nursery. On other times likewise no supper was provided.

When my Lord and Lady were both at home, their tables (or service) were prepared in my Lord's chamber: when my Lady only was at home, in my Lady's chamber; and when both were absent, in the nursery, for my Lord Howard. When there was company, as on the 16th of September, when my Lady Essex dined; and on the 3d of January, when my Lord Marquess of Dorset, dinner was prepared in the Great Chamber, or Dining room.

The number of persons that usually dined at my Lord and Lady's table, exclusive of strangers, was from fifteen to twenty. Had the M.S. been perfect, we probably should have been told at the beginning, as was usual with books of this kind, the names of those, of whom the family consisted. Though a few leaves are wanting at the opening of the book, it is clear that the accounts commenced early in 1513.

The household service was in the hall, where the gentlemen, yeomen, and grooms were served. Their messes in general, consisted of from three to eight persons. At Christmas they were from twelve to sixteen.

There was usually in the kitchen a mess called the Cook's mess: and sometimes one in the *backhouse*, brewhouse, or porter's lodge. The numbers at each of these messes was uncertain; probably never less than four persons. The dinner hour was ten, A. M. the supper hour was five, P. M.

The Persons whose names occur as visiting at Tendring Hall, are

The Duke of Norfolk, father to the Earl of Surrey.

Agnes his second wife, daughter of Hugh Tilney.

Anne, Lady Oxford; his daughter.

The Lady Elizabeth: afterwards married to Radcliff, Earl of Sussex.

My young Lady; perhaps Lady Dorothy, afterwards Lady Stanley.

Lord Thomas, the Duke's second son by second wife who died 1539, in the Tower.

N.B. The Duke's servants seem to have lodged in the town; as venison pasties were sent to them there: his own residence was chiefly Framlingham, or at Kenninghall.

Mr. Spurne; whom Mr. Frere conjectures to be Spring; a family of great wealth, who conjointly with Lord Oxford, built the church and steeple of Lavenham.

Lord Essex, Henry Bouchier.

Lady Perrè and Lady Bryant. This was Lady Brian, governess to the Princesses Mary, and Elizabeth; created such on the appointment.

Sir Henry Grey.

Lady Morley.

Mrs. Parker.

My Lord of Kent. Richard Grey, Earl of Kent died 1523.

Thomas Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel.

John Temperley, who married Margaret, Sister to the Duke.

Lady Marney.

Lady Vere, wife of Sir J. Vere who succeeded to the title in 1526. She was daughter of Edward Trussel of Stafford, Knight.

The old Lady Oxford. The gentlewomen attendant on the Visitors dined at my Lady's Mess; the gentlemen in the Hall.

Thomas Reddyng and his bride; who had a dinner and supper in the Bride Chamber with company. He seems to have been of the household.

Sir Thomas Taye and his Lady.

Lady Wyndham, and Sir J. Wyndham of Crowhurst.

Mr. Southwell.

The Lord William, the Duke's eldest son by his second wife. He was afterwards Earl of Effingham.

Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

My Lord Marquess of Dorset.

Lord Fitzwater.

Lady Rice, Lady Catherine half sister to the Earl of Surrey, married Sir Rice ap Griffith

Mr. Serjeant Wentworth.

The M. S. Ends January 18th, 1524.

APPENDIX.

v

The following Names appear frequently.

John Holland. Private Secretary.
 William Sappsworth.
 Mr. Heron.
 Mr. Butler.
 Mr. Steward.
 Mr. Holdich. The Duke's Receiver.
 Mr. Chace.
 Mr. Borwell.
 Mr. Widdow.
 Sir Thomas Wybrough. Probably the Chaplain.
 Mrs. Yngliss.
 Mr. Watson.
 Mr. Herbottle

On one occasion we find that Gypsions, i. e. Egyptians, gipsies were entertained.

The following Extract, containing the Services of one day, will shew the manner in which the Family lived.

Thursday, 6th day of August.

BREAKFAST.

To the Duke's Grace of Norfolk. A boiled capon and a piece of beef.
 To my Lord Howard. A breast of mutton and a chicken.
 To the Dutchess of Norfolk. A capon boiled, and a piece of beef.
 To my Lady, and Lady Wyndham. A piece of beef.
 To my Lady Oxford. Boiled mutton, and a piece of beef.

DINNER.

First Course.

Strangers.

Dinner in my
 Lady's Chamber
 two messes and with
 all the same waters
 to the same.

Two capons boiled, and a
 breast of mutton, and a
 piece of beef, 7 Chevets.
 A swan; a pig; a breast
 of veal; 2 capons roast;
 a custard.

The Duke's Grace of Norfolk.
 The Dutchess
 My Lady Oxford.
 My Lady Elizabeth.
 My young Lady.
 My young Lord.
 My Lady Wyndham.

APPENDIX.

Second Course.

4 mess of morts; 6 chickens; 8 pigeons; 3 conies; 2 shovelers; 4 sepyes; one dozen of quails; 2 pasties of venison; a tart; nuts and pears.

To the bordsend

First Course.

A capon boiled, 2 ribs of beef; a swan; 4 chevets; a breast of veal; a capon roast; a custard.

Second Course.

4 chicken; 2 conies; 6 pigeon; 6 quails, a pasty of venison; a tart; nuts and pears.

DINNER FOR THE GENTLEWOMEN.

First Course.

4 Messes.

A boiled capon; beef; roast veal; a pye; a custard.

Strangers.

16 Gentlewomen.

Second Course.

Conies, a tart, and venison; and the 2 messes more of the Gentlewomen, the same service.

SUPPER.

First Course.

In my Lady's Chamber, one mess and 20 persons to the same with my Lady and the strangers.

A neck of mutton boiled; 2 slices of beef; calves feet; a shoulder and breast of mutton; a capon.

Strangers.

My Lady Wyndham and her gentlewomen.

Second Course.

4 chickens; 3 rabbits; 6 quails, a pasty of venison.

APPENDIX.

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No. III.

Cotton MSS. Vespasian F. iii. p. 18.

Please it your Grace, to be advertised; that at this time I do write unto the same, not only to make a demonstration of this my proceeding in writing; but, also in my right humble and lowlywise to beseech your Grace, of your daily blessing; and pardon, for that I have so long time delay'd, and forborn to write unto your Grace, to whose favour and goodness no creature living is more bound than I am. And like as it hath pleased Almighty God, and the Kings Highness; much part by the means and good favour of your Grace to prefer and advance me in honour; so shall I, God willing, endeavour myself and apply my time to th' attaining and increase of learning, virtue, and cunning correspondent to the same; whereby I may be more able to do unto the King's Highness such service hereafter, as shall consist with his most gracious pleasure, which of all things under God is, and shall be my only mind, intent, and purpose; as Master Magnus, this bearer, Director of my Council shall make relation unto your Grace: whom Almighty God evermore have in his most holy and blessed tuition and governance. At Shiriff-hutton, the fourth day of March, by your most humble godson.

H. Rychemond.

No. IV.

Cotton MSS. Nero X.

We intend at this time, if it may stand with your Graces pleasure; to provide for the Kings Highness, a new years gift, to be sent unto his Highness at the begining of this next new year from my Lord of Richmond. And for that purpose we have sent this bearer Wm. Amyas to London, for making and for provision of the same; and how we shall use ourselves therein, for the device and value thereof we beseech your Grace, that this said bearer may know your Graces pleasure. And, if it may stand with the same your pleasure, that we shall in like manner provide any other new Years gifts for the Queen's Grace, the French Queen, the Dukes of Norfolk and of Suffolk, and for the Marquesses of Exeter and Dorset. We do most humbly beseech your Grace, that this bearer may also know your pleasure concerning the same, which we have commanded him to observe in every behalf, as our Lord

knoweth, who evermore have you in his holy tuition and governing our most singular good and gracious Lord. Written at the Castle of Sheriff Hutton the 1st day of November, by

Your most humble Servants

Brian Higdon.

W^m Parr.

John Dalby.

W^m Franklin.

Rich^d Page.

Jo. Uvedale.

No. V.

SKELTON describes himself, as falling into a slumbering, while musing in the forrest of Galtres. He then sees the queen of Fame, and dame Pallas, who deem him worthy of being Poet Laureat; and entrust him to Occupation, for his guide. With him he enters into conversation.

Thus talking we went forth, in at a postern gate.

Turning on the right hand, by a winding stair,
She brought me to a goodly chamber of estate
Where the noble Countess of Surrey in a chair
Sat honourably; to whom all did repair
Of Ladies a bevy, with all due reverence.
Sit down fair Ladies and do your diligence.

"Come forth gentlewomen, I pray you," she said,
"I have contrived for you a goodly wark;
"And who can work best, now shall be essayed.
"A Crown of Laurel with verdures light and dark
"I have devised for Skelton my clerk,
"For to his service I have such regard
"That of our bounty we will him reward.

"For of all Ladies, he hath the library,
"Their names recounting in the Court of Fame,
"Of all gentlewomen he hath the scrutiny
"In Fames court, reporting the same.
"For yet of women he never said shame

But^a if they were counterfeits that women them call,
That list of their lewedness^b with him for to brawl.

With that the tapets and carpets were laid
Whereon these Ladies softly might rest;
The sampler to sew on, the laces to embrayd.^c
To weave in the stool some were full prest;
With sleys, with tavel, with hedelles well drest,
The frame was brought forth, with his^d weaving pin,
God give them good speed their work to begin.

Some to embroider put them in press,
Well guiding their glotton, to keep strait their silk;
Some pearling of gold, their work to increase
With fingers small, and hands as white as milk;
With; "Reach me that skein of tewly silk,"
And, "Wind me that bottom of such an hue"
Green, red, tawny, white, purple, and blue.

Of broken works wrought many a goodly thing
In casting, in turning, in flourishing of flowers,
With burs rough and buttons surfilling,
In needle work raising brids in bowers
With virtue enbesed^e all times and hours
And truly of their bounty thus were they bent
To work me this chaplet, by good advisement.

Occupation tells Skelton, that seeing so many ladies thus employed in making him a crown of laurel, he could do no less than write something in their praise. Upon this, "devoutly arresting his prayer to Minerve," Skelton proceeds to make the following stanzas on the Countess of Surrey.

After all duly order'd obeisance,
In humble wise, as lowly as I may
Unto you Madam, I make recognisance
My life enduring, I shall both write and say
Recount, report, rehearse, without delay
The passing bounty of your noble estate
Of honour and worship which hath the former date.

^a Unless. ^b Ignorance. ^c Embroider. ^d Its. ^e Perhaps enbusied,

APPENDIX.

Like to Argiva, by just resemblance,
The noble wife of Polimites king,
Prudent Rebecca, of whom remembrance
The Bible maketh, with whose chaste living
Your noble demeanour is counterweighing,
Whose passing bounty, and right noble estate,
Of honour and worship it hath the former date.

The noble Pamphilia, queen of the Greeks land,
Habiliments royal found out industriously :
Thamer also wrought with her goodly hand
Many devices passing curiously ;
Whom ye represent and exemplify :
Whose passing bounty and noble estate,
Of honour and worship it hath the former date.

As dame Thamaris, which took the king of Perse,
Cyrus by name, as writeth the story ;
Dame Agrippina, also I may rehearse
Of gentil courage the perfect memory ;
So shall your name endure perpetually,
Whose passing bounty and right noble estate,
Of honour and worship it hath the former date."

Skelton afterwards praises the attendant ladies, who made up the fair bevy. These are; the Lady Elizabeth Howard; the Lady Myrrial Howard; the Lady Anne Dacres of the South; Mrs. Margery Wentworth; Mrs. Margaret Tilney; Mrs. Jane Blenner Hasset; Mrs. Isabel Pennel; Mrs. Margaret Kussey; Mrs. Geretrude Stratham; and Mrs. Isabel Knight; each is the subject of a separate copy of Verses. Skelton then takes his leave, and puts on his laurel crown, which was the admiration and the envy of Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate.

"Some praised the pearl, some the stones bright ;
Well was him that thereon might stare ;
Of this work they had so great delight,
The silk, the gold, the flowers fresh to sight :
They said my laurel was the goodliest
That ever they saw ; and wrought, it was the best."

No VI.

Vespas. F. xiii. p. 75.

From Mary Duchess of Richmond, to her Father the Duke of Norfolk.

To my very good Lord and Father, the Duke of Norfolk, these be delivered.

“Though I am in doubt how your Grace shall take it, that I should thus daily trouble you with my busy letters; yet, I trust your Grace will consider, how this matter toucheth me most of any other, and mine is the part both to speak, and sue. If I had not such a good intercessor to the King’s Majesty in my behalf as your Grace is, whereof as yet proceedeth no effect but words. Which maketh me think the King’s Highness is not ascertained of my whole widow’s and right therein; for if he were, he is so just a Prince, so gracious and of such equity, that I am sure he would never suffer the justice of his laws to be denied to me, the unworthy desolate widow of his late Son, that never yet was denied to the poorest gentlewomen in the realm. An if it would please you, as oftentimes I have humbly desired your Grace, to give me leave to come up and sue mine own causes; being no whit too good to be in person an humble suitor to his Majesty; and do not doubt but upon the sight thereof, his Highness should be moved to have compassion on me; considering that he himself alone made the marriage: and to think that it shall be much his Majesty’s honour to grant me that, that his laws give me to maintain me with, the desolate widow of his late Son, in the degree that his Majesty hath called me to. Yet nevertheless putting my whole matter into your Grace’s hands and my Lord Privy Seal’s, who as ye write, hath promised to be good lord therein, most humbly desiring your blessing, I bid your Grace farewell. From Kenninghall this Wednesday.

By Your humble Daughter,
Mary Richemonde.

No. VII.

Cotton Vespasian, F. xiii. B. 134.

From the Lady Margaret Douglass.

MY LORD,

“What cause have I to give you thanks! and how much bound am I that by your means hath gotten me, as I trust, the King’s Grace’s favour again!

And besides that, that it hath pleased you to write and to give me knowledge wherein I might have his Graces displeasure again; which, I pray our Lord sooner to send me death than that. And I assure, my Lord, I will never do that thing willingly that should offend his Grace. And my Lord, whereas it is informed you that I do charge the house with a greater number than is convenient, I assure you I have but two mo' than I had in the court; which indeed, were my Lord Thomas's servants; and the cause that I took them for, was for the poverty that I saw them in, and for no cause else. But seeing, my Lord, that it is your pleasure that I shall keep none that did belong unto my Lord Thomas, I will put them fro' me. And I beseech you not to think that any fancy doth remain in me touching him; but that all my study and care is, how to please the King's Grace, and to continue in his favour. And my Lord, were it your pleasure, that I shall keep but a few here with me, I trust ye will think that I can have no fewer than I have. For I have but a gentleman and a groom that keeps my apparel; and another that keeps my chamber, and a Chaplain that was with me always in the Court. Now, my Lord I beseech you that I may know your pleasure, if you would that I should keep any fewer. Howbeit, my Lord, my servants hath put the house to small charges; for they have nothing but the reversion of my board: nor I do call for nothing but that, that is given me. Howbeit, I am very well entreated. And my Lord, as for resort, I promise you I have none except it be gentlewomen that comes to see me, nor never had since I came hither: for if any resort of men had come it should not a' become me to a' seen them, nor yet to have kept them company; being a maid as I am. Now my Lord, I beseech you to be so good as to get my poor servants their wages. And thus I pray our Lord to preserve you both soul and body.

By her that has her trust in you,

Margaret Douglas.

No. VIII.

Extract from Nash's History of Jack Wilton.

With the tragical catastrophe of this Munsterian conflict, did I cashier the new vocation of my cavaliership. There was no more honourable wars in Christendom then towards. Wherefore after I had learned to be half an hour in bidding a man *bonjour* in German synonymas, I travelled along the country towards England as fast as I could. What with waggons and bare ten toes having attained to Middleborough (good lord! see the changing chances of us Knight-errant infants) I met with the right honourable Lord Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, my late

master. Jesu! I was persuaded I should not be more glad to see heaven than I was to see him. O! it was a right noble lord! liberality itself, (if in this iron age there were any such creature as liberality left on the earth) a prince in content because a poet without peer. Destiny never defames herself, but when she lets an excellent poet die. If there be any spark of Adam's paradized perfection yet embered up in the breasts of mortal men, certainly God hath bestowed that, his perfectest image, on poets. None come so near to God in wit; none more condemn the world. *Vatis avarus non temere est animus*, saith Horace, *versus amat, hoc studet vnum*. Seldom have you seen any poet possessed with avarice: only verses he loves, nothing else he delights in: and as they condemn the world, so contrarily of the mechanical world, are none more condemned. Despised they are of the world, because they are not of the world: their thoughts are exalted above the world of ignorance and all earthly conceits.

As sweet angelical choristers they are continually conversant in the heaven of arts. Heaven itself is but the highest height of knowledge; he that knows himself and all things else, knows the means to be happy. Happy! thrice happy are they whom God hath doubled his spirit upon; and given a double soul unto, to be poets. My heroical master exceeded in this supernatural kind of wit; he entertained no gross earthly spirit of avarice, nor weak womanly spirit of pusillanimity and fear, that are feigned to be of the water; but admirable, airy, and fiery spirits, full of freedom, magnanimity and bountihood. Let me not speak any more of his accomplishments, for fear I spend all my spirits in praising him, and leave myself no vigor of wit, or effects of a soul to go forward with my history. Having thus met him I so much adored, no interpleading was there of opposite occasions, but back I must return and bear half stakes with him in the lottery of travel. I was not altogether unwilling to walk along with such a good purse-bearer; yet musing what changeable humour had so suddenly seduced him from his native soil to seek out needless perils in these parts beyond sea, one night very boldly I demanded of him the reason that moved him thereto.

Ah! quoth he, my little Page, full little canst thou perceive how fair metamorphosed I am from myself, since I last saw thee. There is a little god called Love, that will not be worship'd of any leaden brains; one that proclaims himself sole king and emperor of piercing eyes and chief sovereign of soft hearts; he it is that exercising his empire in my eyes, has exorcised and clean conjured me from my content. Thou knowest stately Geraldine; too stately I fear for me to do homage to her statue or shrine; she it is, that is come out of Italy to bewitch all the wise men of England. Upon Queen Catherine Dowager she waits; that hath a dowry of beauty sufficient to make her wooed of the greatest kings in Christendom. Her high exalted sun-beams, have set the phoenix nest of my breast on fire; and I myself have brought Arabian spiceries of sweet passions and praises, to

furnish out the funeral flame of my folly. Those who were condemned to be smothered to death by sinking down into the soft bottom of an high built bed of roses, never died so sweet a death as I should die, if her rose-coloured disdain were my death's-man. Oh! thrice imperial Hampton-court! Cupid's enchanted castle! the place where I first saw the perfect omnipotence of the Almighty expressed in mortality; 'tis thou alone, that tithing all other men solace in thy pleasant situation, affordest me nothing but an excellent begotten sorrow out of the chief treasury of all thy recreations.

Dear Wilton, understand that there it was where I first set eye on my more than celestial Geraldine. Seeing her I admired her: all the whole receptacle of my sight was inhabited with her rare worth. Long suit and incessant protestations got me the grace to be entertained. Did never unloving servant so prentice like obey his never pleased mistress as I did her. My life, my wealth, my friends, had all their destiny depending on her command. Upon a time I was determined to travel; the fame of Italy, and an especial affection I had unto poetry, my second mistress, for which Italy was so famous, had wholly ravish'd me unto it. There was no dehortment from it, but needs thither I would; wherefore coming to my mistress as she was then walking with other ladies of estate in paradise at Hampton-court, I most humbly besought her of favour that she would give me so much gracious leave to absent myself from her service, as to travel a year or two into Italy.

She very discreetly answered me, that if my love were so hot as I had often avouched, I did very well to apply the plaister of absence unto it; for *absence, as they say, causeth forgetfulness*. Yet, nevertheless, since it is Italy my native country you are so desirous to see, I am the more willing to make my will yours. I pete Italiam: go and seek Italy with Æneas, but be more true than Æneas; I hope that kind wit-cherishing climate will work no change in so witty a breast. No country of mine shall it be more, if it conspire with thee in any new love against me. One charge I will give thee, and let it be rather a request than a charge. When thou comest to Florence (the fair city from whence I fetch the pride of my birth) by an open challenge defend my beauty against all comers. Thou hast that honourable carriage in arms, that it shall be no discredit for me to bequeath all the glory of my beauty to thy well governed arm. Fain would I be known where I was born; fain would I have thee known where Fame sits in her chiefest theatre; farewell, forget me not. Continued deserts will eternize me unto thee; thy full wishes shall be expired when thy travel shall be once ended.

Here did tears step out before words, and intercepted the course of my kind conceived speech, *even as wind is allayed with rain*: with heart scalding sighs I confirmed her parting request, and vowed myself her's, while living heat allowed me to be mine own. Hic illæ lachrimæ; here, hence, proceedeth the whole cause of my peregrination.

Not a little was I delighted with this unexpected love story; especially from a mouth out of which was nought wont to march but stern precepts of gravity and modesty. I swear unto you I thought his company the better by a thousand crowns, because he had discarded those nice terms of chastity and continence. Now I beseech God love me so well as I love a plain dealing man. Earth is earth, flesh is flesh; earth will to earth, and flesh unto flesh; frail earth! frail flesh! who can keep you from the work of your creation?

Dismissing this fruitless annotation pro et contra, towards Venice we progres'd, and took Rotterdam in our way, that was clean out of our way. There we met with aged learning's chief ornament, that abundant and super-ingenious clerk *Erasmus*; as also with merry Sir Thomas Moore, our countryman, who was come purposely over a little before us, to visit the said grave father Erasmus. What talk, what conference we had then, it were here superfluous to rehearse; but this I can assure you, Erasmus, in all his speeches seemed so much to mislike the indiscretion of princes in preferring of parasites and fools, that he decreed with himself to swim with the stream, and write a book forthwith in commendation of folly. Quick-witted Sir Thomas Moore travelled in a clean contrary province; for he seeing most commonwealths corrupted by ill custom, and that principalities were nothing but great piracies, which gotten by violence and murder, were maintained by private undermining and bloodshed; that in the chiefest flourishing kingdoms there was no equal or well-divided weal one with another, but a manifest conspiracy of rich men against poor men, procuring their own unlawful commodities under the name and interest of the commonwealth; he concluded with himself to lay down a perfect plot of a commonwealth or government, which he would entitle his *Utopia*. So left we them to prosecute their discontented studies, and made our next journey to Wittenberg.

At the very point of our entrance into Wittenberg, we were spectators of a very solemn scholastical entertainment of the Duke of Saxony thither. Whom, because he was the chief patron of their University, and had took Luther's part in banishing the mass and all like papal jurisdiction out of their town, they crouch'd unto extremely. The chief ceremonies of their entertainment were these. First, the heads of their University (they were great heads of certainty) met him in their hooded hypocrisy and doctorly accoutrements secundum formam statuti; where, by the Orator of the University, whose pickerdevant was very plentifully besprinkled with rose-water, a very learned or rather ruthless oration was delivered (for it rained all the while) signifying thus much, that it was all by patch and by piece-meal stolen out of Tully; and he must pardon them, though in emptying their phrase books, the air emptied his entrails: for they did it not in any ostentation of wit (which they had not) but to shew the extraordinary good will they bare the Duke, to have him stand in the rain till he was thorough wet. A thousand quem-

admodums and quapropters he came over him with; every sentence he concluded with *Esse posse videatur*: through all the nine worthies he ran with praising and comparing him: Nestor's years he assured him of under the broad seal of their supplications; and with that crow-trodden verse in Virgil, *Dum iuga montis aper*, he packt up his pipes, and cried *Dixi*. That pageant overpast, there rusht upon him a miserable rabblement of junior graduates, that all cried out upon him mightily in their gibberish like a company of beggars, God save your Grace! God save your grace! Jesus preserve your highness! though it be but for an hour.

Some three-halfpenny worth of Latin here also had he thrown at his face; but it was choice stuff I can tell you, as there is a choice even amongst rags gathered up from the dunghill. At the town's end met him the burghers and dunstical incorporationers of Wittenberg in their distinguished liveries,—their distinguished livery faces I mean; for they were most of them hot livered drunkards, and had all the coat colours of sanguine, purple, crimson, copper, carnation that were to be had, in their countenances. Filthy knaves! no cost had they bestowed on the town for his welcome, saving new painted their boughs and bousting houses, which commonly are built fairer than their churches; and over their gates set the town arms, which sounded gulping after this sort: *Vanhotten, slotten, irk bloshen glotten gelderlike*: whatever the words were, the sense was this, Good drink is a medicine for all diseases.

A bursten belly inkhorn orator called Vanderhulke, they pick'd out to present him with an oration; one that had a sulphurous big swoln large face, like a Saracen; eyes like two Kentish oysters; a mouth that opened as wide every time he spake as one of those old knit trap doors; a beard as though it had been made of a bird's-nest pluckt in pieces, which consisteth of straw, hair, and dirt mixt together. He was apparelled in black leather, new licourd, and a short gown without any gathering in the back, faced before and behind with a boisterous bear-skin, and a red night-cap on his head. To this purport and effect was his broccing double beer oration.

Right noble Duke (*ideo nobilis quasi no-bilis*) for you have no bile or choler in you, know that our present incorporation of Wittenberg, by me the tongueman of their thankfulness, a townsman by birth, a free German by nature, an orator by art, and a scrivener by education, in all obedience and chastity, most bountifully bid you welcome to Wittenberg. Welcome! said I; O! orificiall rethorick! wipe thy everlasting mouth, and afford me a more Indian metaphor than that, for the brave princely blood of a Saxon! Oratory! uncask the barr'd hutch of thy compliments, and with the triumphantest troop in thy treasury do trewage unto him. What impotent speech with his eight parts may not specify this inestimable gift holding his peace, shall, as it were, (with tears I speak it) do whereby as it may seem or appear to manifest or declare, and yet it is, and yet it is not,

and yet it may be a diminutive oblation meritorious to your high pusillanimity and indignity. Why should I go gadding and fising after firking flantado amphibologies! wit is wit, and good will is good will. With all the wit I have, I here, according to the premises, offer up unto you the cities general good will, which is a gilded can, in manner and form following, for you and the heirs of your body lawfully begotten, to drink healths in. The scholastical squitter books clout you up canopies and foot cloths of verses. We that are good fellows, and live as merry as cup and can, will not verse upon you as they do, but must do as we can, and entertain you if it be but with a plain empty can. He hath learning enough that hath learned to drink to his first man.

Gentle Duke, without paradox be it spoken, thy horses at our own proper costs and charges shall kneed up to the knees all the while thou art here in spruce beer and Lubeck liquor. Not a dog thou bringest with thee but shall be banqueted with rhenish wine and sturgeon. On our shoulders we wear no lamb-skin or miniver like these academics, yet we can drink to the confusion of all thy enemies. Good lamb's-wool have we for their lamb-skins; and for their miniver, large minerals in our coffers. Mechanical men they call us, and not amiss; for most of us being Mœchi, that is cuckolds and whoremasters, fetch our antiquity from the temple of Mæcha, where Mahomet is hung up. Three parts of the world, America, Africa, and Asia, are of this our mœchanic religion. Nero, when he cried, O! quantus Artifex pereo, professed himself of our freedom. Insomuch as Artifex is a citizen or craftsman, as well as Carnifex a scholar or hangman. Pass on by leave into the precincts of our abomination. Beny Duke, frolick in our bower, and persuade thyself that even as garlick hath three properties, to make a man wink, drink, and stink, so we will wink on thy imperfections, drink to thy favourites, and all thy foes shall stink before us. So be it. Farewell.

The Duke laughed not a little at this ridiculous oration; but that very night, as great an ironical occasion was ministered, for he was bidden to one of the chief schools to a comedy handled by scholars. Acolastus, the prodigal child, was the name of it, which was so filthily acted, so leathernly set forth, as would have moved laughter in Heraclitus. One, as if he had been planing a clay floor, stampingly trod the stage so hard with his feet, that I thought verily he had resolved to do the carpenter that set it up some utter shame. Another flung his arms like cudgels at a pear-tree, insomuch as it was mightily dreaded that he would strike the candles that hung above their heads out of their sockets, and leave them all dark. Another did nothing but wink and make faces. There was a parasite, and he with clapping his hands and thripping his fingers seemed to dance an antic to and fro. The only thing they did well, was the prodigal child's hunger, most of the scholars being hungerly kept; and surely you would have said they had been brought up in hog's academy to learn to eat acorns, if you had seen how sedulously

they fell to them. Not a jest had they to keep their auditors from sleep but of swill and draff. Yes, now and then the servant put his hand into the dish before his master, and almost choked himself, eating slovenly and ravenously to cause sport. The next day they had solemn disputations, where Luther and Carolostadius scolded level coil. A mass of words I wot well they heapt up against the mass and the Pope, but further particulars of their disputations I remember not. I thought verily they would have worried one another with words, they were so earnest and vehement. Luther had the louder voice; Carolostadius went beyond him in beating and bouncing with his fists; *Quæ supra nos nihil ad nos*. They uttered nothing to make a man laugh, therefore, I will leave them. Many their outward gestures now and then would afford a man a morsel of mirth, of those two I mean not so much, as of all the other train of opponents and respondents. One pecked like a crane with his fore finger at every half syllable he brought forth, and nodded with his nose like an old singing man, teaching a young chorister to keep time. Another would be sure to wipe his mouth with his handkerchief at the end of every full point. And ever when he thought he had cast a figure so curiously as he dived over head and ears into his auditor's admiration, he would take occasion to stroke up his hair and twine up his mustachios twice or thrice over while they might have leisure to applaud him. A third, wavered and waggled his head, like a proud horse playing with his bridle, or as I have seen some fantastical swimmer, at every stroke train his chin sidelong over his left shoulder. A fourth, sweat and foamed at the mouth for very anger; his adversary had denied that part of his syllogism which he was not prepared to answer. A fifth, spread his arms like an usher that goes before to make room, and thript with his finger and his thumb when he thought he had tickled it with a conclusion. A sixth, hung down his countenance like a sheep, and stutted and slavered very pitifully when his invention was stept aside out of the way. A seventh, gaspt and gapt for wind, and groaned in his pronounciation as if he were hard bound with some bad argument. Gross plodders they were all, that had some learning and reading, but no wit to make use of it. They imagined the Duke took the greatest pleasure and contentment under heaven to hear them speak Latin; and as long as they talked nothing but Tully he was bound to attend them. A most vain thing it is in many universities at this day that they count him excellent eloquent, who stealeth not whole phrases, but whole pages out of Tully. If, of a number of shreds of his sentences, he can shape an oration, from all the world he carries it away, although in truth it be no more than a fool's coat of many colours. No invention or matter have they of their own, but tack up a style of his stale gallimaufries. The leaden headed Germans first began this, and we Englishmen have surfeited their absurd imitation. I pity Nizolius that had nothing to do but pick threads ends out of an old overworn garment.

This is but by the way; we must look back to our disputants. One amongst the rest thinking to be more conceited than his fellows, seeing the Duke have a dog he loved well, which sat by him on the terras, converted all his oration to him, and not a hair of his tail but he kembd out with comparisons. So to have courted him if he were a bitch had been very suspicious. Another commented and descanted on the Duke's staff, new tipping it with many quaint epithets. Some cast his nativity, and promised him he should not die till the day of judgment. Omitting further superfluities of this stamp in this general assembly, we found intermixed that abundant scholar Cornelius Agrippa. At that time he bare the fame to be the greatest conjurer in Christendom. Scoto, that did the juggling tricks here before the Queen, never came near him one quarter in magick reputation. The doctors of Wittenberg doating on the rumour that went of him, desired him before the Duke and them to do something extraordinary memorable.

One requested to see pleasant Plautus, and that he would shew them in what habit he went, and with what countenance he looked, when he ground corn in the mill. Another had half a month's mind to Ovid and his hook nose. Erasmus, who was not wanting to that honourable meeting, requested to see Tully in that same grace and majesty he pleaded his oration pro Roscio Amerino. Affirming, that till in reason he beheld his importunity of pleading, he would not be persuaded any man could carry away a manifest case with rhetoric so strangely. To Erasmus' petition he easily condescended; and willing the doctors at such an hour to hold their convocation, and every one to keep him in his place without moving: at the time prefixed in entered Tully, ascended his pleading place, and declaimed verbatim the forenamed oration, but with such astonishing amazement, with such fervent exaltation of spirit, with such soul-stirring gestures, that all his auditors were ready to instal his guilty client for a God.

Great was the concourse of glory Agrippa drew to him with this one feat. And indeed he was so cloyed with men which came to behold him, that he was fain, sooner than he would, to return to the Emperor's court from whence he came, and leave Wittenberg before he would. With him we travelled along, having purchased his acquaintance a little before. By the way as we went, my master and I agreed to change names. It was concluded betwixt us, that I should be the Earl of Surrey, and he my man, only because in his own person, which he would not have reproached, he meant to take more liberty of behaviour. As for my carriage he knew he was to tune it at a key, either high or low, or as he list.

To the Emperor's court we came, where our entertainment was every way plentiful; carouses we had in whole gallons instead of quart pots. Not a health was given us but contained well near a hogshead. The customs of the country we

were eager to be instructed in, but nothing we could learn but this, that ever at the Emperor's coronation there is an ox roasted with a stag in the belly, and that stag in his belly hath a kid, and that kid is stuffed full of birds. Some courtiers, to weary out time, would tell us further tales of Cornelius Agrippa, and how, when Sir Thomas More our countryman was there, he shewed him the whole destruction of Troy in a dream. How the Lord Cromwell being the King's ambassador there in like case, in a perspective glass he set before his eyes, King Henry the Eighth with all his Lords hunting in his forest at Windsor; and when he came into his study, and was very urgent to be partaker of some rare experiment, that he might report when he came into England, he willed him amongst two thousand great books to take down which he list, and begin to read one line in any place, and without book he would rehearse twenty leaves following. Cromwell did so, and in many books tried him, when in every thing he exceeded his promise and conquered his expectation. To Charles the Fifth, then emperor, they reported how he shewed the nine worthies, David, Solomon, Gideon, and the rest, in that similitude and likeness that they lived upon earth. My master and I having by the highway-side gotten some reasonable familiarity with him, upon this access of miracles imputed to him, resolved to request him something in our own behalfs. I, because I was his suborned lord and master, desired him to see the lively image of Geraldine, his love, in the glass, and what at that instant she did, and with whom she was talking. He shewed her us, without more ado, sick, weeping on her bed, and resolved all into devout religion for the absence of her Lord. At the sight thereof he could in no wise refrain, though he had took upon him the condition of a servant; but he must forthwith frame this extemporal ditty:—

All soul, no earthly flesh, why dost thou fade?

All gold, no worthless dross, why lookst thou pale?

Sickness, how durs't thou one so fair invade,

Too base infirmity to work her bale?

Heaven, be distemperd since she grieved pines,

Never be dry these my sad plaintive lines.

Perch thou my spirit on her silver breasts,

And with their pain redoubled musick beatings;

Let them toss thee to world where all toil rests,

Where bliss is subject to no fears defeatings.

Her praise I tune whose tongue doth tune the spheres,

And gets new muses in her hearers ears.

Stars fall to fetch fresh light from her rich eyes,
 Her bright brow drives the sun to clouds beneath;
 Her hairs reflex with red streaks paints the skies,
 Sweet morn and evening dew flows from her breath.
 Phœbe rules tides, she my tears tides forth draws;
 In her sick bed love sits and maketh laws.
 Her dainty limbs tinsel her silk soft sheets;
 Her rose-crown'd cheeks eclipse my dazzled sight;
 O glass! with too much joy my thoughts thou greets!
 And yet thou shewst me day but by twilight.
 I'll kiss thee for the kindness I have felt,
 Her lips one kiss would unto nectar melt.

Though the Emperor's court and the extraordinary edifying company of Cornelius Agrippa might have been arguments of weight to have arrested us a little longer there, yet Italy still stuck as a great mote in my master's eye; he thought he had travelled no farther than Wales, till he had took survey of that country, which was such a curious mould of wits. To cut off blind ambages by the highway side, we made a long stride, and got to Venice in short time, where, having scarce looked about us, a precious supernatural pander, apparelled in all points like a gentleman, and having half a dozen several languages in his purse, entertained us in our own tongue very paraphrastically and eloquently, and maugre all other pretended acquaintance would have us, in a violent kind of courtesy, to be the guests of his appointment. His name was Petro de Campo Frego. The place whither he brought us, was a pernicious courtesan's house named Tabitha the sempstress, a wench that could set as civil a face on it, as Chastity's first martyr Lucretia. What will you conceit to be in any saint's house that was there to seek? Books, pictures, beads, crucifixes? why! there was a haberdasher's shop of them in every chamber. I warrant you should not see one set of her neckerchief perverted or turned awry; not a piece of a hair displaced. On her beds there was not a wrinkle of any wallowing to be found; her pillows bare out as smooth as a groaning wive's belly, and yet she was a Turk and an infidel, and had more doings than all her neighbours besides. As for our money they used like emperors; I was master as you heard before, and my master, the Earl, was but as my chief man whom I made my companion. So it happened (as iniquity will out at one time or other) that she perceiving my expence had no more vent than it should have, fell in with my supposed servant my man, and gave him half a promise of marriage, if he would help to make me away, that she and he might enjoy the jewels and wealth that I had.

The difficulty of the condition thus she explained unto him. Her house stood upon vaults, which in two hundred years together were never searched; who came into her house none took notice of; his fellow-servants that knew of his master's abode there, should be all dispatched by him, as from his master, into sundry parts of the city about business; and when they returned, answer should be made that he lay not there any more, but had removed to Padua since their departure, and thither they must follow him. Now (quoth she) if you be disposed to make him away in their absence, you shall have my house at command. Stab, poison, or shoot him through with a pistol, all is one; into the vault he shall be thrown when the deed is done. On my bare honesty it was a crafty quean; for she had enacted with herself if he had been my legitimate servant, (as he was one that served and supplied my necessities,) when he had murdered me, to have accused him of the murder, and made all that I had her's; as I carried all my master's wealth, money, jewels, rings, or bills of exchange continually about me. He very subtilly consented to her stratagem at the first motion; kill me he would, that heaven's could not withstand; and a pistol was the predestinate engine which must deliver the parting blow. God wot! I was a raw young squire, and my master dealt Judasly with me, for he told me every thing that she and he agreed of: wherefore I could not possibly prevent it, but as a man would say, avoid it. The execution day aspired to his utmost devolution; into my chamber came my honourable attendant with his pistol charged by his side very suspiciously, and sullenly Lady Tabitha and Petro de Campo Frego, her pander, followed him at the hard heels. At their entrance, I saluted them all very familiarly and merrily, and began to impart unto them what disquiet dreams had disturbed me the last night. I dreamed, quoth I, that my man Brunquell here (for no better name got he of me) came into my chamber, with a pistol charged under his arm, to kill me; and that he was suborned by you Mistress Tabitha, and my very good friend here Petro de Campo Frego. God send it turn to good, for it hath affrighted me above measure. As they were ready to enter into a colourable common place of the deceitful frivolousness of dreams, my trusty servant Brunquell stood quivering and quaking every joint of him, and (as it was before compacted between us) let his pistol drop from him on the sudden, wherewith I started out of my bed, and drew my rapier and cried murder! murder!

My servant, or my master, which you will, I took roughly by the collar, and threatned to run him through incontinent, if he confest not the truth. He, as it were, stricken with remorse of conscience (God be with him, for he could counterfeit most daintily) down on his knees, asked me forgiveness, and impeached Tabitha and Petro de Campo Frego, as guilty of subornation. I very mildly and gravely gave him audience; rail on them I did not, after his tale was ended; but

said, I would try what the law could do. Conspiracy by the custom of their country was a capital offence, and what custom or justice might afford they should be all sure to feel. I could, (quoth I) acquit myself otherwise, but it is not for a stranger to be his own carver in revenge. Not a word more with Tabitha; but die she would before God or the devil would have her; she sounded and revived, and then sounded again, and after she revived, again sighed heavily, spoke faintly and pitifully, yea, and so pitifully, as if a man had not known the pranks of harlots before, he would have melted in commiseration. Tears, sighs, and doleful tuned words could not make any forcible claim to my stony ears; it was the glistening crowns that I hungered and thirsted after; and with them, for all her mock holiday gestures she was fain to come off, before I would condescend to any bargain of silence. So it fortune'd (fie upon that unfortunate word of fortune) that this quean, this courtesan, this common of ten thousand, so bribing me not to betray her, had given me a great deal of counterfeit gold, which she had received of a coiner to make away a little before. Amongst the gross sum of my bribery, I, silly milksop, mistrusting no deceit under an angel of light, took what she gave me, never turned it over, for which! O falsehood in fair shew! my master and I had like to have been turned over. He that is a knight errant exercised in the affairs of ladies and gentlewomen hath more places to send money to, than the devil hath to send his spirits to. There was a delicate wench called Flauia Aemilia, lodging in St Sparkes Street at a goldsmiths, which I would fain have had to the grand test, to try whether she were current in alchymy or no. Aye me! she was but a counterfeit slip; for, she not only gave me slip, but had well nigh made me a slip-string. To her I sent my gold to beg an hour of grace. Ah! graceless fornicatress, my hostess and she were confederate, who having gotten but one piece of my ill gold into their hands, devised the means to make me immortal. I could drink for anger till my head ached, to think how I was abused. Shall I shame the devil and speak the truth? to prison was I sent as principal, and my master as accessory; nor was it to a prison neither but to the master of the mints house, who, though partly our judge, and a most severe upright justice in his own nature, extremely seemed to condole our ignorant estate, and without all peradventure a present redress he had ministered; if certain of our countrymen, hearing an English Earl was apprehended for coining, had not come to visit us. An ill planet brought them thither, for at the first glance they knew the servant of my Secrecies to be the Earl of Surrey, and I (not worthy to be named I) an outcast of his cup or his pantofles: thence, thence sprung the full period of our infelicity. The master of the mint our whilom refresher and consolation, now took part against us; he thought we had a mint in our head of mischievous conspiracies against their state: heavens, bear witness with us it was not so! heavens will not always come to witness when they are called.

To a straighter ward were we committed: that which we have impatiently transgressed must be answered. O! the heathen high pass and the intrinsical legerdemain of our special approved good pander, Petro de Campo Frego. He, although he dipt in the same dish with us every day, seeming to labour our cause very importunately, and had interpreted for us to the state from the beginning, yet, was one of those treacherous brother Trulies, and abused us most clerkly. He interpreted to us with a pestilence, for whereas we stood obstinately upon it, we were wrongfully detained, and that it was nought but a malicious practice of sinful Tabitha our late hostess, he, by a fine cony-catching corrupt translation, made us plainly to confess, and cry Miserere, ere we had need of our neck-verse.

During the time we lay close and took physick in this castle of contemplation, there was a Magnificos wife of good calling sent in to bear us company. Her husband's name was Castaldo; she, hight Diamante. The cause of her committing, was an ungrounded jealous suspicion, which her doating husband had conceived of her chastity. One Isaac Medicus, a bergomast, was the man he chose to make him a monster; who, being a courtier and repairing to his house very often, neither for love of him nor his wife, but only with a drift to borrow money of a pawn of ware and parchment, when he saw his expectation deluded, and that Castaldo was too chary for him to close with, he, privily, with purpose of revenge, gave out amongst his copemates, that he resorted to Castaldo's house for no other end but to cuckold him, and doubtfully he talked that he had, and he had not obtained, his suit. Rings which he borrowed of a light courtesan that he used to, he would feign to be taken from her fingers; and in sum, so handled the matter, that Castaldo exclaimed; out strumpet! fire penny hackster! away with her to prison.

As glad were we, almost, as if they had given us liberty that fortune lent us such a sweet pew-fellow. A pretty round-faced wench was it, with black eye brows, a high forehead, a little mouth, and a sharp nose, as fat and plump every part of her as a plover; a skin as sleek and soft as the back of a swan; it doth me good when I remember her. Like a bird she tript on the ground, and bare out as majestical as an ostrich. With a licorous rolling eye fixed piercing on the earth, and sometimes scornfully darted on the t'one side; she figured forth a high discontained disdain; much like a prince puffing and storming at the treason of some mighty subject fled lately out of his power. Her very countenance repiningly wrathful, and yet clear and unwrinkled, would have confirmed the clearness of her conscience to the austere judge in the world. If, in any thing she were culpable, it was in being too melancholy chaste, and shewing herself as courteous of her beauty as her husband was of his bags. Many are honest because they know not how to be dishonest: she thought there was no pleasure in stolen bread, because there was no pleasure in an old man's bed. It is almost impossible that any woman should be excellently witty, and not make the utmost penny of her

beauty. This age, and this country of ours admit of some miraculous exceptions, but former times are my constant informers. Those that have quick motions of wit, have quick motions in every thing: iron only needs many strokes; only iron wits are not won without a long siege of entreaty. Gold easily bends: the most ingenious minds are easiest moved. Ingenium nobis molle Thalia dedit, saith Sappho to Phaon. Who hath no merciful mild mistress, I will maintain, hath no witty, but a clownish dull phlegmatic puppy to his mistress.

This Magnifico's wife was a good loving soul, that had mettle enough in her to make a good wit of, but being never removed from under her mother's and her husband's wing, it was not moulded and fashioned as it ought. Causeless mistrust is able to drive deceit into a simple woman's head. I durst pawn the credit of a page, which is worth alms-ace at all times, that she was immaculate honest till she met with us in prison. Marry what temptations she had then, when fire and flax were put together, conceit with yourselves; but hold my master excusable.

Alack! he was too virtuous to make her vicious. He stood upon religion and conscience, what a heinous thing it was to subvert God's ordinance. This was all the injury he would offer her; sometimes he would imagine her in a melancholy humour to be his Geraldine, and court her in terms correspondent; nay, he would swear she was his Geraldine, and take her white hand and wipe his eyes with it, as though the very touch of her might stanch his anguish. Now would he kneel and kiss the ground as holy ground which she vouchsafed to bless from barrenness by her steps. Who would have learned to write an excellent passion, might have been a perfect tragic poet, had he but attended half the extremity of his lament. Passion upon passion would throng one on another's neck; he would praise her beyond the moon and stars, and that so sweetly and ravishingly, as I persuade myself he was more in love with his own curious forming fancy than her face, and truth it is, many become passionate lovers only to win praise to their wits.

He praised, he prayed, he desired and besought her to pity him that perished for her; from this his entranced mistaking extacy could no man remove him. Who loveth resolutely, will include every thing under the name of his love. From prose he would leap into verse, and with these or such like ryhmes assault her.

If I must die, O! let me choose my death!
Suck out my soul with kisses cruel maid;
In thy breasts crystal balls embalm my breath,
Dole it all out in sighs when I am laid.
Thy lips on mine like cupping glasses clasp;
Let our tongues meet, and strive as they would sting.
Crush out my wind with one strait girding grasp;
Stabs on my heart keep time, whilst thou dost sing.

Thy eyes like searing irons burn out mine,
 In thy fair tresses stifle me out right;
 Like Circes change me to a loathsome swine,
 So I may live for ever in thy sight.
 Into heaven's joys can none profoundly see,
 Except, that first they meditate on thee.

Sadly and verily, if my master said true, I should if I were a wench, make many men quickly immortal. What is it, what is it for a maid fair and fresh to spend a little lip salve on a hungry lover! My Master beat the bush and kept a coil and a prating, but I caught the bird; simplicity and plainness shall carry it away in another world. God wot he was, Petro Desperato, when I stepping to her with a dunstable tale made up my market. A holy requiem to their souls that think to woo women with riddles. I had some cunning plot you must suppose, to bring this about. Her husband had abused her, and it was very necessary she should be revenged. Seldom do they prove patient martyrs who are punished unjustly. One way or other they will cry quittance whatsoever it cost them. No other apt means had this poor she captived Cicely, to work her hoddy peak husband a proportionable plague to his jealousy, but to give his head his full lodging of infamy: she thought she would make him complain for something, that now was so hard bound with an heretical opinion. How I dealt with her guess, gentle reader. Subaudi, that I was in prison, and she was my jailor.

Means there was made after a months or two durance, by Mr. John Russell, a gentleman of King Henry the Eighth's chamber, who then lay lieger at Venice for England, that our cause should be favourably heard. At that time was Monsieur Petro Aretino, searcher and chief Inquisitor for the College of Courtezans. Divers and sundry ways was this Aretine beholden to the King of England, especially, for this foresaid Mr. Russell, a little before he had sent him a pension of four hundred crowns yearly, during his life. Very forcibly was he dwelt withall, to strain the utmost of his credit for our delivery. Nothing at his hands we sought, but that the courtezan might be more narrowly sifted and examined. Such and so extraordinary was his care and industry herein, that within few days after mistress Tabitha and her pander cried, Peccaui confiteor, and we were presently discharged; they for example sake executed. Most honourably after our enlargement of the state were we used, and had sufficient recompence for all our troubles and wrongs.

My principal subject plucks me by the elbow. Diamante Castaldo's the magnifico's wife, after my enlargement proved to be with child, at which instant there grew an unsatiable famine in Venice, wherein, whether it were for mere niggardise, or that Castaldo still eat out his heart with jealousy, Saint Anne be

our record, he turned up the heels very devoutly. To Master Aretine after this, once more very dutifully I appealed, requested him of favour, acknowledged former gratuities; he made no more humming or halting, but in despite of her husband's kinsfolks, gave her her Nunc dimittis, and so established her free of my company.

Being out, and fully possest of her husband's goods, she invested me in the state of a monarch. Because the time of child-birth drew nigh, and she could not remain in Venice but discredited, she decreed to travel whithersoever I would conduct her. To see Italy throughout was my proposed scope, and that way if she would travel, have with her; I had wherewithal to relieve her.

From my master by her full hand provokement I parted without leave. The state of an Earl he had thrust upon me before, and now I would not bate him an inch of it. Through all the cities past I by no other name but the young Earl of Surrey; my pomp, my apparel, train, and expence, was nothing inferior to his, my looks were as lofty, my words as magnificent. Memorandum, that Florence being the principal scope of my master's course, missing me, he journeyed thither without interruption. By the way as he went, he heard of another Earl of Surrey besides himself, which caused him make more haste to fetch me in, whom he little dreamed of had such art in my budget, to separate the shadow from the body. Overtake me at Florence he did, where sitting in my pontificalibus with my courtesan at supper, like Anthony and Cleopatra, when they quaff standing bowls of wine spiced with pearl together, he stole in 'ere we sent for him, and bade much good it us, and asked us whether we wanted any guests. If he had asked me whether I would have hanged myself, his question had been more acceptable. He that had then ungartered me, might have plucked out my heart at my hams.

My soul which was made to soar upward, now sought for passage downward; my blood, as the blushing Sabine maids surprized on the sudden by the soldiers of Romulus ran to the noblest of blood amongst them for succour, that were in no less, if not greater danger; so did it run for refuge to the noblest of his blood about my heart assembled, that stood in more need itself of comfort and refuge. A trembling earthquake or shaking fever assailed either of us; and I think unfeignedly, if he seeing our faint heart agony, had not soon cheered and refreshed us, the dogs had gone together by the ears under the table for our fear-dropped limbs.

Instead of menacing or affrighting me with his sword or his frowns, for my superlative presumption, he burst out into a laughter above Ela, to think how bravely napping he had took us, and how notably we were dampt and struck dead in the nest, with the unexpected view of his presence.

Ab, quoth he, my noble lord, (after his tongue had borrowed a little leave of

his laughter) is it my luck to visit you thus unlook'd for? I am sure you will bid me welcome, if it be but for the name's sake. It is a wonder to see two English Earls of one house, at one time together in Italy. I hearing him so pleasant, began to gather up my spirits, and replied as boldly as I durst; Sir, you are welcome, your name which I borrowed I have not abused. Some large sums of money this, my sweet Mistress Diamante, hath made me master of, which I knew not how better to employ for the honour of my country, than by spending it munificently under your name. No Englishman would I have renowned for bounty, magnificence, and courtesy, but you; under your colours all my meritorious works I was desirous to shroud. Deem it no insolence to add increase to your fame. Had I basely and beggarly, wanting ability to support any part of your royalty, undertook the estimation of this high calling, your allegement of injury had been the greater, and my defence less authorized. It will be thought but a policy of yours, thus to send one before you, who being a follower of yours, shall keep and uphold the estate and port of an Earl. I have known many Earls myself that in their own persons would go very plain, but delighted to have one that belonged to them (being loaden with jewels, apparelled in cloth of gold, and all the rich embroidery that might be) to stand bare-headed unto him; arguing thus much, that if the greatest men went not more sumptuous, how more great than the greatest was he that could command one going so sumptuous. A nobleman's glory appeareth in nothing so much as in the pomp of his attendants. What is the glory of the sun, but that the moon, and so many millions of stars, borrow their light from him? If you can reprehend me of any one illiberal licentious action I have di-paraged your name with, heap shame on me prodigally; I beg no pardon or pity.

Non veniunt in idem pudor et amor. He was loth to detract from one that he loved so. Beholding with his eyes that I clipped not the wings of his honour, but rather increased them with additions of expence, he entreated me as if I had been an ambassador, he gave me his hand and swore he had no more hearts but one, and I should have half of it, in that I so enhanced his obscured reputation. One thing, quoth he, my sweet Jack, I will entreat thee, (it shall be but one) that though I am well pleased thou shouldest be the ape of my birthright, (as what nobleman hath not his ape and his fool) yet that thou be an ape without a clog, not carry thy courtesan with thee. I told him that a king could do nothing without his treasury; this courtesan was my purse-bearer, my countenance, and supporter. My earldom I would sooner resign than part with such a special benefactress. Resign it I will, however, since I am thus challenged of stolen goods by the true owner: Lo! into my former state I return again, poor Jack Wilton, and your servant am I, as I was at the beginning; and so will I persevere to my life's ending.

That theme was quickly cut off, and other talk entered in place, of what I have forgot; but talk it was, and talk let it be, and talk it shall be, for I do not mean here to remember it. We supped, we got to bed, we rose in the morning. On my master I waited, and the first thing he did after he was up, he went and visited the house where his Geraldine was born, at sight whereof he was so impassioned, that in the open street but for me, he would have made an oration in praise of it. Into it we were conducted, and shewed each several room thereto appertaining. O! but when he came to the chamber where his Geraldine's clear sun-beams first thrust themselves into this cloud of flesh, and acquainted mortality with the purity of angels, then did his mouth overflow with magnificats, his tongue thrust the stars out of Heaven, and eclipsed the sun and moon with comparisons: Geraldine was the soul of Heaven, sole daughter and heir to primus motor. The alchymy of his eloquence, out of the incomprehensible drossy matter of clouds and air, distilled no more quintessence than would make his Geraldine complete fair.

In praise of the chamber that was so illuminatively honoured with her radiant conception, he penned this sonnet:—

Fair room! the presence of sweet beauty's pride;
 The place the sun upon the earth did hold,
 When Phaëton his chariot did misguide;
 The tower where Jove rain'd down himself in gold;
 Prostrate as holy ground I'll worship thee.
 Our Ladies' chapel henceforth be thou nam'd,
 Here first love's queen put on mortality,
 And with her beauty all the world inflam'd.
 Heav'n's chambers harboring fiery cherubins,
 Are not with thee in glory to compare.
 Lightning it is, not light which in thee shines,
 None enter thee but straight entranced are.
 O! if Elizium be above the ground,
 Then here it is where nought but joy is found.

Many other poems and epigrams in that chamber's patient alabaster inclosure (which her melting eyes long sithence had softened) were curiously engraved. Diamonds thought themselves *Dii mundi*, if they might but carve her name on the naked glass. With them on it did he anatomize these body-wanting mots, *Dulce puella malum est. Quod fugit ipse sequor. Amor est mihi causa sequendi. O! infelix ego. Cur vidi! cur perii! Non patienter amo. Tantum patiaturs amari.* After the view of these venereal monuments, he published a proud challenge in the Duke of Florence's court, against all comers, (whether Christians, Turks,

Canibals, Jews, or Saracens,) in defence of his Geraldine's beauty. More mildly was it accepted, in that she whom he defended, was a town-born child of that city, or else the pride of the Italian would have prevented him 'ere he should have come to perform it. The Duke of Florence nevertheless sent for him, and demanded him of his estate, and the reason that drew him thereto; which when he was advertized of to the full, he granted all countries whatsoever, as well enemies and outlaws as friends and confederates, free access and regress into his dominions unmolested, until that insolent trial were ended.

The right honourable and ever renowned Lord Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, my singular good lord and master, entered the lists after this order. His armour was all intermixed with lilies and roses, and the bases thereof bordered with nettles and weeds, signifying stings, crosses, and overgrowing incumbrances in his love; his helmet round proportioned like a gardener's water pot, from which seemed to issue forth small thrids of water, like cittern strings, that not only did moisten the lilies and roses, but did fructify as well as the nettles and weeds, and made them overgrow their liege lords. Whereby he did import this much, that the tears that issued from his brain, as those artificial distillations issued from the well counterfeit water-pot on his head, watered and gave life as well to his mistress disdain (resembled to nettles and weeds) as increase of glory to her care-causing beauty, (comprehended under the lilies and roses). The symbol thereto annexed was this; *Ex lachrimis lachrimæ*.

The trappings of his horse were pounced and bolstered out with rough plumed silver plush, in full proportion and shape of an ostrich. On the breast of the horse were the fore parts of this greedy bird advanced, whence as his manner is, he reached out his long neck to the reins of the bridle, thinking they had been iron, and still seemed to gape after the golden bit, and ever as the courser did raise or curvet, to have swallowed it half in. His wings, which he never useth but running, being spread full sail made his lusty steed as proud under him as he had been some other Pegasus, and so quiveringly and tenderly were these his broad wings bound to either side of him, that as he paced up and down the tilt-yard in his majesty 'ere the knights were entered, they seemed wantonly to fan in his face and make a flickering sound, such as eagles do, swiftly pursuing their prey in the air. On either of his wings, as the ostrich hath a sharp goad or prick wherewith he spurreth himself forward in his sail-assisted race, so this artificial ostrich, on the imbent knuckle of the pinion of either wing, had embossed christal eyes affixed, wherein wheelwise were circularly ingrafted, sharp pointed diamonds, as rays from those eyes derived, that like the rowels of a spur ran deep into his horse sides, and made him more eager in his course.

Such a fine dim shine did these crystal eyes and these round enranked diamonds make through their bowln swelling bowers of feathers, as if it had been a candle in a paper lanthorn, or a glow-worm in a bush by night, glistering through

the leaves and briers. The tail of the ostrich being short and thick, served very fitly as a plume to trick up his horse tail with, so that every part of him was as naturally coapted as might be. The word to this device was; *Aculeolatus*, I spread my wings only spurred with her eyes. The moral of the whole is this, that as the ostrich, the most burning-sighted bird of all others, (insomuch as the female of them hatcheth not her eggs by covering them, but by the effectual rays of her eyes), as he I say outstrippeth the nimblest trippers of his feathered condition in footmanship, only spurred on with the needle-quickenning goad under his side, so he no less burning-sighted than the ostrich, spurred on to the race of honour by the sweet rays of his mistress eyes, persuaded himself he should outstrip all other in running to the goal of glory, only animated and incited by her excellence. And as the ostrich will eat iron, swallow any hard metal whatsoever, so would he refuse no iron adventure, no hard task whatsoever, to sit in the grace of so fair a commander. The order of his shield was this, it was framed like a burning glass, beset round with flame-coloured feathers, on the outside whereof was his mistress picture adorned as beautiful as art could portraiture, on the inside a naked sword tied in a true-love knot, the mot; *Militat omnis amans*, signifying that in a true-love knot his sword was tied to defend and maintain the high features of his mistress.

Next him entered the black knight, whose beaver was pointed all torn and bloody, as though he had new come from combating with a bear, his head piece seemed to be a little oven fraught full with smothering flames, for nothing but sulphur and smoke voided out at the clefts of his beaver. His bases were all embroidered with snakes and adders, ingendered of the abundance of innocent blood that was shed. His horse's trappings were throughout bespangled with honey spots, which are no blemishes, but ornaments. On his shield he bare the sun full shining on a dial at his going down, the word *Sufficit tandem*.

After him followed the knight of the Dole, whose armour was a stubbed tree overgrown with ivy, his helmet fashioned like an owl sitting on the top of this ivy. On his bases were wrought all kind of birds as on the ground wondering about him, the word; *Ideo mirum quia monstum*. His horse's furniture was framed like a cart, scattering whole sheaves of corn amongst hogs, the word, *Liberalitas liberalitate perit*. On his shield a bee intangled in sheeps' wool, the mot; *Fronti nulla fides*. The fourth that succeeded, was a well-proportioned knight in an armour imitating rust, whose head piece was pre-figured like flowers growing in a narrow pot, where they had not any space to spread their roots or disperse their flourishing. His bases embellished with open armed hands scattering gold amongst truncheons, the word; *Cura futuri est*. His horse was harnessed with leaden chains, having the outside gilt, or at least saffroned instead of gilt, to decypher a holy or golden pretence of a covetous purpose, the sentence, *Canis*

capilli mei compedes. On his target he had a number of crawling worms kept under by a block, the burthen; Speramus lucem.

The fifth was the forsaken knight, whose helmet was crowned with nothing but cypress and willow garlands, over his armour he had on Hymen's nuptial robe dyed in a dusky pelow, and all to be defaced and discoloured with spots and stains. The enigma, Nos quosque floruimus; as who should say, we have been in fashion. His steed was adorned with orange tawny eyes, such as those have that have the yellow fancies, that make all things yellow they look upon, with this brief, Qui invident egent, those that envy are hungry.

The sixth was the knight of the storms, whose helmet was round moulded like the moon, and all his armour like waves, whereon the shine of the moon slightly silvered, perfectly represented moonshine in the water, his bases were the banks or shores that bounded in the streams. The spoke was this, Frustra pius, as much to say, as fruitless service. On his shield he set forth a lion driven from his prey by a dunghill cock. The word, Non vi sed voce; not by violence but by his voice.

The seventh had, like the giants that sought to scale Heaven in despite of Jupiter, a mount overwhelming his head and whole body. His bases out-laid with arms and legs which the skirts of that mountain left uncovered. Under this did he characterise a man desirous to climb to the heaven of honour, kept under with the mountain of his prince's commands, and yet had he arms and legs exempted from the suppression of that mountain. The word, Tu mihi criminis author, (alluding to his prince's command) thou art the occasion of my imputed cowardice. His horse was trapped in the earthly strings of tree roots, which though their encrease was stubbed down to the ground, yet they were not utterly deaded, but hoped for an after resurrection. The word, Spe alor; I hope for a spring. Upon his shield he bare a ball stricken down with a man's hand that it might mount. The word, Ferior ut efferar, I suffer myself to be contemned because I will climb.

The eighth had all his armour throughout engrailed like a crabbed briery hawthorn bush, out of which notwithstanding sprung (as a good child of an ill father) fragrant blossoms of delightful May flowers, that made, according to the nature of May, a most odoriferous smell. In midst of this his snowy curled top round wrapped together, on the ascending of his crest sat a solitary nightingale close encaged with a thorn at her breast, having this mot in her mouth, Luctus monumenta manebunt. At the foot of this bush represented on his bases, lay a number of black swoln toads gasping for wind, and summer-lived grasshoppers gaping after dew, both which were choaked with excessive drought, and for want of shade. The word, Non sine vulnere viresco, I sprung not without impediments; alluding to the toads and such like, that erst lay lurking at his roots, but now

were turned out, and near choaked with drought. His horse was suited in black sandy earth, (as adjacent to this bush) which was here and there patched with short burnt grass, and as thick ink dropped with toiling ants and emmets as ever it might crawl, who in the full of the summer moon, (ruddy garnished on his horse's forehead) hoarded up their provision of grain against winter. The word *Victrix fortunæ sapientia*; providence prevents misfortune. On his shield he set forth the picture of death doing alms deeds to a number of poor desolate children. The word; *Nemo alius explicat*, no other man takes pity upon us. What his meaning was herein I cannot imagine, except death had done him and his brethren some great good turn in ridding them of some untoward parent or kinsman that would have been their confusion, for else I cannot see how death should have been said to do alms deeds, except he had deprived them suddenly of their lives, to deliver them out of some further misery, which could not in anywise be, because they were yet living.

The ninth was the infant knight, who on his armour had enamelled a poor young infant, put into a ship without tackling, masts, furniture, or any thing. This weather-beaten and ill-apparelled ship was shadowed on his bases, and the slender compass of his body set forth the right picture of an infant. The waves wherein the ship was tossed, were fretted on his steed's trappings so movingly, that ever as he offered to bound or stir, they seemed to bounce and toss, and sparkle brine out of their hoary silver billows. Their mot; *Inopem me copia fecit*; as much to say as, the rich prey makes the thief. On his shield he expressed an old goat, that made a young tree to wither only with biting it. The word thereto; *Primo extinguo in cævo*, I am frostbitten ere I come out of the blade.

It were here too tedious to manifest all the discontented or amorous devices that were used in that tournament. The shields only of some few I will touch to make short work. One bare for his impress the eyes of young swallows coming again after they were plucked out, with this mot; *Et addit et addimit*, your beauty both bereaves and restores my sight. Another a siren smiling when the sea rageth and ships are overwhelmed, including a cruel woman, that laughs, sings, and scorns at her lover's tears, and the tempests of his despair, the word; *Cuncta pereunt*, all my labour is ill employed. A third being troubled with a cursed, a treacherous, and wanton wife, used this similitude; on his shield he caused to be limned Pompey's ordinance for paracides, as namely, a man put into a sack with a cock, a serpent and an ape, interpreting that his wife was a cock for her crowing, a serpent for her stinging, and an ape for her inconstant wantonness, with which ill qualities he was so beset, that thereby he was thrown into a sea of grief; the word, *Extremum malorum mulier*; the utmost of evils is a woman. A fourth, who being a person of suspected religion, was continually haunted with intelligencers and spies that thought to prey upon him for that he

had, he could not devise which way to shake them off, but by making away that he had. To obscure this, he used no other fancy but a number of blind flies, whose eyes the cold had closed, the word; *Aurum reddit acutissimum*, Gold is the only physick for the eyesight. A fifth, whose mistress was fallen into a consumption, and yet would condescend to no treaty of love, emblazoned for his complaint, grapes that withered for want of pressing. The ditty to the mot, *Quid regna sine usu*. I will rehearse no more, but I have an hundred other, let this be the upshot of those shows; they were the admirablest that ever Florence yielded. To particularize their manner of encounter, were to describe the whole art of tilting. Some had like to have fallen over their horses neck, and so break their necks in breaking their staves. Others ran at a buckle instead of a button, and peradventure whetted their spears points, idly gliding on their enemies sides, but did no other harm. Others ran across at their adversaries left elbow, yea, and by your leave sometimes let not the lists 'scape scot-free they were so eager. Others because they would be sure not to be unsaddled with the shock, when they came to the spears utmost proof, they threw it over the right shoulder, and so tilted backward, for forward they durst not. Another had a monstrous spite at the pommel of his rival's saddle, and thought to have thrust his spear 'twixt his legs without raising any skin, and carried him clean away on it as a cool staff. Another held his spear to his nose, or his nose to his spear, as though he had been discharging a caliver, and ran at the right foot of his fellow's steed. Only the Earl of Surrey my master observed the true measures of honour, and made all his encounterers new scour their armour in the dust. So great was his glory that day, as Geraldine was thereby eternally glorified. Never such a bountiful master came amongst the heralds (not that he did enrich them with any plentiful purse largess) but that by his stern assaults he tilted them more rich offals of bases, of helmets, of armour, than the rent of their offices came to in ten years before.

What would you have more, the trumpets proclaimed him master of the field; the trumpets proclaimed Geraldine the exceptionless fairest of women. Every one strived to magnify him more than other. The Duke of Florence, whose name (as my memory serveth me) was Pascal de Medicis, offered him such large proffers to stay with him as it were incredible to report. He would not; his desire was as he had done in Florence, so to proceed throughout all the chief cities in Italy. If you ask why he began not this at Venice first, it was because he would let Florence, his mistress's native city, have the maidenhead of his chivalry. As he came back again he thought to have enacted something there worthy the annals of posterity, but he was debarred both of that and all his other determinations, for continuing in feasting and banqueting with the Duke of Florence and the Princes of Italy there assembled; post-haste letters came to

him from the King his master, to return as speedily as he could possibly into England, whereby his fame was quite cut off by the shins, and there was no reprieve but Baze las manos, he must into England, and I with my courtesan travelled forward in Italy.

What adventures happened him after we parted I am ignorant; but Florence we both forsook, and I having a wonderful ardent inclination to see Rome, the queen of the world, a metropolitan mistress of all other cities, made thither with my bag and baggage as fast as I could.

No. IX.

An Instrument for the Stewardship of the University of Cambridge, granted to Surrey conjointly with the Duke of Norfolk.

Omnibus ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit; Nos Stephanus Wintonensis Episcopus, summus Cancellarius Almæ Academiæ Cantabrigiæ; et Franciscus Maletus Sacræ Theologia Professor, ejusdem Academiæ Vice-cancellarius, cætusque unanimis regentium et non regentium; salutem.

Sciatis, nos præfatum Stephanum Cancellarium, ac Franciscum Vice-cancellarium cætumque regentium et non regentium dedisse et concessisse, ac per præsens dare et concedere Prænobili Principi Thomæ Duci Northfolciæ, ac nobili viro Henrico Comiti Surrei, conjunctim, et eorum alterutri per se divisim, Officium Seneshalli Academiæ nostræ prædictæ, habendum, tenendum, et occupandum prædictum officium præfatis Thomæ et Henrico, et eorum alterutri diutius viventi per se, vel per sufficientem deputatum, sive deputatos, unius sive alterius eorum; unâ cum vado et Fœdo iv. Librarum per annum, ad unum anni tempus solvendarum, prout antea solutum erat, aut solvi debuerat; cum omnibus aliis pertinentibus, commoditatibus, emolumentis, et proficuis quibuscunque eidem Officio debitis, et consuetis; ac in tam amplis modo et formâ prout Thomas nuper Comes Essex, aut aliqui alii officium prædictum habentes, tenentes, aut occupantes, habuerunt, tenuerunt, aut occupaverunt officium prædictum. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum Academiæ prædictæ præsentibus apponi fecimus, octavo die Septembris anno regni Regis Henrici Octavi xxxii°.

MSS. Bennet Coll. Camb.

No. X.

Journal of the Expedition to Landrecy, under Sir John Wallop, in 1543; from the Original Dispatches in the State Paper Office.

July 23. Sir John Wallop leaves Guisnes, and enters the country of Fiennes, which he lays waste, destroying the castle of Fiennes, and the abbey of Beaulieu. On the 24th, an attack is made on two strong places in the Boulonnois, called Hyncksam and Arbittaine, perhaps Albutin. The English advance in the evening to Leskes, probably Liques. Leskes capitulates, and the army proceeds to Alquines, laying waste the country in their march. They encamp at Alquines on the 27th. Wallop praises the bravery of an English gentleman of the name of Kelleway; who fought so well on foot, that he did hurt and kill seven horses and one man. Wallop adds, "that his well fighting shall put the Frenchmen all the year in greater fear of us."

July 31. Wallop advances to Bettune. Passing by Terouenne, he attempts to draw out the garrison of that place, but fails. The French defeated in a skirmish. Wallop says, "that he sent a letter to the commandant of Terouenne, an old acquaintance; that if he had any gentlemen under his charge who would break a staff for their Ladies' sakes, he would appoint six gentlemen to meet them." The challenge is accepted, and the conditions are fixed. Mr. Howard, Peter Carew, Markham, Shelly of Calais, with his own two men, Cawverley and Hall, are the English appellants. They all acquit themselves gallantly at the Jousts. "Hall, at his first course, did break his staff galliardly in the midst of the Frenchman's cuirass. Markham stroke another on his head-piece, and had like to have overthrown him. Peter Carew stroke his very well, and had one broken on him. Cawverley was reported to have made the fairest course; but by the evil running of the Frenchman's horse, which fled out of the course, he was struck under the arm, and run through the body into the back, and taken into the town where he was well intreated. I wish to God, said Wallop, the next kinsman I had, not being my brother, had excused him."

The English army remains encamped at Bethune, until the fourth of August, during which time Wallop holds communication with the Grand Master, who proposes, on the part of the Emperor, to attempt the recovery of Landrecy, which the French had taken a little time before. Wallop requests leave to learn Henry's pleasure on that head.

August 5. Wallop begins his march towards Hainault. He meets the Grand Master near Arras, who had 2,000 Germans and Burgundians, and above 300

horse with him; and passing by Cambray, in easy days marches, gets to Asper on the 12th. He there meets the Duke of Arscott, who came with 3000 Spaniards and a large body of horse. A conference is held. The Duke proposes the plan of proceedings. Wallop promises to live and die with him, which promise was received with great joy, "insomuch, as two gentlemen," he says, "being at supper with me, Sir John Wallop said, 'that when they saw our men march in three battles did swear; *Nunca vimos tal vista*,' it being much to their relief. Before they were in desperation to do any service this year; for sith their coming into the Emperor's wars they had not seen any Frenchmen; y ahora tenemos speranza. To see our camp informed, they had no little marvel. After supper the said Duke of Arscott came to visit me, Sir John Wallop, very graciously, and familiarly accompanied with many gentlemen, and did well behold our camp, and said, I do see the self same thing now that heretofore I have read of in the chronicles of Homer, which is an old custom, and meet to be kept." The Duke means probably the book of the siege of Troy, called Homer's Recueil, by Raoul le Fevre.

The English advance to reconnoitre within a mile of Landrecey. Henry's approbation of the enterprising the siege, is received; but the attempt is deemed hazardous. Wallop hesitates, and sends Sir Thomas Seymour to the Queen Regent, on the xviiiith, who urges the undertaking, and promises 7000 foot and 2000 horse.

Aug. 22. The English camp removes to Angel Fontaine, and afterwards to Quesnoy.

Aug. 28. An attempt is made to surprise part of the French army, which fails, through the cowardice of the Burgundians. A serious quarrel afterwards takes place between the Germans and the English, in which Wallop's life is in danger. The dispute is at last amicably settled, and a plan arranged to enter the French territory, without loss of time.

Aug. 31. Wallop, is obliged, from ill health, to go to Valenciennes. Sir Thomas Seymour takes the command. He enters France; burns several villages; and attacks Bouchair the 2d of September. The town is taken by storm, and the castle is invested. The English are suddenly recalled. Sir Thomas Seymour complains of being disappointed in his supplies, and meditates withdrawing his troops.

Sept. 10. The Emperor endeavours to dissuade the English commander from his intention. Much time is spent in negociation on this point. Seymour finally consents to stay.

Sept. 13. Wallop returns to the army. The English camp is removed to within a mile of Landrecy.

Sept. 25. The Emperor promises soon to join the army. Proposes, in the mean time, an attack upon Guise, as a diversion to ensure the fall of Landrecy. The siege of Landrecy is begun.

Oct. 4. The Emperor is detained at Dinches, seven leagues from Landrecy, for three or four days, by the gout. He orders Gonzago to proceed to Guise, without delay, and either give or receive battle, while the Duke of Arscott is directed to urge the siege of Landrecy. The English assault, and win the old tower of the town at Landrecy, "which they did valiantly, and were well fleshed." Surrey arrives, accompanied by Clere and Blage from England.

Oct. 10. The Duke of Arscot and the Grand Master Fernando de Gonzago come to Wallop; and, in Surrey's presence, give him letters from the Emperor, which direct the English to remain before Landrecy, and order the recal of troops from Guise, as intimation had been given that Francis was advancing to raise the siege of Landrecy. The Emperor expresses his determination to win the town before the French should arrive. Remonstrances are made, on the part of the English, and suspicions are entertained of the Emperor's sincerity. He wishes to retain the English beyond the time to which their service had been originally limited, namely, for an hundred and twelve days ending the first of November.

Oct. 11. Henry writes to Wallop, recommending the bombarding of the town; and directs him to spare his men as much as possible.

Oct. 21. The Emperor arrives on the 19th, and has an interview with Wallop: he approves of every thing he sees; but passes onward to Avannes, promising soon to return. Directions are given to urge the siege.

Oct. 22. The batteries are completed; and a plan is suggested for proceeding with them. The German miners undertake to blow up the enemy's works. Much wild-fire is shot into the town fastened to arrows: and much also, from a battery of five or six mortars. Six mortars more are said to be coming; besides forty pieces of cannon. The place is expected to fall in twelve days time.

Oct. 26. Hopes are entertained that the place will surrender shortly. The batteries succeed in setting the town on fire in several places. It is daily expected that a practicable breach will be made. The Earl of Surrey's activity and zeal highly commended.

Oct. 29. A breach is made, which is deemed practicable. Six thousand Italians, Spaniards, and Germans, with twelve hundred English, are selected for the assault; and all things are prepared. News suddenly arrives that the French army had come to Chateau Cambrensis. All thoughts of assaulting Landrecy are abandoned. The Spanish troops relinquish their position and join themselves to the English. The French throw provisions into Landrecy. A sharp skirmish ensues. The Emperor sends to say, that he will come shortly, and bring the French King to a general engagement. His army amounts to 40,000 foot and 8000 horse. Wallop expresses great discontent at the Emperor's conduct; and declares, that he has so far fallen from expectation that he is ashamed to write to his Master.

Nov. 6. The army breaks up on the 2d from before Landrecy, and advances to give the French battle. Some skirmishing takes place, but no general en-

gement follows. On the 2d, at night, the Emperor arrives at the camp. He advances on the 3d towards Chateau Cambrensis. Brisk skirmishing again; but no engagement. On the 4th, the Emperor called a council of war, at which the Earl of Surrey assists. It is resolved to retire into winter quarters. The French retreat the same night. On the morning of the 5th, the Emperor pursues them, and overtakes their rear guard. A partial action ensues. At the approach of night, the Emperor retires, and remains the next day quiet in his position. It is there communicated to Wallop, that Henry consents that his troops should remain twenty days beyond the time first allowed. The time for the separation of the armies is settled; and their several routs are agreed upon.

Nov. 13. On Sunday the 11th Wallop takes leave of the Emperor, who expresses great satisfaction at the conduct of the English. The Emperor remains at Chateau Cambrensis. The English retire by Douay, where they mean to leave their artillery. They encounter great difficulty in bringing it thus far, owing to the badness of the roads. The bows and arrows are taken to Calais. The artillery is taken afterwards there, by means of the assistance afforded them by the Governor of Gravelines, at the Emperor's command. The greater part of the army reaches Calais on the 19th; the remainder on the 22d.

Nov. 25. Sir John Wallop communicates the termination of the expedition to Henry, who expresses entire approbation of his conduct.

No. XI.

From Sir John Wallop to the King.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. iv. No. 63.]

Yesterday Blage, who arrived here with my Lord of Surrey, went with Mr. Carew to see the said trench, and escaped very hardly from a piece of ordnance that was shot towards him. My said Lord I brought about a great part of the town to view the same; and in his return was somewhat saluted. Their powder and shot they do bestow amongst us plentifully, and sometime doth hurt. My said Lord's coming unto this camp was very agreeable unto the Duke; and great Master declaring a great amity and friendship that your Majesty beareth to the Emperor. I was very glad that my said Lord intended to go unto Fernando's camp, informing him, as they offered him sufficient conduct; and the great Master himself to bring him half way there.

(Indorsed)

JOHN WALLOP.

To the King's Majesty.

No. XII.

From Sir John Wallop to Mr. Secretary Paget.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. iv. No. 74.]

I pray you shew unto the King's Majesty the premisses, and also the north-east bulwark the Almaines have begun to undermine. And had it not been for the rain that hath fallen this night, which hath filled much of their work with water, they had, I think, overthrown the said bulwark. For the which mining they have followed the King's Majesty's advice; and also the shooting of mortars night and day, insomuch, as the mortars that shooteth artificial bullets, whereof I have made mention to the King's Highness, did shoot this last night into the town, the Duke of Arschot, my Lord of Surrey, Mr. Carew, and divers other gentlemen being present; who say, that it was a strange and dreadful sight to see the bullets fly into the air, spouting fire on every side; and at his [its] fall, they might well perceive how he [it] leaped from place to place, casting out fire; and within awhile after, burst forth, and shoot off guns out of him [it] an hundreth shot, every one, as loud to the hearing, as a Harquebut a crocq, whereof they counted well four score; and what hurt it hath done I know not yet. And if it please the King's Majesty, I think the Emperor will be contented to send the maker thereof unto him.

From the Camp before Landrecy,

Oct. 26.

No. XIII.

From Sir John Wallop to the King.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. iv. No. 70.]

Pleaseth it your most Royal Majesty to be advertised, that the 19th of October the Emperor arrived here, afore Landrecy; and incontinent after his arrival, he willed the Great Master of Flanders to bring him to the English camp; and a little before he arrived there, I, with your Majesty's Council here, met with his Majesty, who very graciously saluted us all, asking very heartily when I heard from your Highness. And so communing with him towards our camp I brought him, to the upper part of the same, and so along. He beholding well our army

standing in a [squadre] fourscore and one in a rank; and after beholding well the fortification thereof, did like [it] marvelously well (and so did all other strangers that came with him) saying; That he had not seen any other of that sort: meaning thereby a trench that I devised, more than a pike length and a half from the carts. To whom I said, the first device of such trenches was made to annoy him. "How, quoth he, and where?" Whereunto I answered, that it was when the French King's camp lay joining to Vienne, when his Majesty came into Provence, I being there at that time. And as he rode a little lower beholding the same, he saw upon the top of the said trench all your Majesty's captains and petty captains appointed right well, like men of war in very warlike apparel, asking of me, "Who were those." I shewed him that they were the captains, and their lieutenants of the footmen, and the most part of your Majesty's household servants. "Par ma foy, disoit il, voila une belle bande de gentilhommes!" and, how much he was bound to your Majesty for the sending unto him so goodly a company. And with that I brought him into our camp, where he was saluted with your Majesty's trumpets; and passing by that side, said unto me, "Voulez vous Monsieur de Wallop que j'aïlle plus avant, en votre camp?" and suddenly said, "Bien! Bien! à mon retour je les verrai plus à loiser;" and that he had four long leagues to ride after his dinner to Avannes. Wherewith, he began to tell me how sick he had been sithen his departing from Venelot; and that the day before he came hither, he assayed his harness, which was a great deal too wide for him, notwithstanding that he made him a great doublet bombasted with cotton: and said, further, "If the French King would come, as he saith he will, I will live and die with you Englishmen." And by that time he was come to his lodging, where he very graciously bade me farewell. And as soon as he had dined, he leapt on horseback and departed towards Avannes. And, for the experience that I had of the gun shooting of the town, I took upon me to be one of his conductors for his safeguard, and brought him as far as Maroles, whereas the French king lay all the while that Landrecy was a fortifying. Passing over the water thitherward, an Italian came down on that side of the water from Fernando de Gonzago his camp, declaring to the Emperor, that there was seen, not far from thence, a great company of French horsemen. Whereupon the Emperor demanded for avant-coureurs to discover the country, he being ill provided for the same; and, to be plain with your Majesty, he was used therein by his captains, chief rulers of his camp, very negligently. I shewed him that I had there with me two hundred light horses, that should discover the country as soon and as surely as any Albanois, Alarbes, or any other nation. He required me therewith to send them forth; and when he saw them hoorle up the hill so lightly, he said, "Par ma foy! voilà des gens qui vont de grand courage, et ils semblent tresbien les Alarbes d'Affric." And when they were out of sight, he took his way towards Avannes,

and before he passed the bridge of Maroles, he would not go forwards until he had sent forth about twenty or thirty avant-courriers to the other side of the water, out of the number of three hundred horses that were there, who went as heavily, as our went lightly; I being afraid that the bridge would have sunken under them. And ere he went over, he said, "Ou sont les Gentilshommes de ma maison?" Speaking that very soberly twice or thrice as though he would have had them gladly about him; and so went over the bridge fair and softly; and bad his men of arms come after him; and there the Great Master and I took our leave of him. His gentlemen, that he asked so much for, came not a great quarter of an hour after him, who followed in this order; here six, and there ten. Our horsemen did not return to our camp until it was almost seven of the clock, who had scoured three leagues towards France; and met the Emperor before he was half way at Avannes. And he, being not a little glad of their coming, asked if they had seen any Frenchmen. They made answer, that all was clear where they had been. And then he thanked them. Willing them to do the same to me, and return to the camp. In their return, they found many of his gentlemen that had lost their way; and fain they would have the said northern men to have conducted them. The Emperor's determination is, that his army shall lie still afore Landrecy till it be gotten, unless the French King come in the mean time to give us the battle; and in that point, he will remove with his whole army half a league hence to meet him, in a ground more convenient to assemble his whole army together, than this where we now be; which is somewhat strait and too little a ground, if Fernando de Gonzago's army were with us, who lieth more than two English miles from our camp, on the other side of the water. And considering the distance to be so far, and percase the French King might come on this side, he, having his great battering pieces with him so far off, the weather being so foul, might be constrained to leave them behind him, hath caused all the said pieces of battery to be brought on this side the water to us; and shall make battery to the lower end of the town. And his self shall remain still with his whole army there, as he now is, and the rest of his light ordnance with him, so as he may at all times resort unto us, and bring us his said light ordnance, what weather soever shall chance. And if in case the French King should give battle to him on his side, all we may resort to him, and the ordnance lie still, without taking any hurt where it is now. This is the whole determination that the Emperor hath now taken. The Duke of Arshcot's ordnance hath made good battery to the old castle, joining to the gate that we have already taken, three or four days together; and pierced throw the wall next unto us, being seventeen of the fairest cannon that I have seen. To-morrow, I think, Fernando his ordnance shall begin to make battery also; and yet, hitherto, they have done nothing. And he himself, hath had little devotion to tarry before this town; and if the Emperor

had not been well persuaded by the Duke and the great Master, we had been gone ere now. He liked not the foul weather of this country, nor yet those that came with him. Thanks be to God, your Majesty's subjects hitherto complained not; yet within these four or five days, many of them have fallen sick. With the Emperor, came Monsieur du Bures, with six thousand Frisse, who lieth joining to camp, a very good gentleman, who desireth much to do your Majesty service. The French King is yet at La Fere; and Monsieur d'Orleans is sick of the small-pox. The Dauphin at Saint Quentin, where they begin to assemble their men of war together. And because the Emperor doubteth the French King's coming to Cambray, he hath sent thither six hundred horses and six ensigns of footmen, as well for the surety of the town, as to cut the victuals from the French King, if he approached towards us. Not having any other matter to advertise your Highness, I do beseech Almighty God to send your Majesty in your most royal estate, prosperously and long to endure. From the camp the 21st day of October (1543.)

Your Majesty's most humble,

and most bounden subject and servant,

JOHN WALLOP.

No. XIV

From Sir John Wallop to the King.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. iv. No. 79.]

It may please your Majesty, to be advertised of the discourse and proceedings here in the Emperor's army, since the last letter of the 29th of October past. Friday, [being the 2d of this instant November,] we levied our camp, and marched towards the enemy's that day three leagues. Our avant guard being always in the sight of the enemy's; and our scourers and avant scourers, continually skirmishing with the like of the Frenchmen, from the morning until night, where were of both sides hurt, but the more of the enemy's; and also certain gentlemen of France taken.

That night the Emperor came to the camp, armed upon a little Turkey horse, very bravely, and came thorough our camp, where Sir Francis Brian and I met with

him; and saluting his Majesty, he made us very gentle countenance; saying, "Diéu merci! Je suis tout guerri pour combattre les ennemis:" and so we departed to our lodging for that night.

The morrow after, being Saturday, we dislodged early in the morning, marching toward the castle, in Cambrensis, where the French king lay encamped. That day, also, there was between our avant courriers and the Frenchmen, a very hot and sore skirmish, continuing all the day long; and, in the end, so well maintained of our part, that the French were repulsed by the Imperialists; and, perforce, as far back as their own trenches, where their army lay upon both the sides of the said town of Castle, in Cambrensis; marvellously strongly entrenched and fortified, as it is here noted. And at the said skirmishes, the said two days, your Majesty's light horsemen of the north, led by Ralph Boulmer, and Richard Bowes, were with the foremost and best skirmishers.

The first day Sir R. Bowes, your Majesty's treasurer here, was with the said light horsemen, putting them in order of skirmish, after the manner used by your Majesty's border towards Scotland; the which was well praised by the light horsemen Imperialists that were there. In the which skirmish were slain divers, and taken about forty of the French part; whereof eight or nine were of good reputation, whose names are yet unto us unknown.

During the skirmish, the said skirmishers did approach near to the French camp. The Emperor meeting with me, the said Sir John Wallop, said these words, "Armez en tête!" And so repairing to his band, his household put on his own head-piece, and mounted upon a fair gennet. And afterwards perceiving the skirmish was not like to grow to any approach for battle that night; galloping his horse towards me, the said Sir J. Wallop, and holding up his arm, shewed signs of a noble and valiant courage: as, no doubt, his Majesty lacketh nothing appertaining thereto.

After this done, the night drawing near, every camp took his lodging, concluding that night to have dislodged again the next morning. That night was very cold and windy.

Sunday in the morning the Emperor sent for me; to whom I repaired in company with my Lord of Surrey and Sir Francis Bryan, where at our arrival his Majesty being upon his bed, called into his chamber the Viceroy of Scicely, the Duke of Albuquerque and Nagers, Spaniards: the Duke of Brunswick, two of the Dukes of Saxony, Maurice and Philip; the Duke of Arschot, the Marquess of Bransburgh, the Marshal of the Empire; Monsieur du Rieux, the Count of Bures, Monsieur de Grandville, Monsieur du Prat, Monsieur du Bousche, Grand Ecuierre, Monsieur du Ryl, le premier Gentilhomme de sa chambre; in presence of whom there were proposed three matters to be advised upon; First, whether it were convenient to assail the French King remaining still within the

fosse of his camp entrenched. The second, (if that would not be) whether it were convenient to march into some place betwixt him, and his country of France, whereby to cut his victuals away repairing to his camp, or no; Thirdly, whether it were convenient to dissolve the army the French King's army remaining still in camp, or no. And after every man's opinion there demanded, and heard by the Emperor, it was resolved; to the first, that it was not feasible without too much danger of loss of people, to assail the enemy within his camp fortified. To the second, considering the great number and puissance that the French King had of horsemen, it was thought not to be possible to stop him from having victuals out of France; but, that rather his said horsemen, if we should so encamp us betwixt him and his country, would much trouble and put in fear the victuals repairing to our camp. And to the third, although the opinion of many was that the Emperor had several days offered battle to the French King in the plain field, that he might with honour dissolve his army; yet finally it was concluded, that the said Sunday we should rest still in the said place, and upon Monday the 5th of this instant remove and march, coasting the enemy flankwise we should march to a village called Soyllan, and there remain that night, or longer, as upon occasion of the French King's proceedings we might find best opportunity; for it was thought that the French King could not long conserve together his said great army in that place.

That Sunday, both the armies kept close without much skirmishing, seeming that either part prepared and looked for the battle; but that Sunday at night, before midnight, the French King discamped his army, and all that night marched towards his country without any knowledge of us, till in the morning that the Englishmen, such as were in the scout, gave us knowledge thereof. Whereupon the horsemen of the army pursued them with great speed six or seven leagues into France ward: the Emperor his self being on horseback with them: and the army of footmen following in order of battle as they might. In which pursuit were overtaken divers straglers, footmen of the French army of whom the Emperor commanded to kill all such as were subjects of the Emperor. There was also divers carriages of the enemy's left by the way, charged with wire, tents, gunpowder, and other their victuals, and utensils. This chase or pursuit so continued unto a wood, where was a very strait passage which stopped the multitude of the followers a great while; and such as passed first through the same, had a very sharp and hot skirmish with certain horsemen and harquebutters of the enemies that were left to defend their footmen and carriages: where it chanced so that Sir G. Carew, Sir T. Palmer and Edward Bellingham, and some other gentlemen, serving-men of this your Majesties army, being with the foremost, be either taken, or slain: whether, as yet we have no perfect knowledge. Albeit the Emperor hath advertised me that he is certified that two gentlemen of England should be slain in the said skirmish, whereof the one is supposed to be Sir G.

Carew, and the other Bellingham. But to be more surely advertised of the truth therein, this day we have sent a trumpeter into France, to make search which of them be prisoners and which be dead. Finally, at the said woodside the Emperor stood still with the most part of the horsemen, and footmen, except certain harquebutters, archers and footmen, that passed through the said wood to the other side; and also certain bands of horsemen; among which your Majesty's horsemen were. But before they could come to the other side of the wood in order, the French men were so far passed, and the night so near approached that the chace could not conveniently any longer endure; for, every man retiring in order of battle, it was an hour within the night ere we could come to the French King's camp; where we lodged that night.

This day Francis, the courier, arrived here with a letter from your Majesty's Council, of the 2d of November, but I could not this day have access to the Emperor to declare unto him your Majesty's pleasure concerning the same, by the reason that he was sore weary of his great travail yesterday. This night or tomorrow, I think, I shall speak with him; and by as much as I can perceive by Monsieur du Rieux, he is already advertised by his ambassador out of England, of the contents of your Majesty's said letters: not a little rejoicing at the same, trusting within these five or six days, his army shall be dissolved; so as your Majesty shall save some part of the twenty days, the which your Majesty hath granted, beginning the first of November. To-morrow, as I am informed, the Emperor determineth to march towards Crevecoeur, two leagues from Cambray, which he intendeth to take, and therein to put a garrison. As also within this town of Chateau Cambrensis; and also in Cambray town itself; not of himself but by the counsel of four or five great men of the Empire; which be expressed and named afore in these letters; which shall be his pretence, as if the Emperor being at Crevecoeur, will burn and destroy all the country thereabouts. Reckoning all this will be done in five or six days, and peradventures he will take Corbe, and therein also set a garrison of Alemands and Spaniards. The rest of the Almains, he will send from thence towards Luxembourg, to get again the town if they may; and if not, then they be near their country to return home for this winter. So as by that I can learn, he will after this form dissolve his army within these six days, at the furthest; and we from the said Crevecoeur shall repair homeward. Thus having no other thing to advertise your Majesty, I do beseech the blessed Trinity to preserve your Highness in your most royal estate, long to endure. From Chateau in Cambrensis, the 6th day of November, at 4 of the Clock at afternoon.

JOHN WALLOP.

No. XV.

From Churchyard's Chips. Part I. fo. ii. London 1575.

A master of no mean estate," a mirror in those days,
 His happy fortune then him gat," whose virtues must I praise.
 More heavenly were those gifts he had" than earthly was his form,
 His corps too worthy for the grave," his flesh no meat for worm.
 An Earl of Birth; a god of sprite," a Tully for his tongue;
 Methink of right the world should shake" when half his praise were rung.
 Oh! Cursed were those crooked crafts," that his own country wrought
 To chop off such a chosen head" as our time ne'er forth brought.
 His knowledge crept beyond the stars" and wrought to Jove's high throne,
 The bowels of the earth he saw," in his deep breast-y-known.
 His wit looked through each man's device;" his judgment grounded was,
 Almost he had foresight to know" ere things should come to pass;
 When they should fall; what should betide" Oh! what a loss of weight
 Was it to lose so ripe an head," that reached to such height!
 In every art he feeling had:" with pen past Petrarch sure,
 A fashion framed which could his foes" to friendship oft allure,
 His virtues could not keep him here," but rather wrought his harms
 And made his enemies murmur oft," and brought them in by swarms.
 Whose practice put him to his plunge," and lost his life thereby.
 O! cancred breasts which have such hearts" wherein such hate doth lie.
 As I have told this young man served" this master twice two year
 And learned therein such fruitful skill," as long he held full dear.
 And used the pen as he was taught" and other gifts also,
 Which made him hold the cap on head," where some do crouch full low.

No. XVI.

From the Duke of Norfolk to the Council before Boulogne.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. V. No. 21.]

With hearty recommendations this shall be to advertise your good Lordships
 that this evening Monsieur de Bowers with his band, and my son of Surrey, my

Lord of Sussex, my Lord Mountjoy, my brother William, my Lord Latimer, Mr. Treasurer, and all the rest of the noblemen whom I sent further upon Saturday at ten at night, returned hither to this camp this night at seven o'clock, without loss of any man slain, and have made a very honest journey, and have burnt the towns of Saint Riquier and Riew, both walled towns, and also the fauxbourg of Abbeville, on this side of the town, where the English horsemen had a right hot skirmish, and after the coming of the whole army retired without loss, and burned all the country, and they of Crotey fearing our men would have laid siege to the castle, burned their own town.

Our men have brought a very great booty of all sorts of cattle; the noblemen and gentlemen kept their footmen in such order, that they borrowed nothing of the Burgonians, and finally have made such an excursion, that the like hath not been made since these wars began.

The Cardinal of Bellay might well see what was done, nothing to his contentation.

Finally I require your Lordships to advertise me how I shall use him at his coming hither. In giving him the over hand or else to take it upon me as the King's Lieutenant. The man is glorious; and for my part I can well suffer his glory, so I may know it is his Majesty's pleasure I shall so do; and our Lord send his Majesty to have his pleasure shortly of Boulogne, the fear whereof I think doth make the Frenchmen to speak more gentle than they mean. But I mistrust not that any fair words which the Frenchmen use in time of their necessities, shall not beguile his Highness. From this camp at ten at night.

Your Lordship's assuredly,

(Indorsed)

T. NORFOLK.

To my very good Lords the Lords
of the King's Majesty's most
honourable Council.

No. XVII.

From the Duke of Norfolk and the Council to the King.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. V. No. 43.]

Pleaseth it your most Excellent Majesty to understand, that yesterday in the morning we assembled ourselves upon the ground without the town called the Old Man, where your Majesty had devised to have a bastilion, and there, with the

advice of Sir Richard Lee, and Rogers and Cavendish, consulted upon the same, where every man said freely and frankly his opinion, and was finally concluded by all our agreements, that neither in that place, nor any other about the town, by any work that can be made this winter, neither Base Boulogne, nor the Haven can be so fortified, but the Frenchmen coming with greater power than can conveniently issue out of the town, may burn Base Boulogne and the ships in the haven, and make also a bastilion on the other side of the water, wherewith to let the entry of any ship into the haven; which resolution we agreed unto this afternoon. For yesterday when we were at dinner, intending in the afternoon to have returned to devise on that matter, there was given by the Frenchmen an alarm of both sides the water, and advertisement came unto us of a great number of men approaching very near the camps of me, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Privy Seal. Whereupon we the said Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Privy Seal, repaired to our camps, and put our men in order of battle, and there our horsemen skirmished with the Frenchmen; whereat our men did very well, and have killed nine of them, and three Albanese taken prisoners without loss of any of ours, and so the Frenchmen were compelled to retire, being only horsemen. And forasmuch as it was doubted whether there were footmen amongst them or no, and what their enterprise was, the Lord Admiral placed the men appointed to keep the town in their places; and I, the Duke of Suffolk, caused all the rest of the bands of horsemen and footmen to reparaire to the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Privy Seal's camps, which they did in a marvellous diligence, and with a cheerful courage wading through the water at the gainest to arrive in time; and herewith was spent all the afternoon. Upon Thursday in the morning we examined our spies, who severally affirmed that the Dauphin would with his army come forward, whereupon we resolved to fortify a camp whither we might repair if any such force approached: whither we determined to repair the next day according whereunto we had written our letters, and so intended to have depeched the same to your Highness. And that evening arrived your Majesty's servant Chamberlain, from Saint Omers, who said the Dauphin's repair to those parts was greatly bruited, and at the same time came letters from Mr. Wallop signifying how he had learned that the Dauphin's army was marching towards Alquines, whereby appeared that he would have driven towards Guisnes. At the same time arrived a trumpet declaring that he had seen eight hundred horsemen at Marquison, to all which advertisements, albeit we gave not credence of certainty, yet they troubled us so that setting apart our sleep and rest, we assembled ourselves upon Thursday night soon after midnight, and conferred all the advertisements with the state of your Majesty's town, the health and disposition of your people, the policy of your enemy, and what way we might best withstand it for the sure safeguard of all your Majesty's pieces.

First, as touching your Majesty's town of Boulogne, we trusted that the same being well furnished with men and victuals, might be able, as it is now fortified, to resist the power of France for this winter; and upon an estimate of our victuals presently there preserved and saved to the use of the town, they would suffice for three months the number of four thousand. And on the other part the expense of victuals of this great number to be such as the same continuing together, spent as much in one day as should serve the town for seven, so as we saw evidently that the longer tarrying there of the army should certainly consume the victuals so fast, as the uncertain conveyance of new victuals thither should hardly restore that should be spent, and therewith also relieve the number of the army. And when we devised of diminishing of our number, and reducing the same to the number of ten thousand, and to keep the field with them, what by the extremity of cold, and wading of the water on the Wednesday, we perceived that our determination to lie in the camp (for that so many had suddenly fallen sick) could not be executed without great destruction of people, having neither huts ne straw for their succour, nor also hales or tents sufficient to serve, considering that a great many of such as came from Montreuil had burned and destroyed their tents for want of carriages; and the soldiers in Base Boulogne, for want of fuel suddenly in the night burned a great quantity of the timber belonging to your Majesty's hales. Wherefore the victuals considered, and disposition of your Majesty's people being in this sort, and having before resolved, by the advice of Sir Richard Lee, Cavendish, and Rogers, that such bastilions could not be made this winter to satisfy your Majesty's purpose as the same desireth, we resolved that morning to depart with the army to Calais, and there to withstand such enterprises as the Dauphin would attempt against your Majesty's pieces, and by our short departure leave your Majesty's town of Boulogne so much the better furnished with victuals and other necessities, which the soldiers for necessity consumed and wasted. And after these matters discussed among us, with the consent of the Lord Admiral, who was present with us, it was resolved by all our consents, to depart that morning, thinking it policy to keep secret our marching forward till the hour of departure. We then attended to know in what state we should leave the town, both concerning men, money, and victuals. And as touching men, we thought good to increase the number to five hundred more, the same to be under the leading of Mr. Poynings and Mr. Wyatt, which the said Lord Admiral also specially desired, so as the number of soldiers, besides the pioneers, amounteth to three thousand three hundred men. We left there also the Lord Clinton, at the special request of the said Lord Admiral, to aid and assist him in his room; and in money we have left them fourteen thousand pounds. And to th' intent it might appear what victuals we should leave in the town; we cause such inferior minis-

ters as have the charge of them, to certify by writing, subscribed with their hands, what quantity they had in Base Boulogne, to be left in the town; which was in corn, biscuit, and bread ready baken, above one thousand quarters. In beer ready brewed, four hundred and forty tuns; in malt, one thousand five hundred quarters; in wine, sack, one hundred and sixty butts; pipes of beef, fifty; oxen alive, two hundred and thirty four; sheep, one hundred and twenty; cheese, five hundred weight; butter, two hundred barrels; fitches of bacon, two hundred; and five thousand stockfish; oats, three hundred quarters; beans, fifty quarters, besides all the corn and beef in High Boulogne, left by the Frenchmen; which is a great quantity, as in bread corn, above one thousand two hundred quarters at the least; for it was esteemed by them that were appointed to view it, above two thousand quarters; whereof we think there is some part marred by weather; we also left with them such of your Highness's servants as had the victuals in keeping, and shall also deliver the same by measure and account. We have also left with them mills, millers, and mill-horses, brewhouses and brewers, bakers and their ovens, and are determined to send from hence as much more victuals as may be spared here, with tilers also to repair their houses, as many as we can get, and as much sea-coal as may be here spared. And having in this sort ordered things early in the morning concerning men, money, and victuals, and caused the country to be descried with our horsemen, we gave warning, and marched towards this town, where we arrived with your Majesty's army in safety yesternight, by nine of the clock; and this morning have sent certain horsemen and footmen to Guisnes, and the Marches, for defence of the same, and sending over our sick men, with such vessels as be in this haven; we have written to your Majesty's ambassador, with the Regent, to have, by their commandment, provision of hoys to transport the rest of your Majesty's army, and to furnish us with victuals out of the low countries, and in the mean time abide here to know your Majesty's further commandment, which we shall accomplish according to our most bounden duty, to the utmost of our possible powers, and pray Almighty God for the preservation of your most noble person. At your Majesty's town of Calais, the fifth of October.

Your Majesty's most humble

subjects and servants,

NORFOLK, CHARLES SUFFOLK, J. RUSSELL,
JOHN GAGE, RIC. RYCHE, STE. WINTON.

Postscripta, Th' Emperor's ambassador's secretary repairing hither for lodging for his master, told me the Lord Privy Seal, that the ambassador had received letters from th' Emperor, signifying that he would satisfy your Majesty in the two prin-

cipal points your Majesty willed him to write of, and that the Bishop of Arras would be here to-morrow, at which time we should know further, he desired the lodging might be good, for the bishop should lodge with him. The secretary spake this in the name of his master: only the old ambassador, but to-morrow they come both, and we shall appoint lodgings for them accordingly.

Addressed to the King's most Excellent Majesty.

No. XVIII.

From the King to the Duke of Norfolk and the Council.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. V. No. 48.]

Right trusty and right entirely well-beloved cousins, &c. we greet you well, letting you know that we have received your several letters; for answer whereunto we have thought good to signify unto you, like as there is none more willing in all just occasions to take in good part the good doings and probable grounds of his counsellors for excuse, though sometime they fail in their well doings, and executing his commandments; yet is there none again that hardly can bear bolstering and unapparent reasons, specially when they inculke a feigned necessity to cloak and maintain their faults, too much apparent to indifferent eyes.

For First; being determined as yourselves write, to have encamped yourselves there near unto Boulogne, which did well accord with my former commandment, is it well to be taken of us, think you? that upon a vain and uncertain report you should so suddenly alter the same! and not only alter it, but also prosecute the same so clean discrepant from our commandment, without knowing of our pleasures before; which were not then very far from yours.

Secondly; we cannot a little marvel that men of such experience as we know you to be, would think a town so sore ruinate as all men's eyes may perceive that seeth it, might be in five or six days so repaired, being never so well victualled, that it were able to resist a main power of France? And yet indeed as you left the town and victuals for the same, the victuals were more like to have made for our enemy's relief than for the town; considering your fond and sudden departure. For after your departure, who could have let them not only to have taken all the victuals left in Base Boulogne, being the great mass, but all our ordnance also, which could not away till after your departure, which was so sudden, and thereby if our enemies had ensued, as thanked be God they did not, there had been a great likelihood of loss both of the town and all.

And to the Third point; whereas it seemeth you would make of a thing doubtful a certainty; that is, that you should spend faster victual than the same might be sent unto you (as who sayeth no man knew the way of provision of victuals unto you but yourselves) we consider (that putting those affairs in order, as by your desires at our repair to England we did) we here knowing best the same order, and you there not being yet advertised of it, do think it here as possible for us to have victualled you, as you think the same impossible, and that if you had bidden it, you should have well seen the proof, which at length trieth all.

The Fourth point, where you do allege that a great many of those which were at Muttrell, had burned and destroyed their tents, whereby now they could not conveniently have tarried in the field; we think verily that men of courage, and willing to serve in such a case of necessity, would not have had so great respects to their own persons as to the service of the King their Master, and the urgent necessity of the cause: for how can the Frenchmen keep their camp, their victual and forage being so far devastated round about, and the way so ill to carry, and their provisions scantily yet well ordered for them, the time of year also well considered, when you excuse yourselves that you cannot lie so nigh a good town, and such a village as Base Boulogne is, being in your aid, with the haven for your victual so commodious to come to you. Wherefore, except you will confess that they be willinger to serve, and will take more pains for their master's sake than you, you cannot deny but that you being so well provided for as you should have been, had been more able to have demored there, and to have been always reinforced both with men and victuals as necessity should have required, than they should have been able to have lain abroad in the fields, and always, as opportunity should have given, to have put them rather to the worst, than they should have been able to have displeased you.

To the Fifth, as touching the making of the bastilion; though Lee and Rogers might happen to say that they thought it were hard in a short time to make a bastilion to withstand any army, yet nevertheless we know them not to be men of such experience that therefore the making of such a one was utterly to be relinquished for that knowledge that they have. They have learned only at our hand, and therefore it had been more meet for you, ere you had utterly relinquished the doing of it, to have known what we could have said to it, and then we doubt not but you should have been well satisfied, and not have been able to have said but that there might such a bastilion have been made.

And where now in your letter, dated the sixth day, you do advertise us that you have discharged all our Almains, contrary to that we commanded you when we were there present with you, saying that the one half of them refused to tarry at Boulogne; which was no part of our commandment, for we knew well that for lack of fodder there they could not abide, therefore that cannot be taken

but that it was an occasion taken by you to cause them to go away, so that you would bring us to an impossibility to keep you there, and our army still: which also now you have more verified, declaring your number of able men to be so few, and yet our charges of this month as large or larger than in any other month that was before; which we think can ill stand together.

Wherefore we will you, and pray you to seek no more indirect excuses to cloak your ill-favoured retreat, but rather study and be as to see our honour, herein somewhat touched, redubbed: and that in case peace follow not, we may perceive you as studious to preserve our pieces, and to withstand our enemy, as your deeds have shewn you willing to come home; and that no lack of pains or goodwill shall from henceforth appear in you, and so yet may you redubbe faults by past, which hardly else can be removed. And therefore, seeing your doings hitherto be inexcusable, and that you have brought the things to the point whereas now they be, the best way for you to make some recompense shall be to devise how you may return to Boulogne to encamp yourselves as we devised; for if the peace follow not, we purpose ye shall remain there until the fortification for defence of the haven be finished, in such sort as we signified unto you by Sir Richard Lee: and therefore, if leaving our other pieces sufficiently furnished with men, you can either by stealth or policy, having good espiall of the French army, pass thither with such a number of men, and so encamp yourselves, as you think you may be assured against the enemy, you shall do unto us very acceptable service and pleasure, and thereby we will think your former proceedings in some part redubbed: and as for money and victuals, doubt you not but at your being there you shall be fully provided for accordingly. But in case you shall see that you cannot pass to Boulogne and encamp yourselves there, but you shall be in great danger and hazard, then we require you t' advertise us immediately with all diligence, both what number of men shall be requisite to be sent to you from hence, and likewise of all other things which you shall think necessary, and we shall take order for the furniture of you accordingly. For in th' end of the treaty, if the peace go not forward, as aforesaid, we mean to reinforce you with a good number of fresh men from hence, to th' intent you may be able to beat our enemies if need shall be, and to tarry out the perfecting of such fortification for the defence of the haven, as we have devised accordingly. And because you should effectually endeavour yourself to do as much as you can for the execution of this our desire for your going to Boulogne, we have left you out of the commission of treaty with the French Ambassadors, not doubting but you do consider how little honour it shall be for you to remain there at Calais, and to be left out of the said Commission; signifying further to you, in case the French Ambassadors be already come to Calais, that you, the Bishop of Winchester, Sir John Gage, and Sir Richard Rich, shall repair unto them, and entertain the same;

advertising them that th' Earl of Hertford and Sir William Paget, be on their way towards you, with ample commission and instruction of our pleasure in all things.

Minute of the King's Majesty's Letters to the Dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, &c. the eighth of October, 1544.

No. XIX.

Extract of a Letter from the Dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and other Commissioners, to the Privy Council, Calais, October xi. 1544.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. V. No. 56.]

" Hitherto the Dauphin durst enterprise ne any thing, ne rest in any place, whereupon we might devise any exploit against him. Upon Monday last intending as he did indeed to go to Merguyson, he filled this country with his horsemen, and encamped that night at Merguyson, and on Tuesday in the morning made the camisade to Boulogne, and durst not the Tuesday at night lye again at Merguyson, but drew two leagues nearer Fynes; and upon Wednesday came to Fynes, and on the Thursday would have made attempts, at which time we shewed ourselves. That day and Friday he made skirmishes all to his loss; he burnt a few cottages and threw down two churches, in which meantime he retired the weakest of his footmen, and went away on Saturday: so as if the Dauphin shall boast of this journey, (forgetting all his losses as their custom is) he may say truly he hath cast down one church; and his brother the Duke of Orleans, another; but as for the Duke of Vendome, the Duke of Guise, Marshal Hamylode, Admiral and Marshal du Biez, must boast themselves of burning each one a cottage, for any other hurt they have done, with all their glory and thousands upon thousands. Whereof, if they had approached we would have trusted to have had some nearer account than we have had; but as they have drawn near they have been reasonably well handled, much to the King's Majesty's honour, and not a little to their reproach, being in that number as indeed their horsemen was almost all they might make, for in them consisted their chief enterprise, as we have learned; in default whereof they attempted desperately the camisade at Boulogne, and since have wandered without doing any thing of effect, as we have before written.

(Signed)

T. NORFOLK,
CHARLES SUFFOLK,
JOHN GAGE,

J. RUSSELL,
STE. WINTON,
RICHARD RYCHE.

No. XX.

The Duke of Suffolk to the King.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. V. No. 47.]

TO THE KING'S MOST ROYAL MAJESTY,

Most humbly upon my knees desiring your Majesty to take in good part that I dare be so bold to write unto your Highness a part, for declaration of myself and others at this time. First, as concerning myself, unto whom it hath pleased your Majesty to shew a special favour and credit for execution of your commandment; I would not think myself worthy to live, being so taken to honour and so credited as I have been, to transgress your commandment where I might observe it. And if it were only the loss of myself, I had rather spend my life honourably in th' execution of your pleasure, than be driven to any manner of excuse for my declaration why I did not as I was commanded. God shall be my judge, Sir, there was never thing grieved me more than this departure from Boulogne. For having served so to your Majesty's contentation in this war hitherto, I thought myself most unfortunate to be brought to this necessity of departure from Boulogne, whereby I thought your Majesty, at the first hearing, would be more troubled than I would see or know, if it could have been avoided: and this I write truly, as my duty bindeth me always to signify to your Majesty. Assuring your Highness that I saw no man here, nobleman, gentleman, or other, but as willing to do that might have been done as could have been desired, without refusal to tarry at Boulogne if the case would have suffered it. Wherefore, Sir, submitting myself to your Majesty's accustomed goodness, who ever after the truth known useth to take things in such sort as they have been done, I most humbly on my knees desire your Majesty t' accept the doings here grounded upon truth and loyal service to your Highness in good part; and as your Majesty hath been faithfully with good heart and painfully served, now in the conclusion so to take it. And for God's sake, Sire, whatsoever it shall please your Majesty to do with me, let not the rest have any token of your displeasure which is worse than their death here, but rather thanks accordingly; for otherwise your people and captains shall be greatly discouraged, and much to the hindrance of such service as you may stir, and shall with God's grace have of them hereafter. And thus remaining in great care of mind till I hear of your Majesty's

good pleasure, I shall daily pray to Almighty God for the preservation of your most noble person, with the acchevings of your most godly and virtuous desires. At your Majesty's town of Calais, the seventh of October.

Your Highness's most humble
and bounden subject

and servant,

CHARLES SUFFOLK.

No. XXI.

From the Council at Calais to the King.

[State Paper Office, French Correspondence, Vol. V. No. 64.]

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

Pleaseth your most excellent Majesty to understand; that much to our comfort we have received your Highness's most gracious letters, declaring your great clemency and noble merciful heart, wherewith to relieve our careful heaviness to have given occasion whereby to incur your Majesty's displeasure. Wherefore on our knees we all most humbly thank your Majesty, and shall endeavour ourselves, by God's grace, so to accomplish your Majesty's commandments to our possible powers, as we may clearly purge all suspicion to the contrary, with as much courage and loyal heart as our most bounden duty of allegiance bindeth us and your Majesty's special and singular benefits, if we should not shew ourselves most ungrateful, not only moveth but enforceth us; and with intent to employ our life and goods in your Majesty's service, we shall also pray Almighty God for the most prosperous felicity of your most noble person. At your Highness's town of Calais, the twenty-first of October.

Your Highness's most humble

and most obedient

subjects and servants,

T. NORFOLK,

J. RUSSELL,

CHARLES SUFFOLK,

STE. WINTON,

JOHN GAGE,

RICHARD RYCHE.

No. XXII.

Arrivés qu'ils furent devant sa Majesté, il leur demanda en quels termes ils étoient du proces de ces misérables. Le premier President repondit, qu'il étoit quasi instruit: et que auparavant quatre jours expirés leur vie dépendroit de sa miséricorde: car il y avoit tant de charges sur eux que sans sa grace speciale malaisément se pourroient-ils sauver. " Mais, en conscience, dit le Roi, n'ont ils pas grande honte de leur desloyale perfidie? et principalement Vervein, quant le Majeur de Boulogne et tous les citadins le prierent de sortir et s'offrirent de bien garder leur ville et d'empêcher les Anglois d'y entrer; qui leur repondit qu'il ne vouloit faillir de sa parole au Roi d'Angleterre: et suivant la capitulation qu'en avoit faite de sa part avec le dit Roi, St. Blymont et Freumeselles il la lui vouloit remettre entre ses mains! Que repond-il a cela! ni, de quelle excuse se peut il couvrir, dit le Roi, vu qu'il sçavoit bien que je venois avec des forces pour lui lever le siege, et que le ciel favorisoit mon enterprise? Car il survint une si grande tourmente de vent et de pluie qu'il ne demouroit dedans le camp de l'ennemi une seule tente, ni pavillon debout, et qu' a cause des terres qui sont fort grasses dans ces pays là, homme ni cheval ne pouvoir marcher avant ni arriere. Mais sa reponse la dessus jé vous prie? car il n' avoit point encore baillé d'hostages quand cette tourmente fit ce ravage, qui dura deux jours, et se pouvoit honêtement dedire de la capitulation et la rendre nulle." Le President repondit qu'il s'excusoit sur la peur et lâcheté de courage; semblablement sur faute d'experience; et que depuis qu'il eut perdu le Capitaine Philippe Corse, il commença comme etonné de sa mort à parlimer. " O! le villain!" dit le Roi! Mais il avoit eu advertissement tres certain que des cent cinquante mille nobles à la rose, que fut vendue la ville de Boulogne, avec autres promesses de se faire grand en Picardie, le Comte de Hertfort, [aujourd'hui Duc de Somerset] lui en avoit fait porter secrete-ment en sa maison 40,000. Et quant au Capitaine Corse, il est encore plus mechant d'alleguer cela; car il le fit tuer par un des notres à la brèche, parcequ'il commençoit à decouvrir sa marchandise, et qu'il en avoit jetté quelques propos à sa table. Mais je lui apprendrai à faillir de sa foi à son Prince naturel et Souverain, pour tenir sa parole à un etranger."

*Mem. de Marechal de Viellville, dans les Memoires pour servir à
Histoire de la France, Vol. xxix. p. 31.*

No. XXIII.

[Harleian MSS. No. 256.]

I.

Petworth, Aug. 9.

A letter to my Lord of Surrey, who before was appointed to have the leading of the five thousand men to the other side of the sea, to stay, and not to go forward on that journey, until he shall be further advertised thereof from the King's Highness.

II.

Petworth, Aug. 13.

To the Council of London, to cause my Lord of Surrey's men, to the number of fifty or sixty, to be contented for their coats and conduit.

To my Lord of Surrey, certifying him of my Lord of Suffolk's to go to Boulogne with an army.

III.

Guildford, Aug. 16.

A letter unto the Council at London, declaring unto them the King's pleasure, for the allowance of five marks by the day to my Lord of Surrey, being appointed to go over with five thousand men, accounting from the fifteenth day of August; and, further, to declare unto him for such men as he should by his bill subscribed require the same, their coats and conduits rateably unto Dover; and there to cause to be delivered unto them one fortnight's wages. My Lord of Surrey to receive for one fortnight out of hand, after the rate above said.

IV.

Letters were addressed to the Council at Boulogne, signifying the appointment of the Lord Gray to the Lieutenancy of the town, whom they should use at his arrival as they did the Lord Poynings; in the mean time, to have special eye to his Majesty's pieces; and Sir Thomas Palmer to do what he might conveniently, remove the Frenchmen from the top of the hill, who beat the *Harvoure* and the Old Man. To the Council at Calais was signified his Majesty's appointment of

the said Lord Gray to Boulogne, and the Earl of Surrey to be General, as the Lord Gray was; and likewise to have the men appointed to remain with him after his arrival on that side. The premises were also signified by letter to the said Earl, and the Lord Gray.

V.

Guildford, Aug. 29.

Letters were addressed to the Earl of Surrey for encamping near Claes-wood, according to his own device, and the rest with him. Order taken for money and victuals. The stay for munition, for lack of knowledge of what sort, and to what numbers he wanted. Payment to be made to the crews, by the treasurer at Guisnes. The inferior officers which served under the Lord Gray, to remain with their accustomed allowances; and finally, the King's Majesty contentation for allowance of wages, to the gentlemen's servants, being captains above the number 5,000; and for placing of 200 Almains sent out of Norfolk, by his discretion.

VI.

Guildford, August 31.

Upon letters from Guisnes, the King's Majesty was pleased that the Lord Gray should keep his old charge; and the Earl of Surrey go to Boulogne, which was by letters signified to either place at the full.

VII.

Guildford, Sept. 2.

Sir Richard Southwell was addressed to Boulogne, as well with the treasures as to commune with them there; touching their receipts, payments, order of victuals, and other things, wherein some remissions had been used, having with them an auditor: had letters to the Earl of Surrey, and the rest of the Council, &c.

VIII.

Cobham, Sept. 8.

Letters to Boulogne for the making a *jettie*, or mole, from the tower where the slaughter-house was wont to be, towards the channel, four hundred feet, more or

less as the place would suffer, for defence of the victuals from the shot of the new fortress of the enemy's.

IX.

Windsor, Oct. 24.

A letter to my Lord of Surrey, to consider what might be done for the winning of the new fortress, lately erected besides Boulogne by the Frenchmen; and in case he should think the same feasible to advertise the same to Calais and Guisnes, to the intent; and might be sent from thence, as appertained.

A letter to my Lord Cobham, and the Council at Calais, to dispatch all the extraordinary crews immediately upon the achieving of the enterprise at Boulogne, or upon the advertisement of my Lord of Surrey that their aid and assistance should not be requisite to the same.

X.

Oatlands, Nov. 13.

Upon letters from Boulogne, touching the stay of the Lord Gray's repair thither with the power to join with the power of Boulogne, for the enterprise devised by the Lieutenant and Council there, letters were written to Calais, not only to send men presently thither, but also to do the same hereafter at all times, upon request of the Lieutenant and Council of Boulogne.

XI.

Westminster, Nov. 23.

Upon the repair of Sir Richard Elleker and Sir Hugh Paulet from Boulogne, with certain articles devised by the Council there concerning the state of that town; answer was made particularly unto every of the same, written briefly in the margin of their book.

XII.

Honour of Hampton Court, Dec. 28.

To the Lord Lieutenant of Boulogne, that the King's Majesty hath seen the Council's letters from thence of the 25th of this instant, and touching the misery they write the soldiers do sustain for want of a full pay. This, his Highness not knowing how far the mass of late addressed thither by Sir Richard Southwell,

hath, or will stretch unto, nor they having sent hither any rate or declaration, how much they do lack, cannot presently address any certain answer, in that behalf unto them ; requiring them therefore to send hither a more certain declaration thereof, subscribed with Mr. Southwell's hand ; that thereupon they may receive answer accordingly, which (notwithstanding his Majesty thought it not such discomfort or inconvenience to the soldier, for default of his full pay, as in those letters was purposed) for the sending whereof there should nevertheless be as much done as might conveniently : in which meantime his Majesty trusted their dexterities would foresee all things with such diligence as appertaineth : and that the Lords of the Council here for their parts would not fail to remember his Highness for money upon their said declaration. And that here as much expedition was used about sending of victual unto them, as might be.

XIII.

Honour of Hampton Court, 29th December.

Letters were addressed to my Lord Lieutenant of Boulogne that the King's Majesty having received his letters sent by the Secretary of Boulogne and considered the Book of the numbers to remain there, willeth the Council to signify unto him as followeth. 1. Touching the Book he sent, that his Majesty liketh very well the same both for the appointment of three hundred to one Captain, and the residue of his device contained therein, which his Highness would have put in execution accordingly. 2. And that further, his Highness remitteth the appointment as well of the captains as petty captains unto his Lieutenant and the Council there, which his Highness doubteth not will have good respect to prefer those gentlemen, which for their service done, and their wit and hardiness are most meet thereto. 3. And that for the order of the pioneers and ministers of victuals, his Majesty would he should follow the instruction given to Sir R. Southwell in that behalf. Further touching the horsemen of Calais to repair to Boulogne for his Majesty's service, notwithstanding his Highness thinking with his Lordship that their presence should stand to very good purpose, yet considering what difficulties is thought to remain, for their provision of victuals and horsemeat too, his Majesty's determination is suspended upon the same until advertisement from Mr. Rous and Mr. Archer, do declare how they may be conveniently furnished of the same ; whereupon his Majesty will resolve his farther pleasure in that behalf accordingly.

XIV.

Honour of Hampton Court, 11th January.

Letters were addressed to the Earl of Surrey to stay the cassing of all able men above the 3,900 limited in Mr. Southwell's instructions till further advertisement.

XV.

Honour of Hampton Court, 16th January.

To the Lieutenant of Boulogne and the Deputy of Calais to forbear to cass any able men serving within any of the King's pieces, and to advertise the certain number of all remaining in the same meet to serve.

XVI.

Honour of Hampton Court, 20th January.

A letter to my Lord of Surrey, signifying unto him the King's Majesty's pleasure to receive into service Anthony Stasue and Nicholas Grexia, Captains Albanois, which served his Majesty the last summer in the North, which presently were according to his Majesty's pleasure addressed to Boulogne, to serve there with fifty horsemen of their nation a piece, which his Lordship would admit accordingly, allowing them for their entertainment after the rate of thirty crowns monthly, and so portion and portion-like for their officers accustomed to their bands; and also to allow them wages for all such soldiers as should from time to time increase to their aforesaid number, to be paid ever from the day of their arrival: and further, to limit to each of them the full and whole wages which other Captains Albanois serving under Cavalier Thomazo do receive; to begin as soon as they should once have increased their numbers to one hundred a piece: like as his Highness in that behalf is content they should accordingly.

XVII.

Westminster, 30th March.

To the Lord Gray of Wilton, signifying that the King's Majesty having presently revoked the Earl of Surrey from his late charge at Boulogne, intending to employ his service otherwise; his Highness's pleasure was that he should forthwith put himself in readiness to repair to Boulogne, where, for the special trust and confidence by his Majesty reposed in his good conduct and approved

faithful service his Highness appointed him to remain as Captain and Seneschal of Boulogne and Boulornois, as by his Grace's letters patent, shortly to be made and sent him, should amply appear unto him.

Letter to Lord Hertford to accept of Lord Gray as such.

XVIII.

Westminster, 3d April.

Letters were addressed to the King's Marshal and Council at Boulogne, signifying, that whereas the Earl of Surrey being by the King's Majesty revoked from that his late charge at Boulogne, and appointed otherwise to serve his Majesty; lest the estate of his accounts and reckoning there, as well touching such sums of money for the which he stood charged to his Highness, as those also to be allowed again to him towards the discharge thereof, being in a raw and uncertain sort, by reason at the time of his departure thence he thought upon his return, to have had himself the commodity to have been present at the making up of the said reckonings; that they conferring together, with the assistance of the auditor, newly appointed to remain there, should duly examine as well what sum of money the said Earl stood indebted unto his Majesty, as what defalcation was to be made thereout for the diets of the same Earl during his Lieutenancy, until the day the entry of Lord Gray of Wilton into the room newly by his Highness assigned unto him: and for all other allowances due there until the said day unto him: and thereupon to take order for the determination of his account accordingly.

No. XXIV.

From Secretary Paget to the Earl of Hertford.

[State Paper Office. Scottish Correspondence, Vol. II. No. 31.]

As for news from Boulogne, we have none, but such as your Lordship hath seen before. That the enemies be building there a fort, which we intend to let to be finished; and for that purpose they being not above 12 or 13,000 men, the King's Majesty sendeth over under the leading of my Lord of Surrey, 5,000 fresh men, which with 3,000 footmen, to be taken out of the pale of Calais; and 600 horsemen and 2,000 footmen, and 300 horsemen out of the garrison at Boulogne, shall under my Lord Poynings, who is Lieutenant of the whole, do what can be done for their removing. Notwithstanding the passage of the seas is now so stopped between Dover, Calais, and Boulogne, that our men cannot yet pass.

And therefore by the Grace of God, my Lord Admiral, who is now well reinforced, and hath as many ships of war as they have, and three times as many of great burthen as they have, (for he hath forty sail, the least of 300, and of 22 of those 40 be of 6, 7, and 500 the least), shall the next week see what rule they keep. Our Lord send him well to do, as we trust in him he will, we being in the right and just quarrel, and he being a God of right and justice. And as for their coming to land in those parts, you know how much unlike it is to be true, seeing there remaineth such a few of these, here behind them: I trow I wrote to your Lordship of the 10,000 footmen and 3,000 horsemen, Almaines, that come to serve the King's Majesty, and will come perforce to Calais or Boulogne, through the enemy's country, by the end of this month. Aug. 13, 1545.

No. XXV.

From the Same to the Same.

[Ibid. No. 43.]

As for other occurrents chanced since the Council's last dispatch unto your Lordship; by the which I am sure the same already is advertised of the decease of my Lord of Suffolk and my Lord Poynings. Your Lordship shall further understand that through the occasion thereof the army pretended to have been made over from hence to Boulogne, is stayed, and yet in question whether it shall part or no: but my Lord Marques, the Earl of Arundel, with the other gentlemen, be certainly countermanded. Only my Lord of Surrey with a band of 5,000 footmen, who before the Duke's death were already for the most part arrived at Calais, is appointed in my Lord Gray's stead (who now is assigned to be Lieutenant at Boulogne), for General Captain over all the crews and bands of soldiers within the marches of Guisnes and Calais, which being joined to the aforesaid number that he bringeth with him, shall well furnish up a 7 or 8,000 footmen and 2,000 horsemen, who with the aid that my Lord Admiral may at need disembark unto them from the sea, shall be sufficient for such enterprize, by God's grace, upon the enemy, as the King's Majesty's pleasure is to direct them unto. As hereafter I have good hope your Lordship shall hear further news to your contentation. Aug. 26, 1545.

No. XXVI.

From the Same to the Same.

[From the State Paper Office.—Scottish Correspondence, Vol. II. No. 44.]

It may like your Grace to be advertised that I have received your letters, with the Hungarian, whom I suspect to be a man much of that sort you write of. For occurrents, your Grace shall understand that my Lord of Suffolk, whose soul God pardon, was appointed to have been Lieutenant for the levying of the siege besides Boulogne; my Lord of Surrey to have had the vanguard, my Lord Marques the rearguard, and my Lord of Arundel, Marshal of the Camp; but my Lord of Suffolk deceasing this last Saturday at afternoon,^a my Lord Marques and my Lord of Arundel discharged: and now also for as much my Lord Poynings has departed this life upon this day se'nnight,^b my Lord Gray is appointed to his charge, and my Lord of Surrey, who went over with the 5,000 men, according to the first appointment, is ordered to be General of all the crews at Guisnes and the Marches, being a goodly band about 8,000 men, being meet to go for the East, and in consideration of the desire he hath to see and serve, I think that which shall be done towards the enemies, shall be attempted by him, the Deputy of Calais, the Lord Gray, and Mr. Wallop.

No. XXVII.

From the Duchess of Norfolk to Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal.

[Cotton MSS. Titus. B. I. fo. 184.]

TO MY VERY GOOD LORD AND SPECIAL FRIEND, MY LORD PRIVY SEAL.

My very good Lord, in my most loving wise, I commend me unto you, and I thank you for all your kindness that you have shewed me. You have bound me to love you, and all yours that be of your kin, during my life.

My Lord, since I came home I had a letter from my aunt Hastings, and she desires me to deny the said two articles: and I do send to Mr. Richard Cromwell a copy of the letter of the answer I made to her, to deliver to you; which I pray you take the pains to over-read, at your coming into leisure: and there

^a Brandon Duke of Suffolk, who died Aug. 24.^b Lord Poynings died Aug. 17, 1545.

you shall perceive that I will never deny the said two articles during my life. And so I pray you shew my Lord my husband, that I will never deny them, for no ill handling that he can do to me; nor for no imprisonment; so I pray you shew my Lord my husband that he may trust to it, seeing that I will not do it at the King's commandment, nor at your desire. I will not do it for no friend nor kin I have living: nor from this day forward I will never sue to the King, nor to none other, to desire my Lord my husband to take me again: for I have made much suit to him and nothing regarded: and I made him no fault, but in declaring of his shameful handling of me; as I have written to you, my Lord, in other letters before. There shall no imprisonment change my mind, nor a less living. I pray you, my Lord, to be in hand with the King, to expedite me a better living, ere my Lord my husband go northward: for I have but £50 the quarter, and here I lie in a dear country, and I but three hundred marks a year. I have been from my husband, come the Tuesday in the Passion week, three years. Though I be left poorly, yet I am content withall, for I am out of danger of mine enemies, and of the ill life that I had with my Lord my husband since he loved Bess Holland first, who was but washer of my nursery eight years, and she hath been the causer of all my trouble. I pray you, my Lord, when you be at leisure, write to me an answer whether I shall have a better living or not: for if my Lord my husband go northward, I will get me into some other quarter, where I may be better cheap. I am fully determined never to write nor to send more to my Lord my husband as long as I live, how poorly soever I live; for he never sent me answer of the last letter that I did write to him by the King's commandment; no, nor answer of the two gentle letters that I wrote to him before. And if he shall take me again, I know well it is more for the shame of the world than for any love he beareth me; for I know well, my life shall be as ill as ever it was. I have been well used, since I have been from him, to a quiet life, and if I should come to him, to use me as he did, he (*it*) would grete me worse now than it did before; because I have lived quiet these three years, without brawling or fighting. I may say I was born in an unhappy hour to be matched with such an ungracious husband, and so ungracious a son and daughter.

My Lord, I thank you for all your kindness that you have done for me, which I will never forget. No more to you at this time; but I pray God send you always honour, and as well to do, with long life, and health, as I would myself; and to overcome your enemies.

Written at Redborne, the thirtieth day of December,

By yours that is most bounden

To you during my life,

E. NORFOLK.

My Lord, I pray you shew my Lord my husband this letter

No. XXVIII.

From the Same to the Same.

[Cotton MSS. Titus, B. 1. p. 383.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

In my most loving wise that my heart can think, I commend me unto you. The cause of my writing unto you is, that I may know whether I shall have a better living or not: for an the King's Grace and you would be so good to me to speak to my Lord my husband, that I might have a better living, by your good means I might live: and my jointure, which is but five hundred marks and three score pounds, changing with Mr. Gorstwek, as he knoweth well I might, at the desire of my Lord my husband: an I were once settled in my jointure, I trust my Lord, every year once to do you some pleasure; though I be not able to recompence your good Lordship the kindness that I have found in you, before I was in my present trouble and sith: which I will never forget, your kindness during my life, you have so bound me. My trust is in you next God. For if the King's Grace granteth my daughter of Richmond her jointure (which he had never penny for at her marriage,) I know well, if the King command my husband, that I shall have my whole jointure. If my daughter's jointure be granted before, he will not let me have the remainder of my jointure by the King's commandment; nor at your good Lordship's desire neither, though, my Lord, my father paid two thousand marks with me, with other great charges, as I have written to you before: which my Lord my husband hath forgotten now he hath so much wealth and honours, and is so far in doating love with that quean, that he neither regardeth God nor his honour. He knoweth that it is spoken of far and near, to his great dishonour and shame: and he chose me for love; and I am younger than him by twenty years, and he hath put me away four years and a quarter at this Midsummer. I have lived always like a good woman, as it is not unknown to him. I was daily waiter in the Court sixteen years together, when he hath lived from me more than a year in the King's wars. The King's Grace shall be my record how I used myself, without any ill name or fame: and the best in the Court, that were there that time, both men and women, know how I used myself in my younger days: and here is a poor reward I have in my latter days for my well doing! and it is the least I shall have, without your good help, my Lord. He hath taken away all my jewels and my apparel, and left me four years and more like a prisoner, as I have written you before: and none comes at me but such as he appointeth. I have

made suit to him three times with three gentle letters. One of them was by the King's commandment, when I was with his Majesty at Dunstable: and I have sent you the copies of them all three. I never sent to him since, nor never will during my life. I am full determined, since I was with the King's Grace and you, that I would never make more suit to nobody during my life. I know, my Lord, my husband's crafty ways of old: that he hath made me many times promises under a colour, which he never performed. I will never make more suit unto him, neither for prisonment, nor less living during my life. And besides that, my daughter of Richmond, and Bess Holland is comen up with her; that harlot, which hath put me at this trouble, and it is eleven years since my Lord my husband first fell in love with her, and yet she is but a churl's daughter, and of no gentle blood: but that my Lord my husband hath set him up for her sake, because he was so nigh akin to my Lord Hussey, that was late made, and died last, and was beheaded; and was the head of that drab, Bess Holland's blood. And he keeps her still in his house: and his children maintain the matter: therefore I will never come at him during my life. Another time he set his women to bind me till blood come out at my fingers ends; and pinaced me; and set on my breast till I spit blood; and he never punished them. All this was done for Bess Holland's sake, and he sent me word by Master Cornysh that he would serve me so, two years before he put me away. I know well, if I should come home again, my life should be but short. My Lord, whether I have a good living or not, I thank you for it. I have such a trust in you, for I hear say how good you were to my Lady Mary, the King's daughter, in her great trouble, and many now which were too long to rehearse. If you, my Lord, do not now give me this command for my living which I have sued for to you so long, I shall think no fault in you. You are called so steadfast to your friends, and so true without dissimulation, I shall reckon it is the pleasure of God I should have this ill fortune, and that no friend should do me good. I have sued to nobody but to you, my Lord, to amend my living, nor never will do: I live in Herfordshire, and have but 300 marks, 50 pounds a quarter; and keep twenty persons daily, besides other great charges, which I have rehearsed before. I could live better and cheaper in London than I do here. It may well be called Her forth shire. And here have I lived four years and a quarter at this Midsummer. My Lord, I can say no more to you, but put my trust in you next God. I pray you, my Lord, write to me an answer by this bearer, whereto I shall trust; and whether I am to have a better living or not. And no more to you, my Lord, at this time, but our Lord send you, my Lord, long life, and as much honour as I would myself. Written at Redbourne, the twenty-sixth of Junii,

By your most bounden,

During my life,

E. NORFOLK.

Note. This letter must have been written in 1537; for Cromwell was not made Lord Privy Seal, nor created Lord Cromwell of Okeham, till July 1536. The Lord Hussey, whom the Dutchess mentions as "late dead," was beheaded June 1537, for having taken part in the Lincolnshire rebellion. The Duchess must have been separated from the Duke of Norfolk in 1533.

No. XXIX.

From the Same, to the Same.

[Cotton MSS. Titus. B. I. fo. 383. No. 3.]

MY SPECIAL GOOD LORD,

In my most humble wise, I heartily commend me unto you. Here I send you a fair present of partridges; of twelve cocks, and one hen. I pray your Lordship take it in worth. If I were able it should have been better. I trust one day I shall deserve your kindness, sith I was in my trouble; which I shall never forget.

My Lord, I pray your Lordship to be in hand with the King's Grace, and my Lord my husband, that I may have a better living as I did write to your Lordship of all my mind by your ---- wife; I know well, if it be not by your means to move the King's Grace, I never shall have better living; I have so many enemies. Bess Holland in the Court for chief; and the men, as Rothwell are; and Rouse, another; Hussey another; which was a kin, and nephew to my Lord Hussey, that last was buried. They rule, my Lord, as they lust. My Lord Arnoll [Arundel] and his wife came to me, and shewed me how special good Lord you have been to them; and what comfortable words you gave them. They reckon to fare the better for my sake. My Lord, you have bound me during my life. I pray God I may once do you some pleasure, for your kindness shewed to me at all times; which I shall never forget.

My Lord, at the tenth day of November, Mrs Abram your niece was in good health. I sent one of my servants to her; my Godson, and yours, is a very goodly child, and toward, like to live by the grace of God; and he was a very weak child when he was born, as I heard say.

My Lord, I pray you take no displeasure that I writ so plainly unto you. I did not know that you had a great business in hand: I would not have troubled you with so long a letter as I sent you before. My Lord, I am so shamefully

handled, and have so poor a living, that no gentlemen nor gentlewoman dare not come at me; but such as my Lord appoints to know my mind, and to counsel me after his fashion; which I purpose shall know none of my mind; nor I will not follow none of their counsel, for it shall not be for my profit, nor yet for my honour: but they would make me 'lieve the contrary. I have lived from my Lord four years and after; as I have written to you in all my letters. I have fully determined never to come at him during my life; seeing the King's Grace and you can make no end. I will never sue further during my life. My Lord my husband makes every man to believe, he does it to blind the people withal, only to make me yield to his purpose, which he shall never do, neither for less living, nor for promises; for I have been used to both, that I care not for them. I have written to my Lord my husband, I will do more by gentleness than by all their extreme handling, seeing our marriage was of his own chusing, and not of my mind. Yet after he had put me away he sent his two chaplains, Master Burley, and Sir Thomas Seymer, if I would be divorced, he would give me all my jewels and all my apparel, and a great part of his plate, and of his stuff of household; and I rebuked his priests: and then he wrote that with his own hand on the next day; and I had counsel enough if I would have followed it: but though my children be unkind to me I have always love unto them, for I know well my Lord and husband did it but to provoke me to put me to shame. I know an my Lord my husband send to me, for he had liever than a £. 1000. he could have brought me to have been divorced. And as for my Lord my husband, for his love I will never trust: he has deceived me so many times; he can speak fair, as well to his enemy as to his friend; and that I perceive by them that be dead, and them that be alive. My Lord, I pray you remember the last letter I wrote to you as touching my daughter of Richmond's jointure, that the King's Grace may be in hand with my Lord my husband for my jointure, afore her jointure be granted by your good means. You have bound me and all my friends during my life. No more to you at this time, but our Lord send you as much honour, and long life as I would have mine own self. At Redborne, the tenth day of November, [1537]. By your most bounden, during my life, E. NORFOLK.

To my special good Lord and Friend, my
Lord Privy Seal, this be delivered.

No. XXIX.

From the Same to the Same.

[Cotton MSS. Titus B. I. fo. 383.]

To my special good Lord, my Lord Privy Seal, this be delivered.

MY SPECIAL GOOD LORD,

In my most loving wise that my heart can think I recommend me unto you. I thank you heartily for the goodness that you shewed the brewer's wife, and for the reward you gave her, which she shewed me was a ryall, and it was great comfort to me that your Lordship asked heartily how I did of the woman. I beseech you, my Lord, to be good to this man Arnall, now in his old days, for the true service that he hath done to my Lord my husband, and to my Lord of Richmond. You have been so good lord to all my Lord of Richmond's servants, that it makes me the more bold to write unto your good Lordship for this honest man, to be good lord to him for my sake. You have bound me always to do you pleasure if it lie in me. I pray you, my Lord, help this honest man as your Lordship thinks best, for if I were able I would help him to a living for the kindness that I have found with him, and with his wife in times past, and, if your Lordship do not now put him to some honest living, to lend him some stock of money whereby he may live in country like an honest man: and he shall be bound to pray for you during his life.

I pray you, my Lord, now my Lord my husband is coming home, that you will be in hand with him for a better living, seeing he has away all my jewels and my apparel, and had with me two thousand marks, which is more, by times, than ever, [he had]. He had but little to take to when he married me first but his lands, and he was always a great player. Seeing my Lord my father made me sure of five hundred marks a year, and seeing that my Lord my husband chose me himself; for my Lord my father had chose my Lord of Westmorland for me; he and I had loved together two years, and if my Lord my husband had not sent immediately word after my lady, and my Lord's first wife was dead, and made suit to my Lord my father, or else I had been married before Christmas to my Lord of Westmorland.

and it was my Lord my husband's suit to my Lord my father, and never came of me nor none of my friends : and when he came thither at Easter tide, he would have none of my sisters, but only me. My Lord, seeing I have been his wife twenty-five years, and have borne him five children, and can lay nothing to my charge, but for because I would not be contented to suffer the harlots that bound me to be still in the house. They bound me and pinnacled me, and sat on my breast till I spit blood, which I have been worse for ever since, and all for speaking against the woman in the Court, Bess Holland ; therefore he put me out of the doors. Surely, my Lord, I am full determined that I will never make suit to him to come in his company whilst I live, seeing that the King's Grace and you can make no end. I will never make suit to none creature more, nor I myself to my Lord my husband, nor I will never come at him during my life. It is four year come the Tuesday in the Passion week that he came riding all night, and locked me up in a chamber, and took away all my jewels and all my apparel, and never gave me but fifty pounds a quarter, which is three hundred marks a year, and therewith I keep twenty persons, and I lie in a hard county.

My Lord, if it would please you to be so good Lord to me, to move the King's Grace to speak to my Lord my husband, that I might have my whole jointure, and to dwell on it, I were greatly bounden to your Lordship. I hear say my daughter Richmond hath not her jointure yet ; an it would please you, my Lord, to move the King's Grace, that he should not grant my daughter of Richmond her jointure till I be sure of mine jointure. By the means of you a word of the King's mouth,—my Lord my husband dare not say nay : for I have lived very poorly these three years and more, and not after my bringing up ; and I have had much sickness this year, and have cost me much money in physic, and ever since the drabs bound me I am sick at the fall of the leaf and at the spring of the year ; ever since they bound me, and pinnacled me, and made me spit blood.

My Lord, I would be glad to live quietly the rest of my life, for I am forty years of age ; and my lord, if you can bring me to a better living, I am bound to pray for you during life.

I think by the law I should have my jointure, as well as my daughter of Richmond ; for the King's Grace had never a penny for my Lord of Richmond ; for Queen Anne got the marriage clear for my Lord my husband, when she did favour my Lord my husband. I heard Queen Anne say, that if my Lord of Richmond did die, that my daughter should have above one thousand pounds a year to her jointure ; and as for me, I have had five children by my Lord my husband,

and my marriage money duly paid; and as for my daughter had never now child by him. My Lord, I beseech you take no displeasure that I write so plainly to you, for I have no friend but you only that can do me any good. My Lord, I thank you of all the kindness that you have shewn me in times past. I pray you continue still my good Lord, as my trust is in you next God. No more to you at this time; but our Lord send you as much honour and length [of] life as I would have my own self. Written at Redburne, the 24th day of October,

By yours that is bounden

to you during my life,

E. NORFOLK.

My Lord, I thank you heartily for your kind letter which you sent me by this bearer, which was greatly to my comfort. I pray you, my Lord, send me an answer by this bearer.

No. XXXI.

From the same to the same.

[Cotton. Titus. B. I.]

After my most hearty wise, unto your Lordship, I do commend me; giving great thanks unto you for your manifold goodness unto my great comfort at all times. I desire your Lordship now to remember my last letter which I wrote unto you for the house I dwell in at Redburne, which I trust your lordship will be good Lord unto me, that I might have it, and to know now your pleasure wholly therein, and in especially for the payment I might have some days. The whole rent of all together is now owing £8. 8s. 4d. beseeching your lordship to shew your pleasure to Master Poply your servant; for I have desired him to take pains therein.

I pray you, my Lord, to take no displeasure that I do not follow your counsel to go home to my Lord my husband again, which I will never do during my life, neither for imprisonment, nor for less living, which I have been threatened often enough, since I was with the King's grace at Dunstable, three years and a half ago, and put my matter to his Grace to make an end, and to your Lordship; then

my Lord my husband refused it. I then made promise that I would never sue to come to him again during my life. It is six years come Easter, that my Lord my husband put me away; and your Lordship knoweth that I have submitted myself in three letters, which your Lordship have seen, and in this three years he never sent to me gentle message, but always cruel messages and threatenings; and he keepeth that harlot Bess Holland, and all the residue of the harlots that bound me, and pinnacled me, and sat on my breast till they made me spit blood, and I have been the worse ever since; and I reckon that if I should come home again I should be poisoned for the love that he beareth to the harlot Bess Holland, and he would as well hold them in that as he did the residue which bound me; as I have rehearsed before. I will never come at my Lord my husband for no fair promises nor cruel handling. I had rather be kept in the Tower of London during my life, for I am so well used to imprisonment I care not for it; for he will suffer no gentlemen to come at me, but Master Cornish and Master Roylet and very few gentlewomen.

I beseech your Lordship to take no displeasure with my long writing, for if I might, for fear of my Lord my husband, come to London to you, I would sue to you, and not trouble you with no letters. I beseech your Lordship to remember what you promised me three year and a half ago, that you would help me to a better living. I am sure if I had any friends to put your Lordship in remembrance I should have had it ere now, you be called so true of your promise.

I beseech you to have pity upon me, and remember I am a gentlewoman born, and hath been brought up decently, and not to live so barely as I do, with £50 a quarter, and the one quarter, and half the other quarter is spent before it cometh in; and besides, I am visited much with sickness, and specially now a late, and many times besides since I came to Redburne; and now age cometh on apace with me; and besides that, there was never woman that bare so ungracious an eldest son, and so ungracious a daughter, and unnatural, as I have done.

No more to your Lordship at this time. But I pray God send you as long life and good health, and as much honour as I would wish myself. Written at Redburne the 29th day of January,

By yours most bounden to do you
any pleasure during my life,

E. NORFOLK.

To my special good Lord
my Lord Privy Seal, this
be delivered.

No. XXXII.

From the Duke of Norfolk to Cromwel, Lord Privy Seal.

[Cotton MSS. Titus. B. 1. 125.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

It is come to my knowledge that my wilful wife is come to London, and hath be with you yesternight to come to me to London. My Lord, I assure you as long as I live I will never come in her company, unto the time [*until*] she hath first written to me that she hath untruly slandered me in writing and saying, that when she had been in child-bed of my daughter of Richmond two nights and a day, I should draw her out of her bed by the hair of her head, about the house, and with my dagger give her a wound in her head.

My good Lord, if I prove not by witness, and that with many honest persons, that she had the scar in her head fifteen months before she was delivered of my said daughter, and that the same was cut by a surgeon of London, for a swelling she had in her head, of drawing two teeth, never trust my word after; reporting to your good Lordship whether I shall play the felo or no, to put me in her danger, that so falsely will slander me, and so wilfully stick thereby. Surely I think there is no man on live that would handle a woman in child-bed of that sort, nor for my part would no so have done for all that I am worth.

Finally, my Lord, I require you to send to her in no wise to come where I am, for the same shall not only put me to more trouble than I have (whereof I have no need) but might give me occasion to handle her otherwise than I have done yet. If she first write to me, confessing her false slander, and thereupon sue to the King's Highness to make any deed, I will never refuse so do that his Majesty shall command me to do; but before, assuredly never. And thus heartily fare ye well.

From Bontyngfere, this Friday before day,

Your own assuredly,

T. NORFOLK.

No. XXXIII.

The Earl of Surrey's Inditement and Judgment.

[From the Baga de Secretas.]

Dicunt super Sacramentum suum ;

Quod per quendam Actum in Parlamento Dom. nostrius Hen 8ⁱ Dei gra. Ang. Fran. et Hiber. Regis fidei Defen. et in terris Eccles. Ang. et Hiber. supremum caput tento apud Westmon. 8^o die Junii anno Regni sui 28^o et ab eodem 8^o die Junii usque ad et in 18^m diem Julii tunc proxime sequentis ibidem continuato et similiter tento edito inter cætera auctoritate ejusdem Parlamenti pro communi utilitate. et regimine hujus regni Angliæ inter alia inactitatum fuit quod si aliqua persona seu aliquæ personæ cujuscunque status gradus dignitatis seu conditionis fuerit ad aliquod tempus post confectionem ejusdem actus, per verba scripta impressionem sive aliquem exteriorem actum vel factum malitiosè aut voluntariè procurabit aut fieri causabit aut pocuravit directè sive indirectè aliquam rem seu res ad periculum regalissimæ Personæ dicti Dom. Regis sive ad periculum personæ alicujus hæredum vel successorum suorum habentium Regalem statum coronæ hujus Regni Angliæ aut malitiosè vel voluntariè aliquam occasionem per verba scripta impressionem factum sive actum dederint per quod regia celsitudo prædicti Dom. Regis nunc, sive aliquorum hæredum aut successorum suorum regalem statum coronam hujus regni habentium de eâdem coronâ hujus regni disturbari sive interrumpi poterit sive poterint vel si per verba scripta impressionem factum sive actum procuraverint aut fecerint vel procurari seu fieri causaverint aliquam rem vel res ad vel pro interruptione repellatione vel adnullatione actus prædicti aut alicujus rei in eodum actu contentum vel alicujus rei quæ per ejus celsitudinum facien in limitatione et dispositione coronæ ipsius Dom. Regis auctoritate ejusdem actus aut si per verba scripta impressionem factum sive actum procuraverint vel procurari aut fieri causaverint aliquam rem seu res ad prejudicium scandalum disturbancem seu derogationem legalis matrimonii solemnizati inter dictum Dom. Regem et Dominam Johannam tempore confectionis ejusdem actus Reginam Angliæ vel aliam aliquam legitimam Uxorem seu Uxores in posterum per eundem Dom. Regem acceptandas vel ad periculum scandalum seu dishereditationem alicujus exitum et hæredum prædicti Dom. Regis existentium limitat: per prædictum actum ad hæreditandum et fore hæreditabiles ad coronam hujus regni in tali forma ut in actum prædictum continetur aut ad interruptionem

seu dishæreditationem alicujus hujusmodi personæ vel aliquarum personarum cui vel quibus prædicta sua celsitudo imperialem coronam suam auctoritate vel vigore actus prædicti ut præmemoratur assignaverit vel disposuerit per quod aliquis hujusmodi exitus vel hæredes dicti Dom. Regis sive hujusmodi alia persona sive personæ disturbari vel interrumpi poterint in fama, corpore seu titulo talis hæreditamenti coronæ hujus regni, prout eis in actu prædicto modo et forma prædicta limitat: existit vel prout eis per dictum Dom. Regem virtute et vigore ejusdem actus limitabitur et assignabitur, vel si aliqua persona vel personæ arte imaginavit inventavit seu attemptavit per colorem alicujus prætextus deprivare prædictum Dom. Regem Reginam vel hæredem de corpore prædicti Dom. Regis legitime procreatum seu aliquam personam vel personas cui vel quibus dictus Dom. Rex disposueret dederit et limitavit coronam hujus Regni auctoritate actus prædicti de aliquibus eorum titulis nominibus gradibus seu regali statu ac potestate regali quod tunc quælibet talis persona et personæ cujuscumque status gradus et conditionis ipsi seu ipsæ fuerint vel fuerit ac eorum auxiliatrices conciliatores manutentores et abettatores et eorum quilibet pro qualibet tali offensa prædeclarata adjudicentur Alti Proditores et quod quælibet talis offensa præantea specificata adjudicetur Alta Proditio et quod delinquentes et offensores in eisdem eorum adjutores consiliatores manutentores et abettatores ac eorum quælibet de aliqua hujusmodi offensa per presentationem veredictum confessionem seu processum juxta consuetudines et leges hujus Regni legitime convicti existentes patientur pœnas mortis ut in casibus altæ proditionis prout in actu prædicto inter alias plenius continetur. CUMQUE etiam Excelentiss Illus. et præpoten. Dom. noster Hen. 8^{us} Dei gratia Ang. Franc. et Hib. Rex Fid. Defen. et in terra Eccles. Ang. et Hib. supremum caput est verus et indubitatus hujus Regni Ang. Rex: Cumq. Illus. Dom. Edwardus quondam. Rex Angliæ ante Conquistam Angliæ, vulgariter vocatus "Seynt Edward the Confessor," ut in jure dicti Regni Angliæ habuit gessit erexit et utebatur quædam prænobilis Arma et insignia "viz. Azure, a cross fleury, between five martlets gold," dicto Regi Edwardo et prænobilibus progenitoribus suis regibus Angliæ et non aliis quibuscunque personis eisdem modo et forma quibus Dictus. Rex Edwardus et dicti progenitores sui eadem in jure Coronæ suæ Angliæ usi fuerint gesserunt et habuerunt spectantia attinentia et pertinentia QUODQUE prædictus Dom. Rex nunc et omnes et singuli prænobiles progenitores sui Reges hujus Regni Angliæ à tempore cujus contra memoria hominum non existit habuerunt gesserunt et usi fuerunt prædicta prænobilis arma et insignia dicta. Domino Regi nunc et dictis progenitoribus suis Regibus et Coronæ hujus Regni Angliæ unice appropriat. et spectan. quæ quædam arma et insignia solum et solummodo dicto Dom^o Regi nunc et dictis prænobilibus progenitoribus suis Regibus hujus Regni Angliæ et non aliis quibuscunque personis eisdem modo et forma quibus Dictus Dom^{us} Rex

nunc et dicti progenitores sui eadem in jure dictæ coronæ suæ Angliæ usi fuerunt gesserunt et habuerunt appropriantia spectantia et pertinentia. CUMQUE etiam excellentissimus Dom. Edwardus nunc Princeps hujus Regni Angliæ ac Filius et Hæres apparens Dicti Excellen. et præpotent. Dom. Regis nunc dicta arma et insignia cum tribus labellis vocatis "Three labels silver" habet gerit et utitur et a tempore nativitatis suæ de jure habuit gessit et usus fuit prout prædictus Dom. Edwardus cæterique hæredes Apparentes Regum hujus regni Angliæ de mero jure habuerunt gesserunt et usi fuerunt ac eidem excellent^{mo}. Principi de mero jure pertinent et spectant et non aliis quibuscunque subditis eisdem modo et forma quibus dictus nunc Dom. Edwardus Princeps eadem habet gerit et utitur QUIDEM TAMEN HENRICUS Howard, nuper de Kenyngale in Com. Norfolciæ prænobilis ordinis Gartherii Miles: alias dictus Henricus Comes Surriæ Deum præ oculis non habens sed instigatione diabolica seductus et debitam legiantiam suam et statum prædictum minime ponderans ac etiam ut falsus et malitiosus proditor et inimicus publicus Dicto Præpoten^{mo} et Sereniss. Dom. Regi nunc falsè malitiosè et proditoriè machinans cordialem dilectionem et obedientiam quas veri et fideles subditi dicti Domini Regis hujus regni sui Angliæ in eundem Dominum Regem gerunt et de jure gerere tenentur penitus extinguere et adnihilare seditionem que inter dictum dom^m Regem et omnes ejusdem Domⁱ Regis fideles subditi generare nec non eundem Dom^m Regem de Corona hujus Regni sui Angliæ et aliis honoribus præeminentiis et potestatibus suis deprivari et dishereditari causare: AC ETIAM falsè malitiosè et proditoriè optans volens et desiderans ac omnibus arte et ingenio suis nefandissimis imaginans inventans practicans et attemptans præfatum illustriss^m et sereniss^m Dom^m nost^m Regem de juribus dignitate titulis nominibusque status sui regalis deprivare: et ad dicta ejus falsas malitiosas et proditorias intentiones et propositionem perficiendam et perimplendam ad periculum scandalum et dishæreditationem dicti Dom. Regis et subversionem hujus regni sui Angliæ pro posse suo contra legiantiam suam debitam 7^o die Octobris anno Regni dicti Dom. Regis nunc 38^o apud Kenyngale in dicto Com. Norfolciæ in domo Thomæ Ducis Norfolciæ Patris sui ibidem falsè malitiosè et proditoriè ac palam ac publice habuit erexit et gessit ac usus fuit necnon proditorie ad tunc et ibidem fieri et depingi causavit juxta et conjunctim cum propriis armis insigniis ipsius HENRICI HOWARD dicta arma et insignia dicti Dom. Regis nunc cum tribus labellis vocatis "Three labels silver," ad deprimendum destruendum adnihilandum et scandalizandum verum et indubitatum titulum dicti Domⁱ Regis nunc ad Coronam hujus Regni sui Angliæ: necnon proditoriè ad dishæreditandum et interrumpendum dictum excellentissimum Dom^m Edwardum Prin^m de vero et indubitato titulo suo in et ad

dictam Coronam hujus regni Angliæ dandoque ad tunc et ibidem malitiosè voluntariè et proditoriè occasionem unde idem Dominus Rex nunc de dicto vero titulo suo ad dictam Coronam hujus Regni sui Angliæ disturbari et interrumpi possit non solum in dicti Dom. Regis nunc et dicti legitimi tituli sui ad dictam coronam suam Angliæ scandalum periculum derogationem et contemptum ac contra formam et effectum prædicti statuti et diversorum aliorum statutorum in hujus modi casu nuper editorum et provisorum verum etiam contra pacem dicti Dom. Regis coronam et dignitatem suam.

ET MODO scilicet die Jovis 13^o die Jani. anno 38^o supradicto coram præfato Majore et sociis prædictis apud Guildhaldam Civitatis Lond. prædictæ venit prædictus Henricus Howard sub custodia Johannis Gage Constabularius Turris dicti Regis Lond. in cujus custodia præ antea ex causa prædicta et aliis certis de causis commissus fuit, ad barram hic ductus in propria persona sua, qui committitur præfato Constabulario, &c. Et statim de prodicionibus prædictis sibi superius impositis allocutus est qualiter se velit inde acquittari dicit quod ipse in nullo est inde culpabilis, et inde de bono et malo ponit se super patriam, &c.

IDEO IMMEDIATE hac instante die Jovis, viz. 13^o die Januarii anno supradicto coram præfato Majore et sociis suis prædictis apud Guildhalam Civitatis Londinensis prædictæ venerunt inde Juratores &c. et qui &c. ad recognisan. &c. quia &c.

Et Juratores immediate per Henricum Hubbert Arm. Vic. Com. Norf. prædictæ inter dictum Dom. Regem et præfatum HENRICUM HOWARDUM virtute precepti ac mandati eidem Vic. Com. directi retornati et impannellati exact. similiter venerunt qui ad veritatem de præmissis eis superius impositis dicend. electi triati et jurati dicunt super sacramentum suum QUOD PRÆDICTUS HENRICUS HOWARDUS de prædictis prodicionibus ei superius impositis est culpabilis: et quæ bona seu catalla terræ seu tenementa idem Henricus Howard habuit tempore prodicionis prædictæ fieri suppositæ Juratores prædicti ignorant.

IDEO consideratum est per curiam quod prædictus Henricus Howard per præfatum Constabularium usque ad prædictam Turrim ducatur; et deinde per medium Civitatis Londini directe usque ad furcas de Tyborne trahatur et super furcas illas suspendatur et ipso vivente prosternatur et interiora sua extra ventrem suum capiantur ipsoque vivente comburentur et caput ejus amputetur quodque corpus ejus in quatuor partes dividatur et quod caput et quarteria illa ponantur ubi dictus Dom. Rex ea assignare voluerit, etc.

Names of the Grand Jury by whom the Bill against the Earl of Surrey was found :

ANTHONY GUERNY,	} Armigeri.
WILLIAM BRAMPTON,	
JOHN BERNEY,	
GEO. HORSEMAN,	
RALPH SHELTON,	} Gentlemen.
EDWARD WODE,	
ROBERT RUGGE,	
WILLIAM ROGERS,	
THOMAS CODDE,	
RICHARD LOVEDARE,	
RICHARD SPONER,	
WILLIAM DRAKE,	
THOMAS ALDRICH,	
JOHN THETFORD,	
THOMAS HARE,	
HENRY DENGKEYN,	

Names of the Jury by whom the Earl of Surrey was found guilty :

WILLIAM PASTON,....	Miles.
JAMES BULLEYN,	Miles.
FRANCIS LOVELL,	Miles.
RICHARD GRESHAM, ..	Miles.
JOHN GRESHAM,.....	Miles.
JOHN CLERE,	Miles.
THOMAS CLERE,.....	Miles.
WILLIAM WOODHOUSE,	Miles.
CHRISTOPHER HAYDEN,	} Armigeri.
NICHOLAS LE STRANGE,	
PHILIP HUBBERT,	
HENRY BEDINGFIELD,	
Baga de Secretis.	

No. XXXIV.

Character of the Earl of Surrey.[Harl. MS. N^o 1579.]

But the last, and one of the worst acts he ever did, was the unjust proceeding, and taking away the life of that mirror of nobility, the Earl of Surrey, son to the Duke of Norfolk then living; merely out of mistrust, that people applauded and esteemed his virtue, suspecting danger that might ensue upon his young son he was to leave of nine years of age. A policy used among Turks, that make tyranny the foundation of their government.

And seeing we are upon works and wonders of God, it is not less wonderful, that out of jealousy, which is an unequal judge, the King should, as I have said, take away the Earl of Surrey even as he was gasping his last farewell: a man so worthy in himself, his progenitors so loyal and so faithful to Prince and country, and the successes so fortunate and victorious over his enemies, and only out of suspicion, which is no proof. God put the sword into this King's hands to make him the executioner of his, and, like an ignorant fencer, while he wards his head, he was hit in the heart, when he suspects it not.

The Earl had too great a blood to have so foul a thought. He was known to be thankful to God, and too pitiful to man to embrace so wild an act. But to make the wonder the greater, God stirred up a house of mean descent, lately advanced, and that by himself, the son of an odious person that had lately tasted the justice of the law for oppressing the subject, to be the minister to execute the conceived jealousy of Surrey upon his posterity. I mean the Duke of Northumberland, whose ambition and malice some think was the physician to King Edward's sickness; and how he meant to deprive the daughters of the King, and to settle the usurped crown upon his heirs, it is manifest by proclamation to entitle the Lady Jane Queen; the married wife to his young son; while the house of Surrey, that had tasted the uttermost of his tyranny, proved the chiefest ministers to defend the daughter's right.

Whether this devilish jealousy against the Earl of Surrey proceeded out of malice to his house, out of fear to his popularity, out of cankered envy to his virtue, or out of a diabolical divination, it is unknown, though the last is the likeliest. For Satan wants no subtleties to work his end upon faithless people, as appeared in the same case of his grandfather, Edward the Fourth, who believed, under what false pretence 'tis not known, that a G. should be the destruction of his two infants, and innocent sons, whereupon, naturally, or rather monstrously, he was the death of his dear brother, George Duke of Clarence, not remembering his own brother Glouster's began with a G. who was the destruction of the harmless Princes: a judgment due to such an offence, when the Devil had more credit with him than God.

No. XXXV.

Letter from Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, to his Children, from the Tower.

[Harleian MSS. No. 787.]

To my loving Children, specially to Philip and Nan.

Dear children; this is the last letter that ever I think to write to you; and, therefore, if you loved me, or, that you will seem grateful to me for the special love that I have ever borne unto you; then, remember, and follow these my last lessons. O! Philip! serve and fear God above all things! I find the fault in myself, that I have (God forgive me!) been too negligent in this point. Love and make much of your wife; and therein, considering the great adversity you are now in by reason of my fall, is your greatest present comfort and relief; besides, your happiness in having a wife, which is endued with so great towardness in virtue and good qualities; and, in person, comparable with the best sort. Follow these two lessons, and God will bless you; and, without these, as you may see by divers examples out of the scripture, and also by ordinary worldly proof, where God is not feared, all goeth to wreck; and, where love is not between the husband and wife, there God doth not prosper. My third lesson is, that you shew yourself loving and natural to your brothers and sisters, and sisters-in-law. Though you be very young in years, yet you must strive, with consideration, to become a man: for, it is your own presence and good government of yourself that must get friends: and, if you take that course, then have I been so careful a father unto you, as I have taken such order, as you, by God's grace, shall be well able, besides your wife's lands to maintain yourself like a gentleman. Marry! the world is greedy and covetous; and if the shew of the well government of yourself do not fear and restrain their greedy appetite, it is like, that by undirect means, they will either put you from that which law layeth upon you, or else drive you to much trouble in trying and holding your right. When my grandfather died, I was not much above a year elder than you are now; and, yet, I thank God, I took such order with myself, as you shall reap the commodity of my so long passed travel, if you do now imitate the like. Help to strengthen your young and raw years with good counsel. I send you herewith a brief schedule, whom I wish you to make account of, as friends, and whom as servants; and, I charge you, as a father may do, to follow my direction therein: my experience can better tell what is fit for you, than yet young years can judge of. I would wish you, for the present, to make your chief abode at Cambridge, which is the place fittest for you to pro-

secute your learning in; and, besides, is not very far hence, whereby you may, within a day's warning, be here to follow your own causes, as occasion serveth. If, after a year or two, you spend your time in some house of the Law, there is nothing that will prove more to your commodity, considering how, for the time, you shall have continual business about your own law-affairs; and thereby also, if you spend your time well, you shall be ever after better able to judge in your own causes. I too late repent, that I followed not this course that now I wish to you; for if I had, then my case, perchance, had not been in so ill state as now it is. When God shall send you to those years, as that it shall be fit for you to company with your wife, (which I had rather were sooner, than that by ill company you should fall into any ill rule;) then I would wish you to withdraw yourself into some private dwelling of your own. And if your hap may be so good, as you may so live without being called to higher degree—O! Philip! Philip! then shall you enjoy that blessed life, which your woeful father would fain have done, and never could be so happy. Beware of high degree! To a vain-glorious, proud stomach it seemeth as the first sweet. Look into all chronicles, and you shall find, that in the end, it brings heaps of cares, toils in the state; and most commonly, in the end, utter overthrow. Look into the whole state of the nobility in times past, and into their state now, and then judge whether my lessons be true or no. Assure yourself, as you may see by the books of my accounts, and you shall find that my living did hardly maintain my expences; for all the help that I had by Tom's lands, and somewhat by your wife's and sisters-in-law, I was ever a beggar. You may, by the grace of God, be a great deal richer and quieter in your low degree; wherein, once again, I wish you to continue. They may, that shall wish you the contrary, have a good meaning: but, believe your father, who of love wishes you best, and with the mind that he is at this present, fully armed to God, who sees both states both high and low, as it were even before his eyes. Beware of the Court, except it be to do your Prince service, and that as near as you can in the meanest degree; for that place hath no certainty; either a man, by following thereof, hath too much to worldly pomp, which in the end throws him down headlong, or else he liveth there unsatisfied, either that he cannot attain to himself that he would, or else that he cannot do for his friends as his heart desireth. Remember these notes, and follow them; and then you, by God's help, shall reap the commodity of them in your old years. If your brothers may be suffered to remain in your company still, I would be most glad thereof; because, continuing still together should still increase love between you. But the world is so catching of every thing that falls, as I believe Tom, being after my death, your Queen's Majesty's ward, shall be begged by one or another. But yet you are sure to have your brother William left still with you; because, poor boy, he hath nothing to feed cormorants withal; to whom you will

as well be a father as a brother; for, upon my blessing, I commit him to your charge to provide for, if that which I have assured him by law shall not be so sufficient, as I meant it. If law may take place, your sisters-in-law be surely enough conveyed to the behoof of your brothers; and then I would wish them to [be] brought up with some friend of mine; as, for the present, I allow best of Sir Christopher Heydon, if he will so much friend you as to receive to sojourn with him: if not, then in some other place as your friends shall best allow of. And touching the bestowing of your wife and Megg, who, I would be loth should be out of your wife's company; for, as she should be a good companion for Nan; so I commit Megg, of special trust, to her. I think good, till you lie together, if my Lady of Sussex might be entreated, to take them to her as sojourners; there were no place so fit, considering his kindred unto you, and the assured friend that I hope you shall find of him; besides, she is a good Lady. If it will not be so brought to pass; then, by the advice of your friends, take some other order; but, in no case, I would wish you to keep any house till you and your wife lie together. Thus, I have advised you, as my troubled memory can presently suffer me. Beware of pride, stubbornness, lechery, taunting, and sullenness, (which vices nature doth somewhat kindle in you;) and, therefore, you must with reason and discretion make a new nature in yourself. Give not your mind too much and greedily to gaming; make a pastime of it, and no toil. And, lastly, delight to spend some time in reading of the Scriptures: for therein is the whole comfort of man's life; all other things are vain and transitory: and, if you be diligent in reading of them, they will remain with you continually to your profit and commodity in this world, and to your comfort and salvation in the world to come; whither, in grace of God, I am now with joy and consolation preparing myself. And, upon my blessing, beware of blind papistry, which brings nothing but bondage to men's consciences. Mix your prayers with fasting, not thinking thereby to merit; for there is nothing that we of ourselves can do that is good; we are but unprofitable servants; but fast I say, thereby to tame the wicked affections of the mind; and trust only to be saved by Christ's precious blood; for, without your perfect Faith therein, there is no Salvation. Let works follow your Faith, thereby to shew to the world that you do not only say you have faith; but that you give testimony thereof to the full satisfaction of the godly. I write, somewhat the more herein, because perchance you have heretofore heard, or, perchance may hereafter hear false bruits, that I was a papist: but, trust unto it, I never, since I knew what religion meant, (I thank God,) was of other mind than now you shall hear that I die in; although (I cry God mercy) I have not given fruits and testimony of my faith, as I ought to have done; the which is the thing that I do now chiefliest repent. When I am gone, forget my condemning, and forgive, I charge you, my false accusers, as, I protest to God, I do;

but have nothing to do with them, if they live. Surely, Bannister dealt no way but honestly and truly. Hickford did not hurt me in my conscience willingly; nor did not charge me with any great matter that was of weight otherways than truly. But the Bishop of Ross, and specially Barker, did falsely accuse me, and laid their own treasons upon my back. God forgive them, and I do; and once again I will you to do; bear no malice in your mind. And now, dear Philip, farewell. Read this my letter sometime over; it may chance make you remember yourself the better; and, by the same, when your father is dead and rotten, you may see what counsel I would give you, if I were alive. If you follow these admonitions, there is no doubt but God will bless you: and I, your earthly father, do give you God's blessing and mine, with my humble prayers to Almighty God, that it will please him to bless you, and your good Nan; that you may both, if it be his will, see your children's children to the comfort of you both; and afterward that you may be partakers of the heavenly kingdom. Amen, Amen.

Tom; out of this that I have written to your brother, you may learn such lessons as is fit for you; and therefore I will not repeat them again. That I write to one, I write to all, except it be particular notes, which particularly touches any one of you. To fear and serve God, is generally to you all; and, of my blessing, take greatest care thereof, for it is the foundation of all goodness. You have, even from your infancy, been given to be stubborn; beware of that vice, Tom, and bridle nature with wisdom; for all ills commonly depends of that vice. Though you be her Majesty's ward, yet if you use yourself well to my Lord Burghley, he will, I hope, get you to buy your own wardship; and, then, if you shall have liking to my daughter-in-law, Mary Dacres, I hope you shall have it in your own choice. I will not advise you otherways than yourself, when you are of fit years, shall think good: but this assure yourself, it will be a good augmentation to your small living, considering how chargeable the world groweth to be. Follow your elder brother's advice; who, I hope, will take such a course as may be to all your comforts. God send him grace so to do, and you too. If you follow these my advices, then I give you God's blessing and mine; and I hope the Lord will prosper you.

Well beloved Nan, that hath been as dear to me as if you had been my own daughter; although considering this ill hap that is now chanced, you might have had a greater marriage than now your husband shall be; yet I hope that you will remember, that when you were married, the case was far otherways; and, therefore, I hope your dutiful dealings shall be so to your husband, and your sisterly love to your brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, as my friends that shall see it, may think that my great affection to you was well bestowed. Thanks be to God, you have hitherto taken a good course, whereby all that wishes you well, take great hope rather of your going forwards therein, than backwards; which God forbid! I will

request no more at your hands, now that I am gone, in recompence of my former love to you, but that you will observe my three lessons: to fear and serve God, flying idleness; to love faithfully your husband; and to be kind to your brothers and sisters; specially committing to your care mine own only daughter, Megg; hoping that you will not be a sister-in-law to her, but rather a natural sister, yea, even a very mother; and that, as I took care for the well-bestowing of you; so you will, when her years shall be fit for marriage, take care for the well-bestowing of her, and be a continual caller-on to your husband for the same. If this mishap had not chanced, you and your husband might have been awhile still young, and I would, by God's help, have supplied your wants. But now the case is changed; for you must, to your years of fifteen, attain to the consideration and discretion of twenty; or else, if God send you to live, in your age you shall have cause to repent your folly in youth, besides the endangering the casting away of them that do wholly depend upon your two well-doings. I do not mistrust but that you will be mindful of my last natural requests; and, so doing, God bless you, and the issue that, I hope, shall spring of your two bodies; and send you to be old parents to virtuous children; which is likeliest to be, if yourselves give them good example. Farewell; for this is the last that ever you shall receive from your loving father. Farewell, my dear Nan.

Megg; I have, as you may see, committed you to your loving sister: I charge you therefore, upon my blessing, that you obey her in all things, as you would do me, or your own mother, if we were living; and then I doubt not but by her good means you shall be, in fit time, bestowed to your own comfort and contentation. Be chaste, no babbler, and ever be busied and doing of somewhat; and give your mind to reading in the Bible, and such other good books, whereby you may learn to fear God; and so you shall prove, by God's help hereafter, the better wife, and a good and virtuous woman in all other respects. If you follow these my lessons, then God's blessing and mine I give you; and pray to God, that you may both live and die his servant. Amen.

Will; though you be now young, yet, I hope, if it shall please God to send you life, that you will then consider of the precepts heretofore written to your brethren, which I give to you as well as to them. Be obedient to your elder brothers. I have committed the charge of your bringing up to your elder brother; and, therefore, I charge you to be obedient to him as you would have been to me, if I had been living. I do assure myself, that his dealing to you will be like a brother of the whole-blood, and not half blood. If you follow these my precepts, then God bless you; if otherwise, think not that God scourgeth lightly children that be disobedient to their father's godly lessons. As you are youngest, so the more you ought to be obedient to your elders. God send you good younger brother's fortune in this world, and his grace, that you may ever be his, both in this world, and the world to come. Amen.

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I may not forget my two pretty daughters-in-law, Mall and little Bess. I pray God send all things so prosperous, as, if it be his will, you may be double daughters-in-law, as well by your own marriages, as you were before by my marrying of your good and virtuous mother. These lessons that I have given to your sisters, without repetition I give unto you. Though I were not your natural father, yet my deserts have deserved so well at your hands as few of mine own I have done so much for; you and those that shall come of you shall fare the better for my cost and travel. I hope you will be mindful hereof when your years and occasion shall desire proof. God send you both, my loving daughters-in-law, as well to do, as I wish to those that are come of mine own body.

Now, to bid you all farewell together. I desire you, for Christ his sake, to be mindful of my short lessons, which are proceeded from as natural a father and father-in-law, as ever children had: and in so doing, God will bless you, and I send you my blessing, which I pray God may prove to you my sons, as well as Isaac's did to Jacob; and to you my daughters, as well as did to Rebecca. Amen. And now, dear and loving children, farewell. God, I hope, will be your comfort and guide; and I hope, ere it be long, to be rid out of this wretched world, to follow my dear wives and your mothers in the heavenly joys; whither I pray God send me, and you afterwards, when it shall be his will and pleasure to take you out of this vale of misery. Amen. Once again, lastly, and for ever, I charge you all to remember my honest requests, in following whereof, in the end, yourselves shall reap the commodity.

The twentieth of January, 1571. God be all your comfort; Amen: and send me to die his servant.

Tom; I had forgotten to request one thing at your hands, which I hope you will hereafter, when time cometh, perform. It is this. I promised Bowles a lease of a farm of yours in your lands, called Saint Taylots; which, if I had lived, I would have performed: and now I hope you will, if God send you to come to years, perform as much as I meant to have done. He hath been as honest and true a servant to your father, as any that he hath had; and therefore I hope at this my request he shall have the lease at your hand. God bless you and keep you in his fear! Amen.

Written by the hand of your loving father and father-in-law, now being ready and willing to part out of this world, I hope, into the life everlasting.

T. N.

To all my loving children and
daughters-in-law.

N° XXXVI.

The account of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, Surrey's second son, will be found placed before the Appendix, at p. 427.

N° XXXVI.

The extreme rarity of Lord Morley's Translation of Petrarch's Triumphs, referred to in the Dissertation, has induced me to give one Canto entire. The reader will thus be better enabled to form an opinion of the state of our versification at the precise period when Surrey began to write.

THE TRY
 UMPHES OF FRAUNCES
 PETRARCKE, TRANSLATED OUT
 OF ITALIAN INTO ENGLISH
 BY HENRYE PARKER
 KNYGHT, LORDE
 MORLEY.

THE TRY-
 UMPH

OF LOUE,
 OF CHASTITIE,
 OF DEATH,
 OF FAME,
 OF TYME,
 OF DIVINITIE.

The First Chapter of the Tryumphe of Love.

In the tyme of the renewinge of my suspyres
By the swete remembraunce of my louely desyres
That was the begynninge of soo longe a payne
The fayre Phebus the bull dyd attayne
And warmyd had the tone and tother horne
Wherby the colde wynter stormes were worne
And Tytans chylde with her frostye face
Ran from the heate to her aunciente place
Love, grefe, and complaynt, oute of reason
Had brought me in such a case that season
That myne eyes closed, and I fell to reste
The very Remedye to such as be oppreste
And there on the grene, as I reposed fast
Sodenly me thought, as I myne eyes up cast
I sawe afore me a marvelous greate lighte
Wherin as well comprehend then, I myghte
Was doloure ynough wyth smale sporte & play
And thus in my dreame musyng, as I laye
I sawe a great Duke victorious to beholde
Tryumphyng on a chayre, shynyng as golde
Muche after the olde auncient sage wyse
That the bolde Romainys used in their guyse
When to the Capytoll the vycors were brought
With right riche robes curiously were wrought
I that such sightes was not wont to se
In this noyous worlde wherin I fynde me
Voyde from the olde valure and yet more in pryde
Sawe comming towardes me ther on every side
Dyverse men wyth straunge and queynte arraye
Not usyd amonge us at this present daye
Which made me wonder what persōs thei shuld be
As one glad to learne, and some new thynges to se
There sawe I a boye on a firyre chayre on hyghte
Drawen with fouer coursers all mylke whight
Wyth bowe in hande and arrowes sharp and keene
Against whome no shylde nor helme so sheene

Myght in no wyse the mortale stroke wythstand
When he shote wyth his most dreadfull hande
To this also a straunge sight to se
Two wynges upon his shoulders had he
Wyth coloures more then I can wryte or tell
A thousande dyvers this I noted well
And all the rest were nakyd to the skynne
Aboute the chayre where that this boye was in
Some laye there deade gapyng on the grounde
Some with his dartes had taken meny a wound
Some were prysoners and could not scape away
But folowed styll the chayre nyght and day
I that sawe this wonderfull straunge sight
To know what it mente, dyd that I myght
Tyll at the last I dyd perceave and se
Myselfe to be amonge that company
So had love led me on that dawnce
That as it lyked her, so must I take the chawnce
I then among that great number in that place
Lokyng here and there in eche mannes face
Yf any of myne Acquayntaunce I coulde se
But none was there except perchaunce that he
By age or death or payne was chaunged quyte
As that I never had hym knowen by syght
Wyth folowing that great kynge in that houre
That is the grounde and cause of all doloure
Thus all astonied as I loked here and there
All sodenly afore me then dyd there appeare
A shadowe much more sadde for to regaide
Then all the reste that I had sene or harde
This sayd shadowe called me by name
And sayd by love is gotten all this fame
Whereat I marveyled and sayde to hym agayne
How knowest thou me, to learne I wold be faine
For who thou arte I doo not knowe at all
So wonderous derke is here this ayre and all
That I can nether perceave nor yet well se
What man thou art nor whence y^t thou should be
To that anone this shadowe to me sayde
I am thy frende thou nedest be dismayde

And born in Toscare where y^e was borne perdye
 Thy auncient frende if that thou lyst to se
 His wordes which that I knewe by dayes paste
 By his speche, I knewe hym at the last
 All though his face, I coulde not then well se
 And thus in talkyng together went we
 And he beganne & thus to me dyd saye
 It is right longe and thereto many a day
 That I have loked the my frynde to se
 Among us here in this our companye
 For thy face was to me a token playne
 That ones thou shouldest know loves payne
 To whome I made aunswere and sayde
 These wordes by me they cannot be denyde
 But the sorowe the daunger and the dreade
 That lovers have at the ende for theyr meade
 So put me in feare, that I left all asyde
 Leste that my servyce should be cleane denyde
 Thus sayd I and when he well perceyved
 Myne entention and my wordes conceyved
 Smylynge he sayde what flame of fyre
 Hath love kyndled in thy hartys desyre
 I understode then lytle what he ment
 For his wordes unto my heade then went
 As fyrme and fast sure set anone
 As they had bene prynted in a marbell stone
 And thus for the newe game that I begane
 I prayde hym tell me of verie gentlenes than
 What people these were that afore me went
 He aunswered bryfely to myne intente
 That I should knowe what they should be
 And be shortly one of theyr companye
 And that it was my destany and lotte
 That love shoulde tye for me such a knotte
 That I shoulde fyrst chaunge my heade to graye
 Or that I could uncloze that knot away
 But to fulfyll thy yonge desyr sayth he
 I shall declare what kynde of men they be
 And fyrst of the capteynes of them all
 His maner playne declare the I shall

This is he that love the worlde doth name
Bytter as thou shall well concyve the same
But much the more when the tyme shall be
That thou shall be amonge this companie
A meke chylde in his lustye yonge age
And in elde one all full of rage
Well knowyth he that thys hath provyd
When thou by hym art heaved and shoved
Thy selfe shall well see and understand
What a maister thou hast then in hande
This god hath his fyrst byrth of ydelness
Noryshed with mankyndes foly and wantones
And of vayne thoughtes plesaunt and swete
To a sage wyse man nothyng mete
Callyd a god of the people most vayne
All be it he gevech for theyr rewarde and payne
Some the death forthwyth out of hande
Some alonge tyme in miserye to stand
To love I say them that loves not hym
Fast tyed and fetred both cheke and chynne
Nowe have I declared to the this goddes feste
Nowe wyl I tell the in order of the reste
Hym that thou seest that so lordely doth go
And leadeth wyth hym his love also
It is the valeaunte Cesar, Julius
Wyth hym is quene Cleopatra the beutious
She tryumphes of hym and that is good syghte
That he that overcame the worlde by myght
Should hymselfe over commen be
By his love even as thou mayest se
The next unto hym is his sonne deare
The great Augustus that never had feare
That lovyde more justly then Cesar playne
By request hys Lyvya he did obtayne
The thyrde is the dyspytefull tyraunte Nero
That furyously as thou seest doth go
And yet a woman hym overcame
Wyth her regardes lo she made hym tame
Beholde the same, is the good Marcus
Worthy to have prayse for hys lyfe vertuouse

Full of phylosophy both the tounge and breste
 Yet for Fausteyn he standeth as arreste
 The tother two that stand him by
 That loke both twayne so fearefullye
 The tone is Denyse the tother Alexander
 That well was rewarded for his sclaunder
 The tother was he that soore complayned
 Under Antander with teares unfayned
 The death of Creusa and toke alwaye
 The love from hym as the poete doth saye
 That toke from Evander his sone deare
 Among the rest thou mayest se hym here
 Hast thou hard ever reason heretofore
 Of one that never would consent more
 To hys stepmothers foull and shamefull desires
 But flye from her syght and her attyres
 But wo alas that same chast honest mynde
 Was his death as thou mayst playnely fynde
 Because she chaunged hyr love unto hate
 Phedra she hyght that caused the debate
 And yet was it hyr owne Death also
 A sore punyshment unto both them two
 To the sens that deceyved Adryan
 Wherefore it is full often founde than
 That one that blameth another parde
 He hym selfe is more to blame then he
 But whoso he be wythouten any doubte
 That by fraude or crafte doth go aboute
 Another that trusteth hym for to beguyle
 Yt is good rea-son that wyth that selfe wyle
 He be servyd wyth that same sawse
 Lo what it is a lover to be false
 This is he the famouse worthy knyght
 That betwyxt two systers standeth upryghte
 The tone by hym was cruelly slayne
 The tother his love in joye dyd remayne:
 He that goeth wyth hym in the route
 It is Hercules, the stronge, fierce, and stoute
 That love caused to folow hyr daunce:
 The tother whiche in lovyng had hard chaunce

It is Achylles the Greke so bolde
That for Polexemes love dyed, as it is tolde.
There mayst thou see also Demophone
And Phylis hys love, that sore dyd mone
Hys absence, wherby that she dyed.
Lo those that stande upon the tother syde
Is Jason, and Medea that for his love
Deceaved hyr father his trueth to prove
The more ungentle is Jason in dede
That gave hyr suche rewarde for hyr mede.
Hysyphyle foloweth and she doth wayle also
For the barbarouse love was taken hyr fro
Next in ordre there commeth by and by
He that hath the name moost excellently
Of bewtie, and with hym commeth she
That oversone beheld his beutye
Wherby ensued innumerable of harmes
'Thorough out the world by Mars charmes
Behold I praye the among the companye
Enone complayninge full heavily
For Parys that dyd hyr falsly betraye
And toke in hyr stede fayre Helen awaye
Se also Menelaus the Grekysse kynge
For his wyfe Helene in great mournynge
And Hermon the fayre Horestes for to call
And Laodome that standeth all apall
Crye for hyr love the good Protheosolaus
And Argia the faythfull for Pollynisus
Here I praye the, the grevous lamentynges
The syghes, the sorowes, and the bewaylynges
Of the myserable lovers in this place
That are brought into so dolorous case
That there sprytes they are about to rendre
Unto the false God that is so sclendre
I cannot nowe tell the all the names
That the false God of love thus tames
Not onely men that borne be mortall
But also the hyghe great Goddes supernall
Are here in this greate and darke presse
What shulde I any more nowe rehearse

Se where Venus doth stande with Mars
 Whose heade and legges the yron doth embrace
 And Pluto and Preserpine on the other syde
 And Juno the jelyous for all hyr pryde
 And Apollo with his gaye golden lockes
 That gave unto Venus scornes and mockes
 Yet in Thessalia with this boyes fyrye darte
 This great God was pearsed to the harte
 And for conclusion, the Goddes and Goddesses al
 Of whom Varro doth make rehearsall
 Beholde how afore loves chayre they goo
 Fast fettred and chayned from toppe to too
 And Jupiter hymselfe, the great myghty kynge
 Amonge the other, whiche is a marvelous thing.

No. XXXVII.

Grants to the Duchess of Richmond.

1.

Billa Signata xxx^o Hen. 8.

Mem. q^d 2^o die Martis. an^o Regis 8ⁱ 30^o ista Billa liberata fuisset, inter alia, et D^{no} Canc. Ang. apud West. exequend — Cum Chariss. consanguineus noster Henricus nuper Dux Richmondiæ et Somerset ac Comes Nott. jam defunct in tenera ætate sua D^{nam} Mariam Fil. cariss. consanguinei nostri Tho. Ducis Norf. cepit in uxorem qui quidem nuper Dux Rich. et Som. ante carnal. cop. inter ipsum et D^{nam} Mariam habitam viam universæ carnis ingressus fuerit. Et quia eadem D^{na} Maria contra mentem ejusdem Ducis non habet ut asseritur de sua propria unde juxta nobilitatem suam decenter vivere possit nec (ut accepimus) dotem suam sibi premissorum contingente de libero tenemente quod fuit ejusdem nuper Ducis facile recuperare possit. Nos vero præmissa considerante sex abundante gratia nostra eidem D^{ne} Mariæ de congruo victu tam juxta nobilitatem suam condigno, quum ejus necessitate id exigente et nunc provideri volentes; SCIATIS igitur; Quod nos de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostro, dedimus et concessimus ac per præsentis damus concedimus eidem D^{na} Mariæ Duchessæ Richmondiæ et Som. et Com^{ssæ} Nott. &c. Maneria de Swaffeham pro. ten 1 ejus Vitæ.

Lord Northampton MS. 437.

2.

The Duchess of Richmond seems also to have had granted to her at the same time, the reversion of the house of the late Fraternity or Guild of the chapel of Saint Trinity, in Wilsoken in Norfolk, with all the lands belonging to the same, at the decease of one Randolph Stannow; with the reversion of the parsonage of Navesby, Northumberland, late belonging to the monastery of Combe Abbey, Warwick.

Cotton MSS. Julius B. ix.

3.

Pat 6. Edw. 6. p. 2. Edward the Sixth, &c. To all men to whom these presents shall come greeting. Whereas our right dear and right entirely beloved

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cousin, the Duchess of Richmond, hath now of a good time, as we are credibly informed, been charged with the finding two sons and three daughters of the Earl of Surreys, attainted of treason; know you, that we minding both to ease our said cousin of those charges, and nevertheless to have the said children well brought up, and knowing no better place for their virtuous education than with our said cousin, hath of our grace especial and mere motion, given and granted unto her for the finding of the said children, one annuity or yearly pension of one hundred pounds of lawful money of England; to have, hold, and enjoy the said annuity of one hundred pounds unto our said cousin, the Duchess of Richmond, yearly, for the finding of the said during our pleasure, to be taken and yearly received at the receipt of our Exchequer at Westminster, by the hands of treasurer and chamberlains there for the time being, at four terms of the year, that is to say, at the feasts of Saint Michael the Archangel, the Nativity of our Lord, Easter, and the Nativity of Saint John Baptist, by equal portions to be paid. And further our more abundant grace, we have given and granted unto our said cousin, so much money beforehand as the said annuity amounteth unto for half year, that is to say, from the feast of the Nativity of our Lord God. In the fifth year of our reign, unto the feast of the Nativity of Saint John Baptist last past, without any account or other thing therefore to be yelden. That express mencion, &c. In witness whereof, &c. T. R. apud Westmonast. quarto die Julii.

Per Bre. de Privat Sigill. et de Dat. &c.

4.

On the twenty-first of August in the same year, she had also a grant of lands in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Northampton.

Rolls ut sup. p. 9.

5.

In the recital of a grant to Lord North, in the fourth and fifth of Philip and Mary, it appears that the Duchess of Richmond was dead lately on the ninth of December, in the third and fourth of the above-mentioned reigns.

Pat. Rolls.

No. XXXVIII.

From the Duke of Norfolk to the Lords of the Council.

[Cotton MSS. Titus. B 1. p. 94.]

MY VERY GOOD LORDS,

Whereas at the being here with me of my Lord Great Chamberlain and Mr. Secretary, they examined me of divers things which as near as I can call to my remembrance were th' effect as hereafter doth ensue.

First; whether there was any cypher between me and any other man; for answer whereunto this is the truth. There was never cypher between me and any man, save only such as I have had for the King's Majesty, when I was in his service, and as God be my judge, I do not remember that ever I wrote in cypher but at such time as I was in France. My Lord Great Master that now is, and my Lord of Rochford, being his commission with me; and whether I wrote any then or not, as God help me, I do not remember; but an I wrote any then, I am sure both their hands were at it, and the Master of the Horse privy to the same.

I do remember that after the death of the Bishop of Hertford, Fox, it was shewed me that the said Bishop had left a letter which I had sent him, amongst his writings, which being found by a servant of his that is now with Mr. Denny, shewed the same to the Bishop of Durham that now is; he caused him to throw the same in fire. As I do remember, it was my said Lord of Duresmne that advised him to burn it; and as I also do remember, the matter that was contained therein concerned lewd speaking of the northern men, after the time of the commotion against the Secretary Cromwell. If there had been any thing concerning the King's Majesty's affairs, neither the Bishop did, nor he now alike would not have counselled the same; and whether any part of that was in cypher or not, as I shall answer to God, I do not remember.

Th' effect of another question then asked me was, as near as I can call to my remembrance, whether any man had talked with me that; "an there were a good peace made between the King's Majesty, th' Emperor, and the French King, the Bishop of Rome would break the same again, by his dispensations; and, whether I inclined that ways or not." To that purpose, as God help me now at my most need, I cannot call to my remembrance that ever I heard any man living speak like words: and as for my inclinations, that the Bishop of Rome should have authority to do such thing, if I had twenty lives, I would rather have spent

them all against him, than ever he should have any power in this realm; for no man knoweth better than I, by reading of stories how his usurped power hath increased fro' time to time; nor such time the King's Majesty hath found him his enemy, no living man hath, both in his heart and with his tongue, in this realm, in France, and also to many Scottish gentlemen, spoken more sore against his said usurped power than I have done, as I can prove by good witness.

Also my said Lord and Mr. Secretary asked me; "whether I was ever made privy to a letter sent from my Lord of Winchester, and Sir Henry Knevet, of an overture made by Grandville to them, for a way to be taken between his Majesty and the Bishop of Rome, and that the said letter should have come to his Majesty to Dover, I being there with him." Whereunto this is my true answer. I was never at Dover with his Highness sith my Lord of Richmond died; but at that time of whose death word came to Sittingbourne; and, as God be my help, I never heard of no such overture; save that I do well remember, at such time as Sir Francis Bryan was here sick and like to have died, it was spoken in the Council, that my Lord of Winchester should have said, he could devise a way how the King's Majesty might have all things upright with the said Bishop of Rome, and his Highness' honour saved. Such were the words, or much like. Whereupon as I heard after said in the Council, one was sent to the said Sir Francis to know, if ever he heard the said Bishop speak like words, which he denied; and as I do now remember, it was Sir Ralph Sadler that was sent to the said Sir Francis. And to say that ever I heard of any such overtures made by Grandville, or that ever I communed with any man concerning any such matter, other than this of the Bishop of Winchester, as God be my help I never did, nor unto more than this I was never privy.

Now, my good Lords, having made answer according to the truth of such questions as hath be' asked me, most humbly I beseech you all, to be mediators for me to his most excellent Majesty, to cause such as have accused me (if it might be with his Highness' pleasure) to come before his Majesty to lay to my charges afore me, face to face, what they can say against me; and I am in no doubt so to declare myself, as it shall appear I am falsely accused. And if his pleasure shall not be to take the pain in his royal person, then to give you commandment to do the same.

My Lords, I trust ye think Cromwell and myself not to be like; and yet my desire is to have no more favour shewed to me than was shewed to him, I being present; he was a false man, and surely I am a true poor gentleman.

My Lords, I think surely there is some false men that have laid some great cause to my charge, or else I had not been sent hither, and therefore eftsoons most humbly I beseech you to find the enemies, if they and I may not be brought face to face. Yet, let me be made privy what the causes are, and if I do not

answer truly to every point, let me not live one hour after; for surely I would hide nothing of any question that I shall know, that doth concern myself, nor any other creature.

My Lords, there was never gold tried better by fire and water, than I have be; nor hath had greater enemies about my Sovereign Lord, than I have had: and yet, God be thanked, my truth hath ever tried me, as I doubt not it shall do in this cause. Surely, if I knew any thought I had offended his Majesty, I would surely have declared it to his person.

Upon the Tuesday in Whitsun week last past, I brake unto his Majesty most humbly beseeching him to help that a marriage might be had between my daughter and Sir Thomas Seymour; and whereas my son of Surrey hath a son, and divers daughters, that with his favour, a cross marriage might have be made between my Lord Great Chamberlain and them: and also where my son Thomas hath a son, that shall by his mother spend a thousand marks a year, that he might be in like wise married to one of my said Lord's daughters. I report me to your Lordships, whether my intent was such in this motion, or not.

And whereas I have written, "that my truth hath be surely tried, and that I have had great enemies;" first, the Cardinal did confess to me at Asher, that he had gone about thirteen years to have destroyed me, saying he did the same by the setting upon of my Lord of Suffolk, the Marquis of Exeter, and my Lord Sands, who said often to him, that if he found not the means to put me out the way, at length I should surely undo him.

Cromwell, at such time as the Marquis of Exeter suffered, examined his wife more strictly of me than of all other men of the realm, as she sent me word by her brother, the Lord Mountjoy. He hath said to me himself many times; "My Lord, ye are an happy man that your wife knoweth no hurt by you, for if she did she would undo you."

The Duke of Buckingham counselled openly at the bar, my father sitting as his judge, that of all men living he hated me most; thinking I was the man that had hurt him most to the King's Majesty, which no way he [] the contrary.

Rice, who had married my sister, confessed that of all men living he hated me most; and wished many times how he might find the means to thrust his dagger in me.

What malice both my nieces, that it pleased the King's Highness to marry, did bear unto me, is not unknown to such Lords as kept them in this house; as my Lady [] my Lady Tyrwhit, my Lady Kingston, and others, which heard what they said of me.

Who tried out the falsehood of the Lord Darcy, Sir Edward Constable, Sir John Bulmer, Aske, and many others, for which they suffered for, but only I! Who

shewed his Majesty of the words of my mother-in-law, for which she was attainted of misprision of treason, but only I!

In all times past unto this time I have shewed myself a most true man to my Sovereign Lord; and sith these things done in times past, I have received mo' profit of his Highness, than ever I did afore. Alas! who can think that I, having been so long a true man, should now be false to his Majesty? I have received more of profit than I have deserved; and, a poor man as I am, yet I am his son, his near kinsman. For whose sake shall I be an untrue man to them? Alas! alas! my Lords, that ever it should be thought any untruth to be in me.

Finally, my good Lords, eftsoons, most humbly I beseech you to shew this scribble letter to his Majesty; and all jointly to beseech his Highness to grant me the petitions that are contained in the same; and most especial to remit out of his most noble, gentle heart, such displeasure as he hath conceived against me, and I shall, during my life, pray for the continuance of his most Royal estate long to endure.

By his Highness poor prisoner,

T. NORFOLK.

No. XXXIX.

Minute for the Distribution of the Duke of Norfolk's Property.

From the Original in the Land Revenue Office.

Whereas divers noblemen, and others, of late made suit unto sundry of us the executors of the testament of our late sovereign Lord the King that dead is, King Henry the Eighth, of most worthy fame and memory, father to our Sovereign Lord that now is King Edward the Sixth, to have such things paid and performed as was partly owing to them and partly promised by his Majesty, and among the rest some demanding the assurance of lands to a certain yearly value to them and their heirs, which they say was promised to them by the said late King deceased, and desire for proof thereof, that Sir William Paget, Knight of the Order, late chief Secretary to the said King deceased, and Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Herbert, knights, late the two chief gentlemen of the privy chamber to the said King deceased, may be required to declare what they know touching their demands; We, the Lord Protector and Counsel, have thought convenient to call the persons before named, to depose what they can say on this behalf, who have delivered in writing, subscribed with their hands, this declaration hereafter ensuing.

Forasmuch as I Sir William Paget, knight, and late secretary to King Henry the Eighth, of most worthy memory, deceased; and we, Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Herbert, knights, late chief gentlemen of his privy chamber, think it not only a bond in conscience, to declare the truth in certain matters ordained and determined by the King that dead is, wherein we have been required to declare what we know by those which have interest in the same; but also see it more than necessary for the advancement of the King's Majesty's affairs, our Sovereign Lord that now is (whom our Lord long preserve and maintain in great felicity) so to do. Therefore we do truly and certainly, without respect, depose and say each one of us for his knowledge, as followeth.

First. I the said Sir William Paget do affirm for truth, that after the time that the late Duke of Norfolk, and his son, the late Earl of Surrey, were apprehended, and their offences so evidently and directly appearing to be such as wherefore they were in danger of the laws for high treason, the said King devised with me apart (as it is well known he used to open his pleasure to me alone in many things) for the bestowing of the lands belonging to the said Duke and Earl, thinking it expedient that the same should be liberally dispersed, and given to divers noblemen and others his Majesty's good servants: whereupon his Majesty considering that the nobility of this realm was greatly decayed, some by attainders, some by their own misgovernance and riotous wasting, and some by sickness, and sundry other means, He entered also devise with me for the advancement of divers to higher places of honour. Wherein when I had said to him whom I thought meet, he willed me to make unto him a book of such as he did choose to be advanced, which I did; and therein was named the Earl of Hertford to be a Duke, the Earl of Essex to be a Marquis, the Viscount Lisle to be an Earl, the Lord Saint John to be an Earl, Thomas Lord Russell to be an Earl, the Lord Wriothesley to be an Earl, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Cheynye, Sir Richard Ryche, Sir William Willoughbye, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir Edmond Sheffield, Sir John Sentleger, Sir Wymbisshe, Sir Vanon of the Peke, Sir Christopher Danby, to be Barons; which book being read unto him, I then moved him for the bestowing of my Lord of Norfolk, and my Lord of Surrey's offices, which he caused me to tot upon each man's head as hereafter doth appear in this deposition. This done, I moved his Majesty, seeing he had advanced these men to honour, and was minded to distribute, by way of gift, the said Duke and Earl's lands, that it might please him to bestow liberally upon such as should like him: whereunto he accorded and willed me to bring him a titling of the lordships, and valuations of the same, which I did; but he liked it not, and in my presence called Master Gates, and bade him fetch such books as he had of the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Surrey's lands, which he did, and his Majesty delivered them to me, and bade me tot upon my Lord of Hertford's head a thousand marks a

year; upon my Lord Lisle's head two hundred pounds a year; my Lord Saint John two hundred pounds a year; my Lord Russell two hundred pounds a year; my Lord Wriothesley one hundred pounds a year; Sir Thomas Seymour three hundred pounds a year; all which I said was too little, and stood much with him therein, and then he bad me speak with them and know their dispositions, and he would after tell me more, wherewith I satisfied myself; and then considering what painful service Mr. Denny did take daily with him, and also moved of honesty, for that Mr. Denny had divers times been a suiter for me, and I never for him, I beseeched his Majesty to be good Lord unto him, and to give him Bungay, which I had heard he much desired. His Majesty much commended my suite, and said he minded before to be good unto him and to Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Gates also, and also to Sir Thomas Carden, and bade me put upon Mr. Denny's head two hundred pounds land a year; to Mr. Herbert four hundred marks land a year, which he said he had promised him to help him out of debt withal; upon Sir Thomas Carden one hundred marks land a year, and upon Mr. Gates one hundred marks land a year, which I did and departed; and according to his Majesty's pleasure, spake with so many of them whom he had appointed to advance as was in the court, and found them not well satisfied, some labouring to remain in their old degrees, and the others thinking the land too little for their maintenance which was appointed to them, all which, at my return to his Majesty, I declared not only faithfully, and to the most advantage of every man, but also induced his Majesty the best I could to increase the same. And in this mean season his Majesty having been informed that the Duke of Norfolk, acknowledging himself worthy of the extremity of the law, desired his Majesty to give his lands to the King's Highness that now is, being then Prince; for that as he said "they were goodly and stately gere," his Majesty altered his determination for giving any of the said Duke's lands, except a certain in Sussex and Kent, but said he would keep them to himself, and forthwith appointed the officers to the same, and granted some part thereof to farm partly at my suit and partly at other mens, as to Sir Edward Warner, Castleacre; Sir Edmond Knyvet, the Lordship of Wyndham; to Henry Gates, the manor of Stooke; and then began to devise how to serve their turns to whom he had appointed lands: but I prayed him to agree upon those whom he would advance, and upon the yearly lands that he was disposed to give; and his Majesty might afterwards assign where they should have it: where upon entering into a praise of every of those which were then of his council, and the others of his chamber before-named, saying, that he felt himself sickly, and that if aught should come to him but good, (as he thought) he said, that he could not long endure: he minded to place us all about his Son, as men whom he trusted and loved above all other specially, and therefore I must, said he, consider them the more; and after divers devises both for the placing of men

in higher dignities, and some others, to continue as they were before, and the assignment of yearly revenues of lands, he willed me to make up the book as followeth. My Lord of Hertford to be Treasurer and Earl Marshal of England, and Duke of Somerset, Exeter, or Hertford, and his son Earl of Wiltshire, if he be Duke of Hertford, with eight hundred pounds land a year, and three hundred pounds land more of the next Bishop lands that should fall void. My Lord of Essex to be Marquis of Essex, and to have one hundred pounds land a year. The Viscount Lisle to be Great Chamberlain and Earl of Coventry, with three hundred pounds land a year. The Lord Wriothesley to be Earl of Winchester, with three hundred pounds lands a year. Sir Thomas Seymour to be Lord Seymour of Sudeley, and Admiral of England, with five hundred pounds land a year. Sir Richard Riche to be a Baron, with sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence land a year; Sir John Sellinger to be a Baron, Sir William Willoughby to be a Baron, Sir Edmond Sheffield to be a Baron, Sir Christopher Danbye to be a Baron, My Lord Privy Seal to have one hundred pounds land a year; My Lord Saint John to have one hundred pounds land a year; the Master of the Horse to have one hundred pounds land a year; Mr. Deny to have two hundred pounds land a year, Bungaye, &c. Mr. Harbert to have four hundred marks land a year; Mr. Gates to have one hundred marks land a year; Sir Thomas Carden to have one hundred marks land a year; Sir Philip Hobby to be Master of the Ordnance, Sir Thomas Paston, Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Keeper of Ryseing Chase; Sir Thomas Darcy, Steward of the Liberties of Burye, and of all my Lord of Norfolk's lands, and also the Bishop of Norwich in Suffolk, and Keeper of Framlingham Castle and Park, and the other offices thereabouts; my Lord Wentworth to have the Stewardship of all my Lord of Elye his lands, and Master of his game in Norfolk and Suffolk; Mr. Goodrike in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdon; Sir William Peter to have the one hundred pounds free of my Lord of Winchester; Sir Richard Southwell to have the keeping of Kennynghall House, with the Parks and Steward of all my Lord of Norfolk, and the Bishop of Norwich lands in Norfolk, the Stewardship of all my Lord of Lincolns Sheffield lands, House and Park.

The Forest of Worthe	}	SIR WILLIAM GORINGE. SIR RAFF. PHANE.
The House and Park of Horsham		
Sedgewick Park		
Beawbusshe Park		
Saint Leonard's Forest, with a Park in it	}	

Kneper Park to Master Mason.

And his Majesty was further pleased, that where he had granted to the said Earl of Hertford, at the suit of the Chancellor of the Augmentations, six of the best Prebends in any Cathedral church in England, excepting the Deanries and Treasurerships; that the said Earl should have at the suit of me, Sir William Paget, one Deanry and one Treasurership, in lieu of the two of the six Prebends; which when I had made and read to him, he took it of me, and put it in his pooke, and upon my request was content I should declare unto every man what was by his Majesty determined unto him; and so I did, and all were pleased. But ere this could be achieved God took him from us; and hereupon was it, that being remembered in his death-bed, that he had promised great things to divers men, he willed in his testament, that whatsoever should in anywise appear to his Council to have been promised by him, the same should be performed. All which discourses aforesaid, we Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Herbert know and depose to be true in effect, and for the substance of them; for his Majesty, God hath his soul, would always, when Mr. Secretary was gone, tell us what had passed between them as well in that matter as for the most part in all other things, and caused me, Sir Anthony Denny, to read unto him the bill which Mr. Secretary had delivered to him; which being read, I Sir William Herbert said, that Mr. Secretary had well remembered all men saving one; and his Majesty answering therewithal; "You mean himself," we the said Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Herbert answered, "Yea, Sir," and so praised the said Mr. Secretary, and so did also his Majesty, saying; "That he remembered him well enough, and that he must needs be helped;" wherewithal I Sir Anthony Denny took his Majesty's standishe thereby, and asked what his pleasure was I should put in; and his Majesty bade as much as he had given to me Sir William Herbert, which was done in his presence, and the bill eftsoones delivered to him, and he so put it in the pooke of his night gown. And this we depose and affirm to be true.

Whereupon we, the said Lord Protector, and others of the Privy Council, considering, first, that the King's Majesty, our late Sovereign Lord, had determined the foresaid things deposed (which also in his life time was spread abroad to the world, and by his own mouth declared also to some of us so much as appertaineth to ourselves); and we thereupon, after his death, partly for the conservation of our own honesty, and specially for the honour and surety of our Sovereign Lord, that now is King Edward the Sixth, took upon us the degrees of Honourable, and entered into the charge of attendance and service in the great and weighty affairs of our Sovereign Lord, his realm and subjects; and secondly, knowing ourselves bound in conscience to perform the will and testament of our said Sovereign Lord, his Father, in all things that should not be prejudicial to the honour and surety of

our Sovereign Lord that now is: we think we cannot otherwise discharge ourselves towards God and the world than if we either paid that which was given or promised, or the value thereof in money, plate, jewel, or stuff: and doubting further upon the experience of the world, which we have learned, in the meaning heretofore of the affairs of the realm, lest, if the French King, our new reconciled friend, (being our Sovereign Lord left young and of tender age) should make us war for the recovery of Boulogne; or the Emperor, our old imperfect friend, should do the like, to set in authority again the Bishop of Rome above our Sovereign the King's Majesty, which should be to the great dishonour and disadvantage of his Majesty, and the subversion of the whole state of the realm; we should, in these cases, be unfurnished of money for defence of his Majesty, his realms and subjects, if we should perform the legacies and promises of our late Sovereign Lord with such money as was remaining at the time of his death, and such as was due to him of his revenues, debts, subsidies, and by other means; and on the other side, if we should have sold such jewels, plate, or other rich hangings, for the said performance of the will, the King's Majesty, our Sovereign Lord that now is, should not only have had great loss as well by the sale of them, for that hereafter he should, for sundry respects occurring, had occasion to buy new to his greater charge; but also marvellous great dishonour would have followed: First, to him that is gone, whose soul God hath; and next to the King's Majesty that now is, and to the whole realm; and no less danger to those for that forthwith should have appeared to all the world a present lack within the realm, which hitherto hath been reputed to have been the most rich and wealthy. And so the terror which our sleeping enemies have thereof always had to trouble or molest us should have been taken away, and great courage given to them to enterprise that against the King's Majesty and the realm, which else they would not, ne durst have attempted: We, therefore deeply weighing, debating, and considering all the promises with our determinations to serve our Sovereign during our lives as far forth as shall like his Majesty, according to our most bounden duties (in which case also we doubt not his Majesty will hereafter see, that it should have been necessary for his honour and surety, that the will of his father in these, and some other points, be observed, and we to be of ability and power to serve him at this present time, especially of his young age), and knowing that if we want money for the defence or service of him and the realm, we cannot always have it ready; whereas such land as now is disposed by his Majesty, or hereafter shall be upon greater occasion disposed, shall be ready with all the rest, that every honest true subject hath to serve his Majesty, or to do him hereafter pleasure when he shall command; and being induced by good reason, and by like examples in the days of some of the King's Majesty's most noble progenitors when they were in tender age; we have thought good to perform the promise of land made by our Sove-

reign Lord, and to ordain a warrant to be made to the Chancellor and other officers of the Augmentations Court for the doing of all such thing or things as shall be necessary for the perfection of the same; nothing doubting, but verily assuring ourselves, that our Sovereign will, when he cometh to the age of knowledge and judgment of the world, graciously weigh our considerations, and accept benignly both that we do in this, and in all other things, during his said minority. Seeing we do and shall do the same in respect of the honour of himself, the honour of his late Father, and for the service of them both and the realm.

No. XL.

Account of the Apparel of the Duke of Norfolk.

[From the same.]

1. A gown of black satin, with two Burgonyons guards of black velvet hanging on the sleeves, twenty-eight pair of aglettes, and one odd enamelled, white faced with sables.

Item.—A gown of Murrey velvet.

Item.—A coat of tawney velvet, with two red crosses, and four gold laces twisted—a gown of purple satin single, hanging upon the sleeves, twenty-five aglettes, and five buttons of gold.

Item.—A coat of black velvet, with passment lace of gold, having two red crosses—a gown of black damask silk.

Item.—A night gown of black satin much worn, and furred with coney and lamb, which was delivered to the Lady of Surrey to put about her in her chariot.

Item.—A Parliament robe—a robe of white silver, richly embroidered with sun-beams, knots, and scallop shells, being of the order of St. Michael in France.

Item.—Of the order of St. George.

Item.—A gown of black satin, with eighteen pair of old aglettes—a jacket of black velvet new.

Item.—A gown of black velvet embroidered—a jacket of black velvet.

Item.—A riding coat of black velvet—a doublet of black satin.

Item.—A riding coat of black velvet—a doublet of tawney satin—five satin doublets, old and much worn—an old pair of slops of black velvet—three pair of black hose—a petticoat of satin, very much worn—two jackets of black velvet, very much worn and bare—an old coat of black satin, furred with white lamb—two jackets, the one of black satin, and the other of taffeta, worn—a coat of white velvet, with a red cross—a coat of black velvet, furred with black lamb—a coat of green cloth—three broad yards of marble cloth.

All given to the Duke of Somerset.

No. XLI.

Apparel of the Duchess of Norfolk.

[From the same.]

First. One English gown of purple velvet. Another gown of black velvet, edged with taffeta, having wider sleeves, and turned up with cloth of tissue. One other gown of black velvet, furred with powdered ermines. One other English gown of black satin, furred also with powdered ermines. An English gown of purple satin, with white sleeves. One other gown of purple satin, furred with white sables. A kirtle of black cloth of gold. A kirtle of purple tissue. Another kirtle of black cloth of tissue. A kirtle of white cloth of tissue, lacking a piece. A kirtle of crimson velvet, upon velvet purled. Another kirtle of purple velvet. A kirtle of crimson satin, lacking the upper bodice. A kirtle of green satin, embroidered with cuts of cloth of gold. A frontlet of purple satin, with purles (pearls), and pipes of gold. A frontlet of purple satin, with a cawl of gold. A frontlet of black velvet, embroidered with damask pearls. Another frontlet of black velvet, with pipes and purles of gold. Another frontlet of white satin, wrought with pipes and purles of gold. Another frontlet of white satin, with a cawl of gold. Another frontlet of white satin, with pipes and purles of gold. Another frontlet of black satin, with pipes and purles of gold. A yard of black cloth of tissue, for a placard to the best kirtle. One other piece of black cloth of tissue, belonging to one of the kirtles. A stomacher of black velvet, embroidered with purles. A border of crimson satin, embroidered with cloth of gold, containing sixteen yards. A border of crimson velvet, embroidered with cloth of gold, containing nine yards.

Item. A covering for a cushion of black silk wrought, fashioned like a park, with men, women, and beasts. A fringe of gold for a bed, containing in length four yards and a half, and certain open silk. Two shields of the Duke's arms, wrought upon the hand. Two others of the same stitch, not finished, and eight small, imaged. A pair of crimson velvet *liste* of the best altar cloths, with three chalices and two *strowes*, embroidered. Eight of the same *strowes*, and three chalices embroidered, with sixteen feet of chalices, and not finished. A pair of black velvet, purled and embroidered, with four pair of letters for chalices. Five pieces of tissue to the same, and seven pieces of black velvet purled, not yet wrought. The lining of three pair of sleeves of red cloth of gold damask, containing seven pieces; and one piece of an upper body of a gown of purple cloth of gold damask. A great pomegranate of gold, and two of yellow sa in, not finished. Two pieces of red cloth of gold tissue, containing one yard three-fourths and two pieces of white cloth of gold. A girdle of black velvet, with a cut of cloth of gold. A little piece of crimson satin and silver. A fore quarter of a gown of

black velvet purled, and one other less piece. A piece of blue velvet, with a fringe containing in length five yards. The turning up of a gown of black velvet, with the border of the same embroidered for the sleeves. Badges for gentlemen, XLIII. Badges for yeomen CCXI. Badges for grooms, XXVII. Garters for the counterpoint to the silver and tissue bed, DD.XXII. and XXI. arms belonging to the same garters. Also CIX. letters, being T. and E. belonging to the same counterpoint, cut of cloth of tissue. Sundry cuts of crimson velvet upon velvet purled, belonging to the same counterpoint, and a box of small cuts. Also CCXVII. tassels of cloth of gold, ready cut for the laces of the said counterpoint. Five garters, with white lions. A bed of white cloth of gold and green, with valences not yet finished, containing in length three yards three quarters, and in breadth two yards, besides the same valence, which is in length six yards three quarters. Three pieces of red cloth of gold bawdakin, containing in breadth three quarters and more, and in length almost four yards. Four pieces of the same stuff, containing in length five yards, and in breadth three quarters and more. A front, with a fringe belonging to the premises, for an altar-cloth, containing in length three yards, and in depth one quarter. Two altar-cloths of cloth of gold and black velvet embroidered, containing five panes, either of them having two panes of cloth of gold, and three of velvet. Two altar cushions of crimson tinsel. A prophet's cap of crimson velvet, with a white wreath. Three orphrases for copes embroidered with silk and gold: and six pieces of vestment, with a tunic. A square for a gown of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold. Three pieces of calico cloth. Three pieces of jean fustian, two of them embroidered with lions, the third drawn, but not wrought. A little coffer of ivory, with images being thereon, and a lock of silver and gilt, without a key. A little flat casket, having a silver lock, without a key. Six pieces of red cloth of gold, half-breadth, containing in length six yards, for cushions and chairs.

All allowed and granted to the Duchess of Norfolk.

No. XLII.

Account of the Duke of Norfolk's Jewels.

[From the same.]

COLLARS.

Delivered to the Lord Paget.

A collar of the order of St. George, having liiii garters and knots, whereunto was depending a George set with diamonds, and one ruby, which was delivered to the Duke of Somerset, poiz. besides the said George. xlvi. oz.

Delivered to the Duke of Somerset his Grace, by the said Sir J. Gates.

A George set with diamonds and one ruby parcel of the collar delivered to the said Lord Paget.

A collar of St. Michael's order containing therein xlix scallop shells: and knots lacking half a scallop, and having at the same collar hanging by two little small chains the picture of St. Michael.

Delivered to the Lord St. John, Earl of Wiltshire, by the said Sir J. Gates.

Another collar of gold of the order of St. George, which did belong to the late Earl of Surrey, having liv. knots poiz. xxxvi. oz.

A garter of story work set with letters of goldsmith's work, and a buckle with a pendant of goldsmith's work set with roses and rubies.

CHAINS.

Delivered to the Duke of Somerset his Grace by Sir J. Gates.

A chain of gold containing in all poiz. viii. $\frac{3}{4}$ oz.

Three pieces of a little long chain of gold.

A little chain of gold being link fashion.

One little long chain of gold, tied together with a little red lace of silk.

Three little chains of gold, with frears knots enamelled black.

TABLETS.

Delivered to the said Duke, by the said S. J. Gates.

First, a tablet of gold with a picture of our Lady holding Christ's head, and hanging upon the same tablet, 8 pearls.

Item, a little tablet of St. Michael's order.

Item, four little tablets of gold, three of them having jacinths, and the other all gold, with the five wounds.

A little tablet of crymery work.

A tablet with St. John holding our Lady, and on the other Christ bearing his cross.

A great tablet having Christ risen out of the sepulchre, and on the other side, the Salutation of our Lady.

A tablet, being therein, a jacinth pictured.

Another tablet, three cornered and white enamelled.

Three round tablets, one enamelled with letters.

A cross of gold, crymery work.

A swan, being of mother of pearl, garnished with gold and set upon a jacinth.

BROACHES.

Ditto.

First, a broach with a broken cameo having the picture of a man with a child in his arms.

A fair broach of gold with a man playing on the organs.

A broach of St. George, of mother of pearl.

A broach with St. John's head.

A broach with an antique head, having written thereon, Marcus Antonius.

A broach having a woman's head therein enamelled.

Another broach of gold, having in a glass therein set four women.

FLOWERS.

Ditto.

First a flower of gold, being like a P, having hanging thereat three pearls and a balass.

A round flower having a diamond and two little pearls.

A flower garnished with three rock rubies, and five pearls.

Another flower garnished with diamonds and eight small rubies.

BILLYMENTS.

Ditto.

First, a billyment enamelled with red roses containing forty-nine pieces.

Another billyment enamelled white and black, having roses upon the black containing forty-three pieces.

A billyment enamelled white and green, having twenty-one several pieces round and long.

Another billyment of gold and pearl set upon a billyment of white satin.

CARKANETS.

Ditto.

First, one carkanet of goldsmith's work enamelled white and blue.

One other carkanet three square, enamelled with white cremery and black.

One other carcan of pearl set with knots of goldsmith work enamelled with black letters.

A piece of a carkanet with pendants of flower de luce, hearts and roses.

A carkan or lace of pearl.

Another of pearl.

Another carcan of pearl and little gold bead stones.

A piece of a lace or carkan proportioned with roses and hearts.

GIRDLES.

To the Duke of Somerset.

First, one fair round long girdle of goldsmith's work enamelled white and black, containing therein one hundred four score and nineteen pieces or buttons.

One other girdle of goldsmith's work, proportioned after Ostrich feathers and enamelled white and black, containing forty pieces.

Another girdle made with small pearls, garnished upon a black lace.

BEADS.

To the Duke of Somerset.

A pair of beads of agates having ten flat beads to the same of gold, and fifty-four round smaller bead stones.

A pair of blue beads and round beadstones of gold, having thereon six gold bead stones of a greater sort.

Fifty-four bead stones of goldsmith's work, black enamelled hanging upon a lace.

Another pair of beads enamelled with black.

A pair of beads, of gold, round and not enamelled.

A pair of beads of garnet.

A pair of beads with Ostrich feathers, enamelled black.

A pair of coral beads with freares knots.

One other pair of beads with goldsmith's work and counterfeit garnets.

A pair of beads of coral, the Pater noster being of gold.

RINGS.

To the Duke of Somerset.

First, four rings with rubies, whereof two table rubies, and two rock rubies.

A ring containing therein a three cornered diamond.

Another ring with a table diamond.

Another ring with a garnet.—A ring with a spynell.—Another ring with an agate.—A ring with a seal of a man cut out of flint. A ring of counterfeit rubies. Two rings with emeralds. Three rings of gold having therein three fair rock rubies. A fair three cornered diamond which Mrs. Holland claimeth to be hers.—Two collets for rings, having two rubies set therein.—One other collet of gold, containing therein a white sapphire.—Seven other collects, set with sundry stones.

BRACELETS.

To the Duke of Somerset.

First, a pair of bracelets being antiques, white and black enamelled.—Another pair of bracelets with cornelians red and blue.—A pair of bracelets containing nine pieces, whereof seven having in them stones graven.—Two little hearts of gold.—A little fish of gold. A cypher with a flower de luce of gold, and having three pearls.—An agate, with Christ pictured in the same.—Another agate, being of divers colours.—Sundry other pieces of gold, being broken, and weighing four ounces and a quarter.—Two pomaunders of gold.

BUTTONS AND AGLETS.

First, Twenty-four buttons of gold, of true love knots, whereof nine enamelled blue, seven black, and six without any enamelling.—Eight old aglets of gold.—Thirteen pair of gold aglets, parcel of the gown of black satin delivered to Thomas Allen.—Twenty-one aglets and five buttons of gold, parcel of a gown of purple satin delivered to Mr. Strete.

No. XLIII.

THE EARL OF SURREY'S APPAREL.

[From the same.]

All these to the Duke of Somerset.

One Parliament robe of purple velvet, with a garter set upon the shoulder.

Four black velvet caps, set with pearl and goldsmith's work.

A hat of crimson satin and crimson velvet, with a white feather.

A scarf of crimson gold, sarcenet.

Two pairs of knit hose.

Two dozen arming points.

A knit petticoat.

Two rapiers, all gilt, graven antique.

Two daggers, all gilt, and graven, appendant to two girdles.

A gilt dagger, with a sheath of black velvet.

A pair of stirrups, all gilt; ditto parcel gilt.

Another pair of stirrups.

Two pair of spurs, gilt.

A horse harness of black velvet, set with studs, of copper, and gilt.

A fod cloth of black velvet, fringed with Venice gold.

A horse harness of crimson velvet, fringed with Venice gold.

To Mr. Colley and Mr. Thorp.

A robe, with hood, and crimson velvet.

To Mr. Brian.

A gown of cloth of gold, furred and faced with sables.

All these to Sir Henry Seymour.

A gown of black velvet, with a curious guard of black satin.

A gown of crimson taffeta, faced with busard.

A coat and cassock of black velvet, the one wrought with satin, and the other with satin and wreaths.

A cape of frizado, guarded upon with velvet, and embroidered upon with russet satin.

A doublet of crimson satin, with threads of Venice gold.

A doublet of orange velvet embroidered with white satin and silver.

A doublet of black velvet embroidered with satin.

A pair of hose of crimson satin, with guards, embroidered with Venice gold.

A pair of hose of black velvet embroidered with satin.

A black velvet cap with buttons of gold enamelled white.

Two shirts.

Mr. Fowler.

A gown of black satin embroidered and lined with gold sarcenet.

A cassock of black silk embroidered and lined with gold sarcenet.

Mrs. Winfred Fisher.

A robe of black velvet set with buttons of gold enamelled black and white.

A pair of hose, black velvet, laid on with threads of Venice gold.

Mr. Philpot.

A robe of black velvet, embroidered with tawney satin.

A cape of frizado, guarded with velvet embroidered upon with tawney satin.

A doublet of black velvet embroidered with tawney satin.

A pair of hose of black velvet, embroidered red with tawney satin.

Mr. T. Allen.

A doublet of black satin cut.

Mr. Colley.

A shirt wrought with black silk.

Mr. Thorp.

Ditto.

Of the furniture at Surrey's House, at St. Leonards, a particular account will be found in the Appendix, No. XLVII.

No. XLIV.

MRS. HOLLAND'S APPAREL.

[From the same.]

All allowed and delivered to Mrs. Holland.

First. A French gown of black velvet, lined with sarcenet, and sleeves of black velvet, belonging to the same. A round gown of black velvet, with three wreaths of satin. A gown made cassock-wise of black velvet, with a wreath of black satin, having thirty-six several links of gold upon the same. A French gown of black satin, with wide sleeves, and a placard of the same edged with sables. A Venetian gown of black damask, edged with velvet. A French gown of tawney satin, lined with tawney sarcenet, with a placard of the same, and wide sleeves of tawney velvet, lined with satin. A French gown of black taffeta, with wide sleeves of the same, unlined. A French gown of murrey damask, with wide sleeves, and a placard of the same. An old Venetian gown of black satin. A French gown of black damask, with wide sleeves, and a placard to the same, edged with velvet. Another French gown of black damask, with wide sleeves, and a placard of the same, edged all with budge. An old night-gown of black satin, the lining ripped out. A kirtle of black velvet, lined with red cloth. A kirtle of white damask, edged with white velvet. A kirtle of crimson satin, edged with white velvet. Two pair of trunk sleeves (one) of black velvet, and the other of crimson satin. Two vertingales of red Bruges satin. A partelet of lawn, edged with persement lace of gold. Two others of lawn of gold. A pair of fore-sleeves of Venice gold and silver, with ruffles wrought with silk. A pair of fore-sleeves of white damask. Three other pair of black, yellow, and crimson. Another pair of crimson satin, with twenty round buttons of gold. One other pair of crimson satin, with sixteen pair of gold aglets, enamelled black and white. Three partelets of black velvet, with two pair of buttons of

gold. A piece of cloth of silver, about four yards by estimation. A piece of crimson velvet upon velvet, and gold bawdekin, paned together, being five panes, and four other smaller pieces of the same ; and another piece of the same, like the nether part of the kirtle, seven panes. A border of a cope embroidered. A long piece of red cloth embroidered upon with blue cloth, and the letters H. and E. Three pieces of red cloth, containing nine yards. A piece of mantle friese, containing four yards three quarters. A cupboard cloth of yellow satin of Bruges, laid on with crimson velvet, not yet finished. Three pieces of blue saye, whole and uncut. Six coverings for cushions, three of yellow Bruges satin and tawney velvet, whereof one standing in a frame, not finished. A covering for a cushion of blue cloth, embroidered with E. and H. Sundry small pieces of cloth of silver. A piece of cloth of silver. A piece of Holland, containing twenty-two yards. A fair fringe for a bed, of red silk. One yard do. of scarlet. Four yards three quarters of red flannel. A box full of fringes, garters embroidered, twisted silk, and sundry other small pieces. Part of an old fur of *Matrone*. Two yards of yellow Bruges satin. Three little pieces of yellow cloth of gold bawdekin. Two yards of old black satin, taken out of the back of a gown. Two small pieces of sarcenet, an old upper body, and a placard of black satin. Two placards of black damask. Sundry small pieces of cloth of gold, velvet, satin, and sarcenet, trussed together. A side-saddle of velvet, with a gilt pummel. Two pieces for cushions, and two for chairs, paned with cloth of gold and crimson velvet. Two pieces for a canopy of twelve panes of like cloth of gold and crimson velvet.

No XLV.

MRS. HOLLAND'S JEWELS.

[From the same.]

All these were allowed and delivered to Mrs. Holland.

1. One girdle of goldsmith's work, containing in the whole fifty pieces.
2. Forty-five small buttons of gold.
3. A ring triangle diamond.
4. ——— with diamond table-wise.
5. ——— with a long table ruby.
6. ——— with a square emerald.
7. ——— with a pointed diamond, which was sent her as a token from Mrs. Mary Shelton, as she said.

8. A ring with a white sapphire, sent from Mrs. Freeston, for a token, as she said.
9. A bracelet of goldsmith's work, garnished with pearls and counterfeit emeralds, having three sapphires table-wise, and jacinths set with lions of gold.
10. A broach of gold, with a picture of Cupido, and a ruby set between two pearls.
11. A cross of gold, set with six diamonds, four rubies, and three pearls, hanging at the same.
12. One broach of our Lady of Pity, with the picture of Christ lying in her lap.
13. Ditto, of gold, of the Trinity.
14. A case of gold, to put in needles.
15. Three buttons of gold, for clasps for partelettes, set with two counterfeit stones.
16. One button more, and two pieces for a billyment.
17. A pair of beads of jet, having upon them four score beads of gold.
18. A pair of beads of goldsmith's work, one hundred and three beads enamelled red, and eleven great enamelled white, and one hundred and seventeen round beads of gold.
19. A girdle of gold chain fashion, with a tablet hanging at it of gold, having at the outside our Lady holding the vernacle, and the other side a jacinth, having an hundred and fifty-nine links.
20. A pair of beads of knobs of pearls, and between every knob two little round beads of gold, and eleven great beads enamelled red.
21. A girdle of pearl of the said work, having forty-two knobs, and betwixt every knob two little round beads of gold, and at each end one.
22. A Carkanet for her neck of pearl, made cheveron-wise, of fourteen cheverons.
23. One ditto, of smaller pearls and beads of gold.
24. A little collet of gold, to set a stone in.
25. A lace for her neck of pearl and gold, eight links, with a flower, having three diamonds and pearls.
26. A valentine of gold, with three diamonds, three rubies, and eight pearls.
27. A flower of gold, with two diamonds, two rubies, and three pearls.
28. Four upper billyments of goldsmith's work, and four nether billyments, all gold; three pearl and gold, and the fourth with pearl only.
29. A silver spoon, with Christ upon the end.
30. A little casket, covered with crimson velvet, with bands of silver, whereir are two less caskets of silver and gold pearl.

31. A pair of knives, garnished with silver, and gilt.
32. A pair of tables of ivory, garnished with silver.
33. A book of prayers, covered with tawney velvet, the clasps of gold.
34. A chain of gold flagon fashion, esteemed £30.
35. A jacinth, with a black silk lace.
36. Three crepins of silver and gold.

XLVI.

Money found in the Duke of Norfolk's hands at the time of his Impeachment.

[From the same.]

Delivered to the Lord St. John Earl of Wiltshire, to the King's use.

	£	s.	d.
First. In old suffrances	1000	5	0
Item. One bag of groats, of the contents of	116	0	0
One bag of gold and groats, containing besides £20, parcel of the money of the same bag given to the Lady Surrey	26	0	0
All such money as remained in the hands of R. Holditch, Esq. receiver to the said Duke	1380	0	0
In money which was received of Sir F. Bryan, for a great girdle of gold, weighing 12 ounces, rated after fifty shillings the ounce	31	11	3

Account of the other parts of the Duke of Norfolk's Property.

[From the same.]

Of the furniture of the house, consisting of magnificent hangings of Arras, of Turkey carpets, cushions of cloth of gold, &c. &c. the greatest part was given to the Princess Mary; some went to the King, and some to the Duke of Somerset; a very little was granted to Surrey's widow: and some was given to the Duchess: part was specified as having belonged to the Duchess of Richmond, and was allowed to her. To Mrs. Holland was granted the largest part of the furniture of her apartments. Of the naperie (the linen), some, as usual, was retained for the Duke of Somerset, and a little was given to the Countess of

Surrey. The largest part was given to the Princess Mary. The plate was all ordered to be coined, but the Duke of Somerset retained to himself

1. A salt of gold, the cover of gold, having eight stones, enamelled blue.
2. Ditto, another of gold, with a gold cover embossed.
3. Two spoons of gold, four ounces, three grains.
4. A little silver salt, and two carving knives, the verge all gilt, such as were carried before the Earl Marshal.

To the Duchess of Norfolk was given :

A salt of gold and berill, with a cover, having upon the same nine stones and pearls, weighing more than eight ounces.

To the Countess of Surrey the following pieces of plate were allotted :

Two livery pots gilt, with Stafford knots upon the covers, one cover being broken. One standing cup with a cover. Two mortar salts, all gilt, with one cover. Twelve spoons all gilt, having knops wrought with garters. A great drinking cruse all gilt: another drinking cruse all gilt. A bason, with a large ewer, all gilt. A casting bottle all gilt. A perfume pan, with a cover, all white. A chalice, all gilt, with the patin. Three candlesticks, all gilt. One dozen trenchers, all gilt. A bowl, or a cup, with a cover, all gilt, having a rose on the cover.

Several pieces of plate were given to the Lord T. Howard.

The chapel plate was given to be coined; but the Duke of Somerset retained for himself:

1. A fair Gospel book, with the crucifix, Mary and John, set with crystal stones.
2. The Psalter boards, plated with silver.
3. Two primer books, covered with velvet, and at every corner Stafford knots in silver.
4. Another primer, red leather, silver clasps: two Stafford knots of silver gilt.
5. Four adders tongues, and a bottle of Jasper stone, garnished with silver and gilt.

The ornaments of the chapel were delivered chiefly to the Lady Mary: some of the vestments were sold for the King's use: some were granted to the Duchess of Richmond, and some retained by the Duke of Somerset. The Countess of Surrey had a deacon's and a subdeacon's vestment: one altar-cloth of murrey velvet: and two of linen.

To the Lady Mary was given from the furniture of the chapel:

Upon the high altar standing a fair table [picture] of the Birth, Passion, and Resurrection of Christ, wrought upon wainscot. Imagery all gilt, containing in length four yards, and in depth one yard.

In the stables, and upon the grounds, were found two hundred and four horses of various descriptions. The riding horses were almost always named from some

person: we meet with "Grey Knivett," "Black Rutland," "Roaned Durham," "Bay Needham," "Grey Canterbury," and "Curtal Peyton." There was no "Grey Surrey" indeed, but there was a "White Howard," as well as a "Sorrel Howard," and a "Bay Howard. The horses were granted to a variety of people. The Duke of Somerset was well provided for as usual. "White Howard," among others, was reserved for him, as were "three grey geldings, which had belonged to the Earl of Surrey:" and "fifteen horses of my Lord's saddle." The Countess of Surrey had four horses for her litter: four riding horses, and one trotting, and one ambling horse, which had belonged to her husband, "and bore his brand."

The live stock on the premises was great. There were eighty-eight oxen, an hundred and fifteen steers, and four hundred and seven sheep, and four hundred and twenty hogs. Of these, some were consumed at the time: the remainder were divided between the Princess Mary and the Duke of Somerset.

The salt store for the use of the family forms a curious article. There were, Four hundred and three ling, one thousand six hundred and seventeen cods, forty-three muddefish; of white herrings thirty-two barrels; salmon eleven barrels; sturgeon seven barrels; red herring three rade; vertise one barrel.

An idea may be formed of the magnitude of the house at Kenninghall, when we find that besides a suit of apartments for the Duke, and another for the Duchess, there were separate apartments also for the Earl of Surrey; for the Countess of Surrey; for the children; for the master of the children; for the Duchess of Richmond; for the Lord Thomas Howard; for Mrs. Holland; for Mr. Holland, the Duke's secretary; and Mr. Adryan (Hadrian Junius) the physician to the household. We meet with also, Sir John Colbrone's chambers; the chambers of the Children of the Chapel; those for the Almoners, the Auditor, the Master of the horse, the Treasurer, the Hunter, and the Controller. There were besides these, apartments in the Tennis Court, and in the offices.

The magnificence of this princely family was disclosed in its ruin—

Adparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt.

Adparent Priami, et veterum penetralia Regum.

Quinquaginta illi thalami, spes tanta nepotum,

Procubuere tenent Danai.—

No. XLVII.

An account of the Earl of Surrey's Furniture at St. Leonard's.

[From the original in the Land Revenue Office.]

Which goods and chattels of the late Earl of Surrey's, late remaining at Saint Leonard's aforesaid, and by him mortgaged to the beforenamed John Spencer,

been discharged out of this book of charge by the King's bill assigned; the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth. Edward the Sixth by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head; to all faithful people to whom these our letters shall come sendeth greeting. Whereas Henry, late Earl of Surrey, lately attainted of high treason, before the time of his said attainure, was possessed of the goods and chattels hereafter mentioned. That is to say, one border with pomegranates and posies containing in length three yards, and in breadth three yards; one other border of imagery, containing the same length and breadth; one other border of imagery, bordered with cucumbers, posies, and pomegranates, containing in length two yards and quarter, and in depth three yards; one other piece of the same work, containing in length three yards, and in depth three yards; one other piece of imagery, containing in length three yards three quarters, and in breadth three yards; ten other pieces of the same work, containing every of them in depth three yards, and in breadth, the first piece three yards, the second piece six yards, the third piece three yards three quarters, the fourth piece four yards and quarter, the fifth piece six yards, the sixth piece four yards and quarter, the seventh piece three yards, the eighth piece three yards, the ninth piece four yards and quarter, and the tenth piece three yards; one Turkey carpet, containing in length four yards, and in breadth three yards; three Turkey carpets for cupboards, containing every of them in length one yard three quarters, and in breadth one yard and quarter; a long carpet of verdures, wrought with buildings, beasts, and birds, containing in length five yards three quarters, and in depth one yard; one other long carpet of the same work, with covies [of] birds, and three garlands with escutcheons, containing in length five yards, and in breadth one yard and quarter; one other carpet bordered with roses and leaves, with three garlands and red escutcheons, containing in length five yards three quarters, and in depth one yard; a carpet for a table, bordered with flowers and pomegranates, wrought with great leaves, containing in length four yards and quarter, and in depth two yards and half quarter; one chimney cloth of tapestry, bordered with pomegranates, wrought with great leaves and flowers, containing in length two yards three quarters, and in depth one yard; one other bordered with roses and grapes, with beasts, flowers, and a conduit, containing in length two yards three quarters, and in depth one yard; one other with broad leaves, containing in length three yards, and in depth one yard and quarter; two pieces of hangings, wrought with beasts, and a conduit in the midst, containing in length two yards, and in depth three yards; one other embroidered with cucumbers and grapes, with great roses, beasts, and buildings, containing in length three yards, and in depth three yards; one other like hanging, embroidered with leaves and grapes, wrought with posies and birds,

containing in length four yards and quarter, and in depth three yards three quarters; one other like hanging, bordered with beasts, birds, and a conduit, containing in length two yards, and in depth three yards; a carpet with beasts, birds, and a red escutcheon, containing in length two yards, and in depth one yard; three new borders of arras imagery, containing every of them in length five yards three quarters; one piece containing in length six yards and quarter, and in depth four yards; one other piece containing in length four yards and quarter, and in depth four yards; one piece containing in length three yards, and in depth four yards; one other of the same length and breadth; one piece unlined, containing in length four yards and quarter, and in depth four yards; a chimney cloth not lined, containing in length one yard and quarter, and in depth three yards; a tester paved with purple velvet and satin, embroidered with white lions, silver and pasment lace, fringed gold and silver; two curtains paved with purple and yellow sarcenet; a canopy paved blue and red sarcenet; a chair of purple velvet and satin, embroidered with pasment lace, and the pommels of silver; a winged chair of crimson velvet, a cushion of purple velvet and satin, embroidered with pasment lace, silver and gold; two cushions embroidered with silver and crimson velvet; a pair of vestments of white bawdekin, and embroidered with a white lion, with the appertenance; a piece of purple sarcenet, containing nine yards and quarter; four quilts, the one paved purple and yellow sarcenet, and the others yellow, white, and crimson sarcenet; four pair of white blankets; one other red blanket; two green cloth carpets, the one containing three yards three quarters, and the other one yard three quarters; a table of the Maundy of our Lord; the Lord Surrey's picture; the Lord Surrey's arms; two pair of bellows carved and gilt; ten feather beds; ten bolsters and a linen quilt; cotten blankets, and three white quilts of white canvas; one piece of hanging of dormy, paved blue and red; three pair of white canvas sheets, and three pair of brown canvas sheets; two maces, the one white and gilt, and the other black and gilt; five coverings of dormy, lined with canvas; a pommel, hilt, and chape, for a sword, gilt, and a pair of gilt spurs; a saddle of purple velvet, with broad pasment lace of gold, and the plate gilt; two ensigns of the Earl's arms, the one red, blue, and yellow, the other purple and black sarcenet; six arming saddles with plates; a gittern; twenty-four partisans; two coffers, covered black, with one little coffer, and a gardevyaunce; four new Flanders' bedsteads—and so thereof possessed, before the time of his offence for the which he was attainted, did borrow of John Spencer, of our city of Norwich, the sum of elvii: xxvii. of lawful money of England, to be paid to the said John Spencer, at days between them agreed. And for the surer re-payment thereof, the said Earl at the time of the said sum borrowed, did lay and put the said goods and chattels in gage to the said John Spencer, as a pledge to be kept by the said John Spencer, until the

said sum of clvii. xxvii. and every penny thereof, should be to the said John Spencer, well and truly contented and paid; which said sum of money, and every penny thereof, since the death of the said Earl, hath been well and truly contented and paid to the said John Spencer, by our trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Sir John Gate, knight, vice-chamberlain of our household, and captain of our guard, of the proper money of the said Sir John Gate. And upon the payment of the said sum by the said Sir John Gate, to the said John Spencer, the said Sir John Gate received and had into his hands and possession, of the said John Spencer, the said goods and chattels so laid to gage as is aforesaid, to retain to the said Sir John Gate, as a pledge or gage for the payment of the said sum of money, in like manner and form as the said John Spencer before had the same. Forasmuch as the said goods and chattels are of little better valueing, than the said sum of money paid by the said Sir John Gate for the same, and for that the said Sir John Gate hath forborne his said money, by the space of four years or thereabouts; know you, therefore, us, of our certain knowledge and mere motion, to have given, granted, and released, and by these presents do give, grant, and release, to the said Sir John Gate, all the said goods and chattels, and all other right, interest, and possession in the same; to have and to hold to the said Sir John Gate, and his executors, for ever, without any account or any other thing, to be therefore to us, our heirs, successors, or executors, given, yielded, or paid. Given under our signet, at our palace at Westminster, the sixth day of November, in the fifth year of our reign.

No. XLVIII.

De laudibus Henrici Howardi Comititis Surriæ.

[Chalonerus de Rep. Ang. Restauranda, Lib. II. p. 45.]

Stant plurima nobis

Pectora nobilium claras potiora per artes,

Sive togam spectes, seu partas vulnere lauros.

Abstineam vivis: verùm quos Parca sepul ro

Intulit, invidiâ majores, quosque recenti

Jacturâ meminisse datur, si ritè revolve,

Dignum erit ut studio gens æmula prodeat æquo,

Indigitesque suos imitandos ducat in actus.

Norfolchi genus antiquum, quot pignora fudit

Magna libris, majora armis, & maxima fido

Consilio, haud facile est properanti extendere paucis.

Unus at heu! demptus fatis crudelibus Heros

Præpositus cunctis poterat Surreius esse,

Ni fera surgentes Lachesis truncâset honores,

Obliquôque nocens incautis fascine Livor.

Crudelis Lachesis : crudelis tu quoque Livor :

Ni quiddam potiùs crudeli dirius esses,

Quo te cunque vocent invisum nomine cives,

Monstrum anceps, Erebo emissum, fatale Britannæ

Jam toties aulæ, sed nulla invisius umbra,

Exclamare libet, quæ tanta licentia noxæ est,

Ut quæ nunquàm ausit campo se immittere aperto,

Grassetur sub nube Calumnia freta susurris ?

Perfida speratos patriæ præcerpere fructus

Tu ne impunè potes, tam crebra innecta securi ?

Semper & erectis mutilare cacumina plantis

Credulitate labans ? quid non commiserit error ?

Si faciles monstrum hoc, et quas non debuit aures,

Præveniens, tacito insontes onerarit aculeo ?

Ille obiit : pœnas liventum à sanguine dudum

Exegit Nemesis : nec tanto crimine flagrans

Invidiosa diu manus est lætata superstes.

Vulnus adhuc oculis occurrit flebile nostris,

Quo nimium pronas juvenis luit inscius iras :

Cui si ingrata dies, et ineluctabile tempus

Non adedè extremam cœptis superaddere limam,

Vitatosque ferè casus, superare negâssent :

Nescio quid majus vidissent secula nostri

Temporis, aut claris illo præstantius actis.

Tanta sub ardenti tendebat pectore virtus,

Tantus et ille fuit generosi spiritus oris,

Et vigor aptus equis, structo & concurrere campo :

Aptus item sacro Parnassi vertice cultam

Cæsariem viridi cantans ornare corymbo.

No. XLIX.

[From the Harleian MSS. No. 3756.]

Books remaining in the Library of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, the 15th day of February, Hen. viii. 17°.

LATIN BOOKS.

Imprimis. Hugo de Vienna super Librum Matthæi.

Hugo de Vienna super IV. Evangelistas.

————— super Psalterium.

Tria Volumina Operum S. Anthonii cum tabula.

Tria Volumina Chronicæ Anthoniæ.

Quatuor Volumina de Lira.

Dialogus Sⁱ Gregorii.

Tabula utilissima super Liram.

Virgilius cum glosa.

Jacobi Locher Philomusi Poetæ Epigrammata.

Opus Cornelii Vitelli Poetæ.

Virgilius cum iv. Commentis.

Vocabula Juris.

Juvenalis cum Glosa.

Theodotius cum Commento.

Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ.

Hortus sanitatis.

Terentius.

Fasciculus Temporum.

De diversitate Avium.

Liber Cronicæ in Pergamena.

Liber Alexandri

Ordinale.

Summa Angelica.

Caliopinus.

Hortus vocabulorum et medulla Grammaticæ.

Commentaria Cæsaris.

Vegetius.

Utopia Mori.

Hymni Andreae Poetae.
 Novum Testamentum.
 Laurentius Valla.
 Biblia.
 Chronicæ Chronicorum.
 Liber Chronicæ in Pergameno.
 De divinitate Animæ.
 Psalterium deauratum in Pergamena.
 Accidens.
 Portefornd.
 Liber Alexandri deauratus.

FRENCH BOOKS.

Scala Cronicæ in Kyldare.
 Froissart iv. Voluminibus.
 Anguiran ii. Voluminibus.
 Les Illustrations de Gaule et singularités de Troie.
 Launcelot du Lac. iii. vol.
 De la Terre Sainte.
 Ogier le Danois.
 L' arbre de Battailes.
 Un autre livre en Francois en Parchemin.
 Une partie de la Bible.
 Les Croniques de France.
 Mandeville.
 Le las d'amour de Viegne,
 Le Brevier de Nobles,
 Les quatre Choses,
 Le triumphe des Dames.
 Un livre de Farcis,
 Le legende de tous Saints.
 Les triomphes de Petrarque.
 Le Jardin de Plaisance.
 Le Roman de la Rose, et Mathiolus.
 Une Abreviation de la Bible.
 Le Songe du Virgier.
 Erceles.
 Enchiridion.
 Vincent Historiale, v. volumes,

} en un volume.

Le premier Volume de la Bible.
 St. Austin De Civitate Dei, 11 vols.
 Polipomenon St. Jerome en parchemin.
 Le Metamorphose.
 Josaph — de la Bataille Indi.
 Oraste, le seconde Volume.
 Le Grande Boece.
 Le ii & iii Decade de Titus Livius.
 Un Cronique de France en parchemin.
 Les Commentaires de Cæsar.
 Les Cronique de la Grande et Petite Bretagne.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

First. Polycronicon.
 Boccace.
 Arthur.
 The Siege of Thebes.
 The Chronicles of England.
 The Feats of Arms of Chivalry made by P. Christian de Pise.
 Cambrecensis.
 The Destruction of Troy.
 The Siege of Jerusalem.
 The Æneados.
 Charlemain.
 The Shepherd's Calender.
 Gesta Romanorum.
 Troilus.
 Caton de Senectute et de Amicitia.
 The Order of the Garter.
 The King of England, his answer to Luther.
 The Siege of Rhodes.
 Littleton, his Tenures.
 Sir Thomas More's Book against the new opinions that hold against Pilgrimages.
 Regimine Sanctatis.
 An Old Book of the Chronicles of England.

IRISH BOOKS.

Saltir Casshil.
 Saint Beraghūs Book.

Another Book wherein is the beginning of the Chronicles of Ireland.

The Birth of Christ.

St. Katherine's Life.

Saint Jacob his Passion.

Saint George his Passion.

The Speech of Onycheaghis.

Saint Fleghyn his Life.

Saint Flynyan his Life.

Brislagh my Moregh.

Concullyns Acts.

The Monks of Egypt's Life.

Ffoilylincy, the VII Sages.

The Declaration of Gospels.

Saint Bernard's Passion.

The History of Clamlyre.

The teaching of Kem is legg.

Cambeus.

No. L.

The Duke of Norfolk's Petition for the Reversion of the Attainder.

[Archives of Norfolk House.]

In most humble wise sheweth unto your Highness, your humble and obedient subject and servant Thomas Duke of Norfolk; that where, in the second session in the Parliament holden in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of your most noble father King Henry the Eighth, there was one bill exhibited into the same Parliament, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth. In the most humble wise sheweth unto your most royal Majesty, your humble and obedient subjects the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this your high Court of Parliament assembled, that where the natural duty, truth, and allegiance of every of your true, loving and obedient subjects within this your realm of England, is most heartily and entirely to wish well and desire the health, wealth, surety, and prosperity of

your most royal person, estate, pre-eminence, succession, and dignity Imperial, and above all earthly things to devise and study for the whole preservation and entire conservation of your most royal person, and of the person of the most noble prince Edward, being your most entirely beloved son and heir apparent to this your crown of England, as well in body, fame, style, power royal, royal power and title of the inheritance of your crown of this realm, yet that notwithstanding Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and Henry Howard of Kyrningale, in your county of Norfolk, Knight of the honourable order of the Garter, otherwise called Henry Earl of Surrey, for their abominable acts and treasons by them and every of them most falsely, maliciously, and treasonably committed and done against your Majesty, and this your realm, and against your laws and statutes, were and be, by due order of your said laws and statutes of this your said realm of England severally indicted of high treason, by them severally committed and done; and the said Henry, upon the said indictment had and presented against him, is lawfully arraigned, convicted, and attainted of high treason, as by the several records thereof more at large it may and doth appear: and the said Thomas Duke of Norfolk since the same indictment, before divers of your most honourable counsellors, hath freely, frankly, and without any manner of compulsion, or coercion, acknowledged and confessed by writing, subscribed with his own hand not only the said detestable treasons mentioned in the said indictment, had and found against him; but also divers other detestable acts and misprisions of treason, contrary to the duty of his allegiance, and your laws and statutes of this your realm, to the great peril and slander of your most royal person, and to the disturbance and interruption of your just and undoubted title to your crown of this realm, may it therefore please your Highness to enact by the authority of this your high Court of Parliament as hereafter ensueth: be it therefore ordained and enacted by the King our sovereign Lord, with the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and of the Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and the said Henry Howard of Kyrningale aforesaid, Knight of the honourable order of the Garter, otherwise called Henry, Earl of Surrey, and every of them, for their several malicious and traitorous acts and treasons, by them severally committed and done, the seventh day of October last past, shall be from the said seventh day of October last past, judged and deemed high traitors; and shall from henceforth stand, and be attainted and convicted of high treason; and that they and every of them, by whatsoever names or surnames they or either of them be called or known, shall lose and forfeit, by the authority of this present act, unto your Highness, your heirs and successors for ever, as well all and such their lands, and every of their castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, hereditaments, franchises, liberties,

preeminences, jurisdictions, hundreds, advowsons, nominations, presentations, knights fees, rents, reversions, services, remainders, offices, authorities, parsonages, tithes, pensions, portions, annuities, common rights, titles, possessions, interests, conditions, and all other profits and commodities, of what name, nature, or quality soever they be, which they, or any of them, or any other person or persons, in any of their rights, or to any of their uses, had, or ought to have had, of any estate, or inheritance, in fee simple, or fee tail, the said seventh day of October last past, or at any time after; and shall also lose and forfeit to your Highness, your heirs and successors, as well all manner such estate of freehold and interest for years of, in, and to all manors, lands, tenements, rents, offices, fees, annuities, parsonages, tithes, hereditaments, and all other the possessions, as all other goods, chattels, and debts, which they, or any of them had, at the said seventh day of October, or at any time after, saving to all and every person and persons, bodies politic and corporate, their heirs, assigns, and successors and to their executors, assigns, and successors of every of them, other than the said Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and the said Henry Earl of Surrey, and the heirs of him and of every and either of them and other then all and every such person and persons claiming to their uses, or to the use of any of them, or to the use of any of their heirs all such right, title, use, interest, entry, possession, reversion, remainder, condition, fees, offices, annuities, rents, commons, pensions, portions, and all other profits, commodities, and hereditaments, whatsoever they or any of them might, should, or ought to have had, if the same act had never been had or made. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all the said castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, hereditaments, franchises, liberties, preeminences, jurisdictions, hundreds, advowsons, presentations, knights fees, offices and authorities, rents, reversions, services, remainders, pensions, portions, annuities, rights, possessions, interests, conditions, and all other profits and commodities, and all singular the premises, of what name, nature, or quality so ever they be, shall from henceforth be judged, deemed, and taken to be, in the actual and real possession of your Majesty, to all intents, constructions, and purposes; and in the same manner, sort, form, and effect, as though every of them had been attainted and convicted of the said several treasons by the due course of your common laws of this realm; and that good and perfect offices and inquisitions had been had, found, taken, presented, returned, and certified of the premises, and of every part thereof, according to the due order of your said laws, as by the same bill more at large it appeareth: Which Bill so exhibited, was assented unto by the Lords and Commons of the said Parliament; and for the royal assent and consent of the said King to be had to the said Bill. Forasmuch as the said late King was then in such extremity of sickness and peril of death, that he could not personally be in the

Parliament chamber, as is accustomed, one commission was directed, in the name of the said late King, to the right honourable Thomas Wriothesley, then Lord, and Chancellor of England; William Poulett, then Lord St. John; John Russell, then Lord Russell, and Keeper of the privy seal; and to Edward, then Earl of Hertford, the tenor of which commission hereafter also ensueth. Henricus Dei Gratia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei defensor et in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput prædictis, et fidelibus Consiliariis suis; Thomæ Wriothesley, Sacri Ordinis Garterii militi; Domino Wriothesley, Cancellario nostro Angliæ; Willelmus Poulett, ejusdem Sacri Ordinis Garterii Militi, Domino St. John; Magno Magistro et Senescallo hospicii nostr: ac Presedenti Concilii nostri; Johanni Russell, ejusdem sacri ordinis Garterii Militi, Domino Russell Custodi privati Sigilli nostri ac Clarissimo Consanguineo nostro Edwardo Comiti Hertford, ejusdem sacri ordinis Garterii Militi, magno Camerario Angliæ, salutem; cum quædam petitio forma actus attincturæ versus Thomam Ducem Norfolk, et Henricum nuper Comitem Surrey nobis in præsentī Parlamento nostro exhibita extiterit, ac Domini, et Magnates, ac Com: Regni nostri Angliæ in eodem præsentī Parlamento nostro existentes, super petitiones prædictas ac de, et super omnibus et singulis contentis et specificatis in eadem plenarie ac totaliter concluserint et concordaverint, Nos, eidem petitioni, nec non omnibus et singulis super eadem conclusis et concordatis regium nostrum assensum et consensum duximus adhibendum et præbendum: Sciatis, igitur quod nos de fidelitatibus, industriis et providis circumspectionibus vestris plurimum confidentes assignabimus vos et tres vestrum, ac tenore presenti damus vobis et tribus vestrum plenam potestatem et auctoritatem ac mandatum speciale petitioni predictæ, nec non omnibus et singulis conclusis et concordatis in præsentī Parlamento prædicto super eadem petitione nostrum regium et assensum, et consensum adhibendum et præbendum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod circa præmissa diligenter intendatis ac ea faciatis et exequamini indilatè cum effectu. Significamus enim tenore presenti omnibus et singulis Dominis Magnatibus ac Comitibus dicti regni Angliæ et prædicto præsentī Parlamento nostro existentibus nos ratum gratum et firmum habentes, et habituros totum et quicquid vos vel tres vestrum feceritis vel fecerint nomine nostro in premissis. In cujus Rei Testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium xxvii dii Januarii Anno Regni nostr. xxxviii. As by the same commission affiled unto the said roll more plainly also appeareth. By virtue of which Commission, and at the commandment of the said Commissioners, in the absence of the said late King, there was entered in the head of the said bill these words following, viz. Soit fit comme il est désiré. And forasmuch most gracious Sovereign Lady, as the offence wherewith your said subject and supplicant was charged, and whereof he was indicted, was for bearing of *arms, which he and his ancestors*

had heretofore of long time and continuance borne, as well within this realm as without, and as well also in the presence of the said late King, as in the presence of divers of his noble progenitors, Kings of England, and which said arms your said suppliant and subject, and his ancestors might lawfully and justly bear and give, as by good and substantial matter of record it may and doth appear, and forasmuch also, as the said late King departed from this transitory world in the night next following after that the said commission doth bear date. And, that by the words contained in the said commission it appeareth that the said late King did appoint the said commissioners to give his Majesty's royal assent to the said bill, having no words in the same whereby it may appear that the said late King, did himself give his royal assent to the said bill: and for that also, the said commission was not signed with his Highness's hand, but with his stamp, put thereunto, in the nether part of the writing of the said writing of the said commission, and not in the upper part of the said commission as his Highness was accustomed to do, nor that it appeareth of any record that the said commissioners did give his royal consent to the bill aforesaid; therefore, all that was done by virtue of the same commission by the said Commissioners concerning the giving of the same late King's royal assent, and consent was clearly void in the law, and made not the same bill to take effect, or to be an act of Parliament nor your Grace's said subject thereby is not, nor yet standeth as a man attainted in the law, all which, notwithstanding divers and sundry persons taking occasion by the colour of the said bill so assented unto, as is aforesaid, do publish, say and affirm, that your Highness's said subject and suppliant, standeth and remaineth attainted of high treason, to his great slander, infamy, and disherisone; And over that, the same persons by sinister means and practices have obtained certain exemplifications under your Highness's great Seal of England, to be made of the said bill only as a bill fully assented unto as well by the said late King, as by the Lords and Commons in the same Parliament assembled, making no mention in the said exemplification of the same commission, although the same be affiled and annexed unto the said bill, and made as parcel of the record and a demonstration of the whole truth of the matter, nor of any of the circumstances thereof; by the means whereof, and other such like practices, which the persons aforesaid do not cease daily to attempt; although the said bill remaineth in very deed as no act of parliament, but as a bill only exhibited in the said parliament, and only assented unto by the said Lords and Commissioners, and not by the said late King, for the considerations aforesaid; yet the same might happen hereafter by reason of the said exemplifications, and such like untrue practices to be taken for a good and perfect act, contrary to all truths, whereby your said suppliant and his posterity may be hereafter in some peril and danger to be disinherited,

and shall be the less able to serve your Highness and this realm, if some convenient remedy for the same in their time, though the said untrue practices do rise, and manifestly appear in the conscience and knowledge of them that be now living, be not therefore had and declared by the authority of parliament, for the true and perfect declaration whereof, it may please your Highness that it be declared by the authority of this Parliament that the law of this realm is, and always hath been, that the royal assent or consent of the King or Kings of this realm to any act of Parliament, ought to be given in his own royal presence, being personally present in the higher house of the Parliament, or by his letters patent under his Great Seal, assigned with his hand, and declared and notified in his absence to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons assembled together in the higher house, according to a statute made in the thirty-third year of the reign of the said late King Henry VIII. in that case ordained and provided; and that the said pretended act, whereby it is supposed your said suppliant to be attainted, is by the common laws of this your realm, void, and of none effect; and by the authority abovesaid, shall be taken, adjudged, and deemed to be no act of Parliament. And that it never took any effect as an act of Parliament, and that the same by the authority of this act, to all intents and purposes, is, and shall be of no validity, or effect, for the causes aforesaid. Provided always, and be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that where the late King of famous memory, King Edward VI. hath by his several letters patent given and granted as well unto your Highness as to divers other persons divers and sundry manors, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, which were parcel of the manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments of your said suppliant, that this present act, and declaration, or any thing herein contained, shall not in anywise be hurtful to any such person or persons to whom the said late King hath given or granted any of the said manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, by his several letters patent, or to their heirs, executors, or assigns, or the heirs, executors, or assigns of any of them, other than to your Highness, your heirs, and successors: but that the said gifts, grants, and letters patent, shall be of the same and like effect as they were before the making this present act, and as though this act had never been had or made: and be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular exemplifications heretofore had, made, appointed, or exemplified, at the suit, request, or petition of any person or persons, or hereafter to be made, had, or exemplified under the Great Seal of England, of the tenure of the said pretended act, and wherein no mention is, or shall be contained or made, of the tenure of the said commission, and of the

entry of the words of the royal assent, entered by authority of the said commission, shall be utterly void and of none effect, and shall not be pleadable or answerable in any Court or Courts of your Highness, your heirs, and successors, or elsewhere. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful to your said supplicant, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, or to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, or to other his heirs, to enter into and have all and singular the said castles, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, possessions, privileges, franchises, liberties, advowsons, fees, and offices whereof your said supplicant was seised, or had any estate of inheritance for term of life or lives, or for years (the same years yet continuing) in possession, reversion, or remainder, at the time of the exhibiting of the said bill into the said Parliament, holden in the said thirty-eighth year of the reign of the said late King Henry the Eighth, and whereof the late King Edward the Sixth, or your Highness, was seized or possessed, in possession, reversion, or remainder, at the time of the decease of the same late King Edward the Sixth, and to have and hold the same, with all the issues and profits thereof, from and after the decease of the same late King Edward the Sixth, of such like and the same estates and interests, as your said subject had in or to the same at the time of the exhibiting of the said former bill; without any livery or ouster-le-mayne, to be had, sued, or obtained by your said supplicant, from your Highness, your heirs, or successors, for the same or any part thereof, for this only present time. Saving unto your Highness, your heirs, and successors, and to all and every other person and persons, body politic and corporate, their heirs and successors, and the heirs and successors of every of them, all such rents, customs, services, rights, title, interest, commons, leases, fees, annuities, and other profits, whatsoever there be, as your said late father, or any of your most noble progenitors, or as the said person or persons, or any of their ancestors or predecessors had in and to the premises, or in and to any part or parcel thereof, at the time of the exhibiting of the said former bill, exhibited in the said thirty-eighth year of your said Highness' late father's reign, any thing contained in this act, or in the same bill, to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding. Provided always and be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that your said subject, his heirs, executors, administrators, or any of them, shall not in anywise have or demand any of the rents, revenues, issues, or profits of the premises, or of any parcel thereof, being due, payable, grown, come, or accrued at or before the time of the decease of the said late King Edward the Sixth; but that the same your supplicant, his heirs, executors, and administrators, and every of them, shall by the authority aforesaid, be barred and clearly excluded to have or demand the

same rents, issues, revenues, and profits of the premises, or any part of the same, due, payable, or accrued, at or before the decease of the said late King Edward the Sixth. Cui quidem billæ prælectæ, et ad plenum intellectæ, per dictam Dominam Reginam, ex auctoritate Parlamenti prædicti sic responsum est :

Soit fait comme il est desire,

MARY THE QUEEN.

THE END.

BAYERISCHE
STAATS-
BIBLIOTHEK
MÜNCHEN

GLOSSARY

ADVERTISMENT

GLOSSARY,

GENERAL INDEX,

AND

INDEX TO THE APPENDIX.

T

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Glossary applies, not only to SURREY's Poems, but to all the quotations in the Dissertation, and in the Notes. As the object in making it was to assist the General Reader, it was not deemed necessary to enter into any detail in Etymology. Of the words themselves, such an explanation alone has been attempted, as seemed the simplest and most obvious, and the best suited to the object in view. The Scholar and the Antiquary will find many terms noted, which they may think did not require elucidation: but some of my Readers are presumed to be wholly unacquainted with the Language of our early Poets. I trust therefore that I shall be pardoned, for their sakes, the insertion of a few explanations, which might have been otherwise spared.

GLOSSARY.

THE Roman numerals, refer to the pages in the Memoirs and Dissertation—the Arabic, to those in the Poems, Notes, and Memoirs of Northampton—the Roman numerals, with ap. prefixed, to those in the Appendix.

A

- ABYE**, *v.* to abide any thing dearly; to suffer for any thing. *Æn.* iv. l. 508.
Accol, *v.* to embrace round the neck. *Æn.* ii. l. 1055.
Acqueint, *part.* extinguished, clvii.
Ainst, *adv.* against. Notes, p. 424.
Alder-best, *adj.* best of all, p. 320. Compounded of alder, *gen. plu.* of *all* and *best*; so *alder-first*, first of all; *alder-levest*, dearest of all.
Adwawe, *v.* to mollify; also, to awake. Notes, p. 331.
Algates, *adv.* nevertheless; p. xxiii. also, always.
Allowance, *n.* praise. *Alouer*, *Fr.* P. p. 76. l. 2. See p. clxxiv. note.
Altire, *n.* altitude. P. p. 84. l. 3.
And if, *conj.* for, an if, if, conditionally. Notes, p. 421.
Apaid, *part.* satisfied. P. p. 64. l. 18.
Aperil, and **Averill**, *n.* April. *Aprilis*, *Lat.* p. clxvi.
Appair, *apeire*, *v.* to decay. P. p. 79. l. 2.
Arrecting, *part.* raising up, p. exc.
Astoined, *astonied*, *part.* astonished. *Æn.* iv. l. 363.
Attaint, *v.* to impair. *Atainer*, *Fr.* P. p. 34. l. 8.
Aureate, *adj.* golden, p. excii.
Avale, or **avail**, *v.* to lower, p. 12. l. 14. and 48. l. 26.
Aye, *adv.* seems to mean, again. *Æn.* iv. l. 748. See note.

B

- Bait**, *v.* to allure. P. p. 49. l. 12.
Bale, *n.* sorrow, destruction. P. p. 19. l. 15.
Bassing, *part.* kissing; a *basse*, *n.* a kiss. *Fr.* p. ccxxxviii.
Bayne, *v.* to bathe. P. p. 23. l. 17.

- Bayne**, *n.* bath, p. 296.
Bear in hand, *v.* to deceive. P. p. 29. l. 20. See note, p. 311.
Beck, *n.* a nod of assent. P. p. 22. l. 21.
Been, *bene*, and **ben**, *adv.* well. *Benè*, *Lat.* ccl.
Behight, *behest*, *n.* promise. P. p. 82. l. 18.
Berain, *v.* to bedew as with rain, P. p. 50. l. 8. p. 354.
Bestraught, and *distraught*, *part.* distracted. *Æn.* iv. l. 360. See note.
Bet, *comp.* better. P. p. 75. l. 19. See note.
Bete, *v.* to amend, clvi.
Betook, *part.* entrusted to the care of. *Æn.* ii. l. 992. *Betaucht*, *Scotch.* See Douglas's Virgil.
Bewray, *v.* to reveal unconsciously, as distinct from *betray*. P. p. 23. l. 15. See the note.
Blasted, *part.* proclaimed, abroad. Notes, p. 392.
Blazed, *part.* blazoned, spread abroad. P. p. 79. l. 13.
Blive, *adv.* quickly. *Æn.* ii. l. 293.
Bones, *n.* limbs, generally. P. p. 64. l. 19.
Boot, *bote*, *n.* assistance, p. ccxxxvi.
Bourdoun, *n.* burthen of a song; also, the bass or underpart in singing. *Bourdonner*, *Fr.* Notes, p. 265.
Bourd, *v.* to address. *Æn.* iv. l. 116.
Bowl'n, *part.* swollen. *Æn.* ii. l. 346.
Brage, *n.* See Lett. p. 220, note a.
Brast out, *part.* burst out, p. 235.
Brayes, *n.* advanced works in fortification. Lett. p. 220.
Brent, *part.* burnt. *Æn.* ii. l. 1016.
Brook, *v.* to enjoy; also, to support patiently. *Æn.* iv. l. 831.
Bruit, *n.* common report. *Fr.* P. p. 69. l. 19.

Bulk, *n.* the human bust, or body. P. p. 76. l. 20.
 Burley, *adj.* large and soft, puffed up, p. ccl.;
 whence a burley face; a burley fellow.
 But, bot; *prep.* without, ccvi.
 Bush, *n.* head of hair. Æn. iv. l. 277.

C

Camp, *n.* army. Let. p. 208.
 Chair, *n.* seat or throne. P. p. 20. l. 4. See the note.
 Chase, *v.* didst choose. P. p. 48. l. 5.
 Chere, *n.* the expression of countenance: *cera*, *Ital.*
 P. p. 2. l. 18. See note, p. 237.
 Chews, *n.* the chol, or jowl. P. p. 42. l. 2. See
 the note.
 Child, *n.* a minor, or heir-apparent; any young
 man, p. 347.
 Child, *n.* a degree preparatory to knighthood. Notes,
 346.
 Childhood, *n.* for the particular meaning of this
 word see note, p. 347.
 Chivalery, *n.* horse, cavalry. *Cavalleria*; *Ital.*
 p. cxlix.
 Cinders, *n.* ashes in a poetical sense. *Cineres*; *Lat.*
 P. p. 47. l. 24.
 Claw, *v.* to claw by the back, to flatter, p. clxxxv.
 Clepe, *v.* to call, P. p. 86. l. 24.
 Clepes, *n.* loud callings, cries, Æn. ii. l. 1022.
 Clergion, *n.* a young clerk, a young person; *cler-*
gion; *Fr.* P. p. 56, l. 22. See note.
 Clives, *n.* steep cliffs. P. p. 43. l. 3.
 Cling, clam, clem, *v.* to starve. P. p. 77. l. 8. See
 note.
 Clout, *n.* white linen cloth, in a poetic sense. P.
 p. 59. l. 11.
 Colling, *par.* embracing round the neck, p. ccxxxviii.
 Conjures, *n.* conspiracies. P. p. 74. l. 15, to con-
 jure; *v.* to conspire.
 Constance, *n.* constancy. P. p. 38. l. 20.
 Conteke, *n.* contest, strife, p. ccxxxiii.
 Contune, *v.* continue, p. 330.
 Cope, *n.* garment, properly a sacerdotal vest. p. cxc.
 Corbellis, *n.* projecting stones supporting beams in
 the interior parts of buildings, p. ccv. They were
 ornamented with rudely sculptured heads; at first
 generally ravens' heads; whence they were called,
 from the French, *Corbeau*.
 Cordeth, *v.* accordeth, agreeth with, p. ccxliii.
 Corpse, *n.* the living body. P. p. 46. l. 15.
 Costard jagers; query, what? *n.* p. ccxxxix.
 County, *n.* a count, title of honour. P. p. 48, l. 2.
 Couth, *part.* known, p. clxi.

Crop, *n.* the top of any thing, particularly tops of
 trees. Æn. iv. l. 587.

Cure, *n.* care. *Cura*, *Ital.* P. p. 2. l. 1.

Currant, *part.* P. p. 28. l. 14. See note, p. 309.

D

Dampned, *part.* condemned, p. 316.
 Dan, *n.* a title of honour. *Dominus*. *Lat.* P. p. 44.
 l. 23. See note.
 Danger, dangier, dangere, *n.* power. Dangier, *Fr.*
 See note, p. 373.
 Dangerous, *adj.* powerful. P. p. 61. l. ult.
 Dark, *n.* darkness. P. p. 2. l. 12.
 Daubers, *n.* p. ccxxxix. evidently persons of no es-
 timation. Daw in Scotch means a sluggard or idle
 fellow. See *Ruddiman's Gloss.*
 Degrees, *n.* steps. Æn. iv. l. 913.
 Depeinted, *v.* painted in a picture, p. 349.
 Dere, *n.* annoyance, hurt. Æn. ii. l. 937.
 Despoiled, *part.* stripped of clothing. *Spogliato*. *Ital.*
 P. p. 49, l. 9.
 Determed, *part.* resolutely bent. P. p. 51. l. ult.
 Dight, *part.* clothed, adorned, p. 277.
 Dome, *n.* judgment. P. p. 17. l. 6. Whence,
domes-day, or *dooms-day*.
 Doole, *n.* widow's mourning. Æn. iv. l. 43.
 Doth, for do. P. p. 20. l. 4.
 Draw in ure, begins to shew itself. P. p. 6, l. 22.
 See the note.
 Drench *v.* to drown, and to be drowned. P. p. 13.
 l. 12. Note, p. 263.
 Drow, *v.* drew, approached, p. clvi.
 Drowpy, *adj.* query, what? See p. ccxxxix. Drou-
 kit, in Scotch is, drenched, and wet. See *Rud-*
diman's Glossary.
 Drown, *v.* to plunge into water. Æn. ii. l. 50.
 See notes, p. 401.
 Dumps, *n.* deep melancholy. P. p. 59. l. 9.
 Dure, *v.* to endure, or to remain, p. 260.
 Durre, *n.* door. P. p. 21. l. 16. See the note.

E

Effect, or affect, *n.* affections, passions. P. p. 46. l. 5.
 Eft, *adv.* again; eftsoons, returning presently. Æn.
 ii. l. 313.
 Enhalse, *v.* embrace. P. p. 42. l. 19.
 Entailed, *part.* engraved. Formed by sculpture,
 p. clxxiii.
 Erst, *adv.* long since, *at erst*, immediately. Notes,
 p. 373.
 Everichone, *pron.* every one, p. ccxxv.
 Eyen, *n.* eyes. P. p. 73. l. 21.

F

- Facund, *adj.* eloquent, p. ccix.
 Fancy, *n.* love. P. p. 40. l. 17. See the note.
 Fantaser, *n.* lover. P. p. 61. l. 1.
 Feil, fel, felle, fele, *adj.* many, ccviii.
 Feres, *n.* companions, mates. P. p. 22. l. 9.
 Ferley, *n.* wonder, p. cliii.
 Ferse, *n.* the queen, and sometimes all the men, in chess. P. p. 33. l. 8. See note.
 Fet, *part.* fetched, p. ccxxi.
 Fetisely, *adv.* in a neat or clever manner, p. clxviii.
 Fine, *n.* end. *Fatal fine*, end allotted by fate. *Æn.* ii. l. 721.
 Flecked, *part.* spotted. *Æn.* iv. 862.
 Flete, *v.* to float. P. p. 19. l. 11. See the note.
 Floynes, *n.* barks of forty or fifty tons. *Flouin. Fr.*
Floja, Bas-bretton. Let. p. 207.
 Foen, *n.* foes, p. clii.
 Fonded, *part.* received with love. *Æn.* iv. l. 489.
 Foot, *n.* foot of a song, the burthen of a song. P. p. 14. l. 2. Notes, p. 264.
 Forayers, *n.* foragers, sent forward to destroy, p. 244.
 Force, *hart of*, *n.* explained. Notes, p. 352.
 Force, *v.* to care for. P. p. 57. l. 24.
 Fordo, *v.* to destroy utterly. P. p. 34. l. 23.
 Forthy, *adv.* therefore, for this cause, p. clv.
 Freat, *v.* to consume, to wear away. P. p. 42. l. 18.
 Fromward, *adv.* away from. P. p. 83. l. 1.
 Fume, *n.* smoke. P. p. 25. l. 24.
 Fyre-flaught, *n.* flashes of fire, p. ccviii.

G

- Gainstand, *v.* to oppose. *Æn.* iv. l. 48.
 Gan, and gin. *Æn.* ii. l. 317. See the note. They seem sometimes used to denote time and action passed.
 Gathery, *v.* to collect, p. cxlix.
 Geason, *n.* rare, uncommon, worthless. P. p. 21. l. 4. See note upon it, and its uncertain meanings.
 Gests, *n.* warlike deeds. P. p. 44. l. ult.
 Glaid, *part.* glided, p. ccviii.
 Gleads, gledes, *n.* burning ashes. *Æn.* ii. l. 820.
 Glome, or glombe, *v.* to look unfriendly upon. P. p. 42. l. ult.
 Glynt, *n.* a transient look, glimpse. P. p. 26. l. 10.
 Good-hope, *n.* simply Hope. *Bonne cspérance. Fr.* P. p. 11. l. 14. Notes, p. 259.
 Govern, *v.* to evil entreat. *Governare. Ital.* P. p. 18. l. 8. See the note.

- Grofe, grafe; *adj.* grovelling on the ground, ccl. To lie on grofe, *v.* to lie grovelling.
 Green, *adj.* youthful: greenness, *n.* youthfulness. See the note, p. 235.
 Grees, *n.* degrees, steps. *Fr.* ccxxxiii.
 Grieful, *adj.* sorrowful, p. ccxx.
 Grisly, *adj.* exciting wonder. P. p. 72. l. 1.
 Guyet, gate, *n.* a public way or passage. *Guyer, Fr.* Let. p. 222.
 Gye, *n.* guide, direct. clxxvii.

H

- Habbe, *v.* have, p. cliii.
 Halse-bane, *n.* necklace. Notes, p. 330. To halse, *v.* to embrace, *ibid.*
 Halwes, *n.* holy saints, p. clxi.
 Harborough, harbrough, *n.* harbour. *Æn.* iv. l. 53.
 Haro! an exclamation of sorrow, p. 244.
 Hayes, *n.* hunting nets, toils. *Æn.* iv. l. 166.
 Heal, hele, *n.* prosperity. P. p. 63. l. 5.
 Hed, or hood, *n.* a state of being. Notes, p. 340.
 Hell, *n.* any deep place. P. p. 25. l. 4.
 Hent, *part.* taken hold of. P. p. 22. l. 5. See the note.
 Her, and hir, *pron.* their. P. p. 3. l. 12. See note, p. 241.
 Herd, *n.* keeper of cattle; sometimes shepherd. *Æn.* ii. l. 74. See the note, p. 402.
 Hette, hight, *part.* called, p. clvii.
 Hi, *pron.* they, p. cliii.
 Hight, *part.* called. P. p. 48. l. 2.
 His, for its, *imper. pron.* P. p. 74. l. 24.
 Hogrels, *n.* sheep of the second year. *Æn.* iv. l. 72.
 Holk, *v.* to dig at, make hollow, p. ccv.
 Holts, *n.* hills covered with wood. *Æn.* iv. 195.
 Host, *n.* victim for sacrifice. *Æn.* ii. l. 196.
 Hoten, *part.* called, p. clvi. l. 12. and not *noten*, as misprinted.
 Hove, *v.* to hover. P. p. 49. l. 2.

I

- Indured, *adj.* hardened. P. p. 79. l. 11.

K

- Kaysers, *n.* Cæsars, Emperors, p. 244.
 Kind, *n.* Nature. P. p. 3. l. 23. See notes, p. 243.
 Kindly, *adj.* natural; according to Kind, or Nature. *Æn.* iv. l. 942.

L

- Lay, *n.* religious law, faith, p. clvi.
 Laggere-water, *n.* query, what? p. ccxxxix.

Las, or lace, *n.* a bond, or braid, P. p. 2. l. 21. See notes, p. 238.
 Leech, leach, leche, *n.* physician. P. p. 10. l. 26. Notes, p. 257.
 Leche-craft, *n.* skill in healing. Notes, p. 257.
 Leif, *adj.* dear. P. p. 50. l. 14.
 Leman, *n.* any person beloved. P. p. 68. l. 19. See the note.
 Length, *n.* height. P. p. 49. l. 20. See notes, p. 352.
 Lered, *adj.* learned, p. cxlviii.
 Lesinges, *n.* unprofitable speeches, p. clxx.
 Lete, *v.* to cease from, clvi. also, to hinder.
 Letture, *n.* reading, p. xxii. Note.
 Levening, leven, *n.* lightning. Æn. ii. l. 853.
 Lewed, lewd, *n.* ignorant, unlettered, p. cxlviii.
 Livelihood, *n.* life. P. p. 46. l. 24.
 Lively, *adj.* living. P. p. 47. l. 23.
 Lore, *n.* knowledge, cliii. Religious belief.

M

Magil, *v.* mangle, make lame. *Mancus. Lat.* p. clxiii.
 Make, *n.* companion, equal. P. p. 19. l. 7.
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 Manere, *n.* manner. P. p. 60. l. 26.
 Marish, marris, mareis, *n.* a marsh. Æn. ii. l. 171.
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 Ming, *v.* to mingle. P. p. 19. l. 14.
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 Morwening, *n.* morning, p. cl.
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N

Namecouth, *adj.* known by name. Notes, 402.
 Natheless, natherless, *adv.* nevertheless. Æn. iv. l. 552.
 Nay, *adv.* perhaps ne'aye, never. P. p. 62. l. 10. See the note.
 Newed, *part.* renewed, p. 320.
 Niggish, *adj.* niggard. P. p. 77. l. 8.
 Nightès, genitive of night. P. p. 20. l. 4.
 Nil, ne wil, *v.* will not. P. p. 59. l. 13.
 Noyaunce, *n.* annoyance, p. ccxxiii.

O

Ou, *pron.* you, p. clvi.
 Ounded, *adj.* waving, p. 284.
 Overthrow, *v.* to fall down backwards. Æn. iv. l. 921.
 Overthwarts, *n.* cross accidents. P. p. 43. l. 4.

P

Paint, *v.* to dissemble. P. p. 24. l. 10.
 Paint, *v.* to form by sculpture. P. p. 4. l. 16. See notes, p. 247.
 Palme-play, *n.* tennis-court. P. p. 49. l. 9.
 Pass, *v.* to die. Lett. p. 207. See the note.
 Peason, *plu.* of a pese, peas. P. p. 21. l. 2.
 Percase, *adv.* perchance. Æn. ii. l. 655.
 Pese, *n.* a pea, *singular.* P. p. 37. l. 11.
 Picture, *n.* any image of carved work. Æn. iv. l. 6. See the note.
 Pight, *part.* pitched. Æn. ii. l. 40..
 Plat, or plot, *n.* any level extended space. P. p. 50. l. 23. also, plan, Lett. p. 220.
 Playe, *n.* wound. Æn. iv. l. 2.
 Pleyten, *v.* plead as lawyers. Notes, p. 348.
 Ponder by aim, *v.* to weigh deliberately. P. p. 25. l. 2. See the note.
 Powdered, *v.* P. p. 31. l. 6. See the note, p. 314.
 Prest, *adj.* ready; also, *adv.* quickly. Æn. iv. l. 789.

Q

Queintise, *n.* knowledge, p. cxlix.
 Quething, *part.* parting, ccii. See note.
 Quhilk, *pro.* which, p. ccvi.
 Quhois, *pro.* whose, p. 372.

R

Rakehell, rakil, racle, *adj.* careless. P. p. 51. l. 4. See note.
 Rashed, and not ravished, *part.* pulled by force. *Fr.* arracher. Æn. iv. l. 827. See note.
 Rashly, *adv.* quickly. P. p. 35. l. 3.
 Raught, *part.* laid hold upon. Æn. ii. l. 272.
 Raughten, *v.* reached down, p. cxxviii.
 Raven, ravening, *n.* hunger. P. p. 76. l. 12.
 Rays, *n.* eyes. *Rai. Ital.* P. p. 9. l. 10. Notes, p. 255.
 Recure, *v.* to recover. P. p. 36. l. 20. See the note.
 Rede, *v.* to advise. P. p. 33. l. 5.
 Reduceth, *v.* bringeth back. P. p. 1. l. 14.
 Redoub, redubbe, *v.* to alleviate; also, amend. Æn. iv. l. 444. See the note.
 Regrete, *n.* sorrow with weeping. Æn. ii. l. 93.
 Rejoice, *v.* to enjoy. P. p. 13. l. 2.

Richesse, *n.* wealth, personified, p. 332.

Rife, *adj.* abundant. P. p. 53. l. 6.

Rosier, *n.* rose tree, p. cxcii.

Rosin, rosen, *adj.* rosy, p. cccxxiii.

S

Sad, *adj.* modest, reserved. P. p. 11. l. 8.

Salueth, salveth. *v.* saluteth. P. p. 15. l. 3.

Saw, *n.* speech, saying, p. clxx.

Say'n *v.* for say, P. p. 4. l. 4. See notes, p. 246.

Scath, scaith, scathe, *n.* harm. P. p. 83. l. 4.

Scorn at, *v.* mock at. *Æn.* ii. l. 83. See the note.

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Seen, felt and seen, uncertain meaning of. P. p. 15.

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Sege, *n.* seat, p. cciv.

Seke, *v.* sick, p. clxi.

Selcouth, *adj.* seldom known. Notes, p. 402.

Semblable, *adj.* similar, p. clxxii.

Sepulture, *n.* place of burial, tomb. P. p. 45. l. 1.

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Shamefastness, *n.* modesty. *Æn.* iv. l. 34.

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Shene, sheen, *adj.* bright, shining. *Æn.* ii. l. 972.

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Sickness, *n.* truth. p. clv.

Sight, *part.* sighed. Notes, p. 328.

Sith, sithen, sythe, *adv.* since. *Æn.* ii. l. 120.

Skill, *v.* to regard. It skills them not, they regard it not. P. p. 14. l. 4.

Slipper, *adj.* unsure. P. p. 70. l. 20.

Smale, *adj.* small. P. p. 19. l. 13.

Some, *pro.* any. P. p. 15. l. 10. and p. 80. l. 6.

Soote; also, swoote, *adj.* sweet. P. p. 19. l. 4.

Sort, *n.* fate, lot. p. 249.

Soth, sooth, *n.* truth. p. clxx.

Sothfast, *adj.* true. Sothfastness, *n.* truth, p. clxxvii.

Sparkle, *v.* to scatter abroad. *Æn.* ii. l. 199.

Sparkled, *part.* scattered. *Æn.* ii. l. 220.

Spence, *n.* expense. P. p. 77. l. 11.

Splene, *n.* heart, seat of laughter. P. p. 26. l. 1.

Spulze, *v.* to spoil, p. cciv.

Spynaces, *n.* pinnaces, small boats. Letters, p. 184.

Stead, sted, *n.* place. P. p. 83. l. 16.

Steep, *adj.* P. p. 43, l. 2. meaning uncertain. Notes, p. 330.

Sterne, *n.* star, p. cxcii.

Stervu, *v.* to die, perish, p. 260.

Steven, *n.* speech, language, p. clxix.

Suthy, or styddie, *n.* an anvil. P. p. 45. l. 17.

Strangeness, *n.* timidity, maiden diffidence. P. p. 11. l. 1.

Straughten, *v.* stretched out, p. cxxviii. Note.

Streams, *n.* beams of the eye. P. p. 7. l. 15. Notes, p. 252.

Summer, *n.* spring. P. p. 19. l. 8. See the note.

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T

Take in worth, take patiently. P. p. 7. l. 19. Note, p. 253.

Targe, *n.* shield. P. p. 44. l. 10.

Tene, teen, *n.* sorrow, p. 239.

Tent, *n.* heed, attention, p. clxiii.

Thewed, *part.* endued with dispositions, p. 277.

Threapen, *v.* to accuse with clamour. P. p. 83. l. 3.

Tho, *adv.* then, p. 383.

Thought, *n.* taken for Love, generally. P. p. 18. l. 1.

Tickle, *adj.* liable to fall. P. p. 20. l. 18.

Till, *prep.* unto, p. cliv.

Tone, the one, sometimes printed t'one. P. p. 30. l. 6.

To-wonn'd, *part.* went forth, p. ccxlii. Note.

Trade, *n.* passage. *Æn.* ii. l. 587.

Train, *n.* deceit: to train, *v.* to allure with deceit, as coquettes do. P. p. 23. l. 18.

Travail, *n.* honourable exertion. P. p. 46. l. 4. and p. 66. l. 6.

Trowest, *v.* knowest, p. 316.

Try, *v.* See meaning of, p. 236.

U

Ugsome, *adj.* hideous, causing terror. *Æn.* ii. l. 1003.

Umberaucht, *part.* embarrassed, p. ccviii.

Unbrent, *part.* unburnt, p. cliv.

Uncouth, *adj.* unknown. *Æn.* B. ii. l. 52.

Unneath, *adv.* with difficulty. Notes, p. 373.

Unsad, *adj.* light, variable. Notes, p. 259.

Unsavowreth, *v.* See note, p. 387.

Unwroken, *part.* unrevenged. *Æn.* ii. l. 884.

Ure, *n.* fortune *Heur. Fr.* Various meanings of. See Notes, p. 250.

Ure, *v.* to accustom. Notes, p. 251.

V

Vade, *v.* to pass suddenly away. P. p. 71. l. 5. Different from "*fade*." Note, p. 383.

Vapoured eyes. P. p. 47. l. 9. See note.

Vie, *n.* life. *Fr.* p. clvi.

Ver. *n.* Spring. P. p. 22. l. 5. See the note.
Virtù, *n.* power or efficacy of a thing, p. cliv.
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W

Waged, *part.* receiving wages. Æn. B. ii. l. 11.
Waker, *adj.* wakeful. P. p. 76. l. 19.
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Warm, *n.* warmth. P. p. 1. l. 7.
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Wealh, *n.* happiness. P. p. 8. l. 17.
Weikin, *n.* the apparent cope of heaven. Æn. ii. l. 12.
Weirds, *n.* fates. Æn. iv. l. 581.
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Wher', whether; as nar'we, narrow, arw'e, arrow, &c. Notes, p. 266.
Whereas, *adv.* where. P. p. 18. l. 11.

Whilom, *adv.* formerly. Æn. iv. l. 723.
Whist, *v.* to be silent after talking. Æn. B. ii. l. 1.
Wick, *adj.* evil. p. ccxliii.
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Wode, wood, *adj.* mad. Æn. ii. l. 805.
Wonning, *n.* habitation. Æn. ii. l. 842. to won, *v.* to dwell, to inhabit. P. p. 56. l. 22.
Worm, *n.* serpent. Notes, p. 399.
Worth, *n.* See notes, p. 369. apparently, young brood.

Y

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Y-hote, *part.* named. p. clvi.
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Z

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

ERRATA

IN THE NOTES TO THE POEMS.

P. 236; l. 8. for, *proceeding*; read, *preceding*. P. 237; l. ult. for, *Porte*; read, *Parte*. P. 242; l. 4th from bottom, for, *the passage and*; read, *the passage*. P. 247; l. 15. for, *carved word*; read, *carved work*. P. 252; l. 24. for, *line 15*; read, *line 13*. P. 253; 3d from bottom, for, *due*; read, *duro*. P. 256; l. 20. for, *a qual*; read, *e qual*. P. 261; l. 15. for, *ti cannosco* read *ti connosco*. P. 271; the notes to "I never saw my Lady lay apart," ought to follow those to "*The golden gift that nature did thee give*;" which now stand at p. 275. P. 274; l. 8. for, *l' accessa*; read, *l' accesa*. P. 282; l. 16. for, *in which is used*; read, *in which it is used*. P. 284; l. 11. for, *small*; read, *smale*. P. 290; in last line but one, supply, "*Note b, p. 21, line 6.*" P. 294; l. 5. for, *unrequited love*; read, *by unrequited love*. P. 303; l. 20. for, *line 13*; read, *line 12*. P. 311; l. ult. for, *p. xxxix*; read, *xlix*. P. 313; l. 13. for, *It it*; read, *it is*. P. 314; l. 1. for, *Note 5*; read, *Note 8*. P. 326; l. 10. for, *line 20*; read, *line 17*. P. 334; l. 6. for, *helmet's charge*; read, *garland's charge*. P. 336; l. 27. for, *line 10*; read, *line 6*. P. 338. supply, at l. 1, "*Note 2, page 45, line 17.*" Ibid. l. 26. for, *An age*; read, *An eye*. Ibid. l. 31. for 1510; read, 1810. P. 374; l. 13. for, *line 21, p. 62*; read, *l. 11, p. 63*. P. 398; l. penult. for, *Of men*; read, *Of man*. P. 401; l. 24. for, *Here*; read, *There*. P. 408; l. 9. for, 346; read, 436. P. 410; last line but two, for, 287; read, 827. P. 412; l. 10. for, *line 43*; read, 943. P. 421; l. 6. for, *line 89*; read, 389. Ibid. l. 10. for *line 91*; read, 394. P. 423; l. 21. for, *gan' tain*; read, *'gan stain*. P. 425; l. 26. for, *gan It appear*; read, *'gan ay'n appear*. P. 427; in note a. for, *note a*; read, *note d*. P. 439; in note b. for, *as well brutal*; read, *as well as brutal*.

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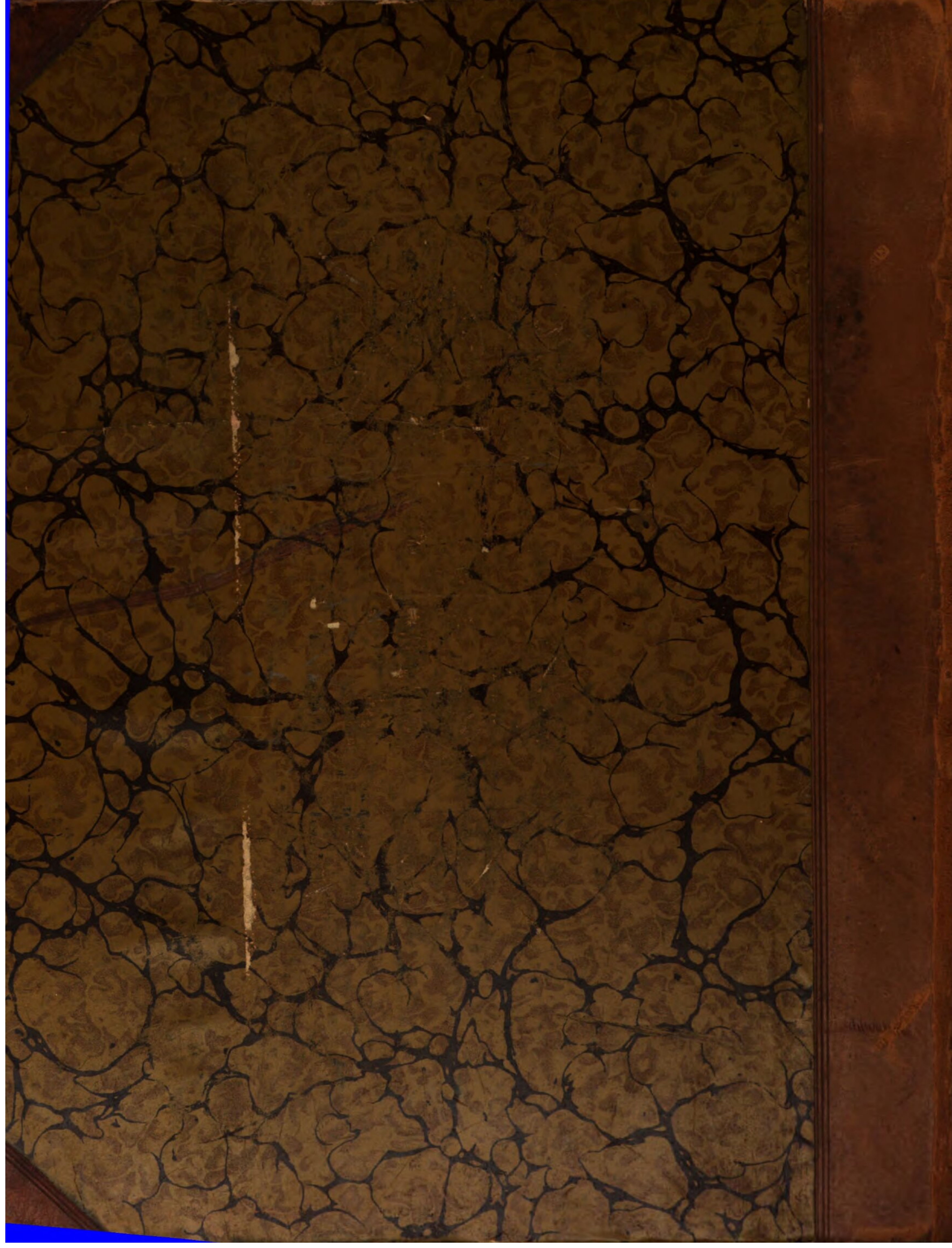
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